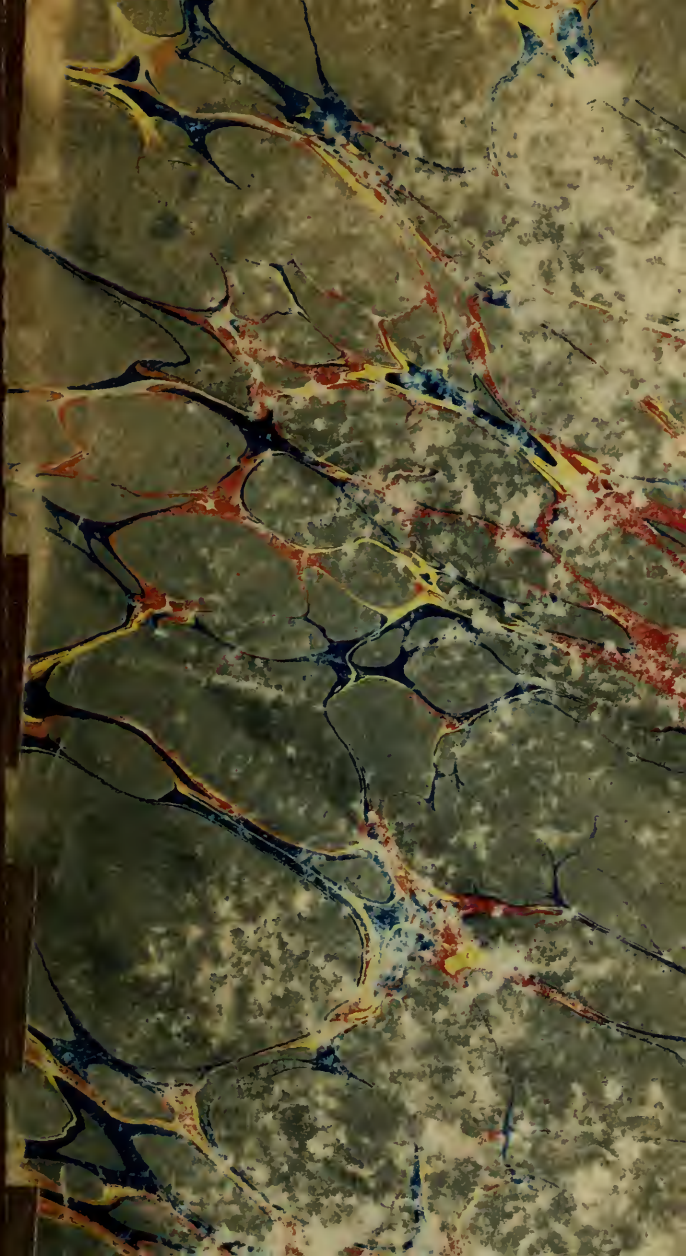





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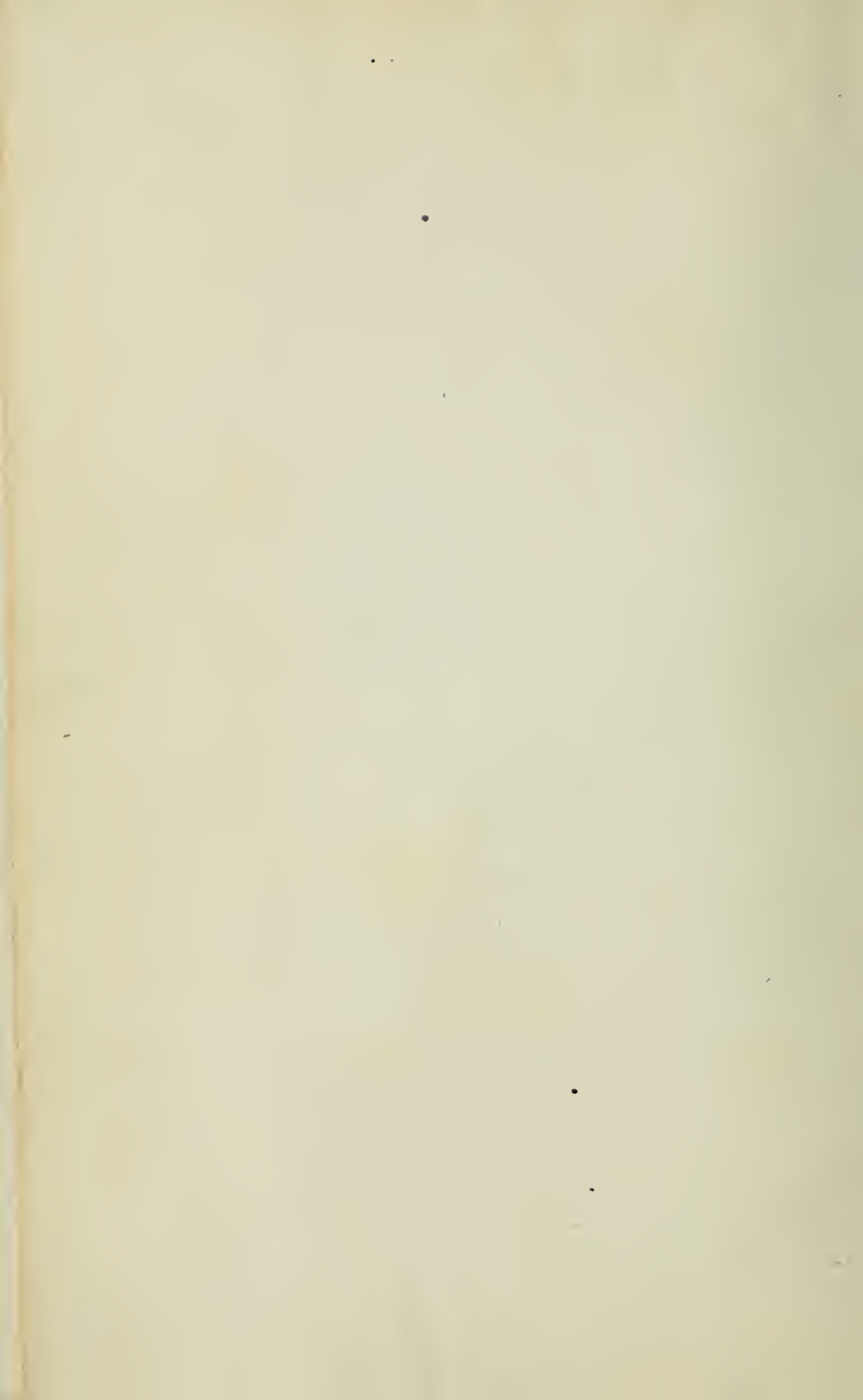
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# HISTORICAL VIEWS

OF

## DEVONSHIRE.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

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VOL. I.

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By Mr. POLWHELE,

OF POLWHELE,

IN CORNWALL.

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# C O N T E N T S.

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### THE BRITISH PERIOD:

From the FIRST SETTLEMENTS in DANMONIUM, to the ARRIVAL of JULIUS CÆSAR,  
fifty-five Years before CHRIST.

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CONTAINING A GREAT VARIETY OF CURIOUS PAPERS.

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HISTORICAL VIEWS  
OF  
DEVONSHIRE.

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

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THE BRITISH PERIOD:

From the FIRST SETTLEMENTS in DANMONIUM, to the ARRIVAL of JULIUS CÆSAR,

FIFTY-FIVE YEARS BEFORE CHRIST.

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# HISTORICAL VIEWS OF DEVONSHIRE.

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*VIEW of the INHABITANTS of DANMONIUM, during the BRITISH PERIOD.*

- I. *Emigrators from the East, settling in Devon—Said by the Saxon Chronicle to be Armenians—Passage from the Saxon Chronicle—First Settlements in the Southams—Opposite opinions of Carte, Borlase, and Whitaker—Extract from Cæsar—Period of the Eastern Emigration.—II. A second Colony—Phenicians.—III. A third Colony—Greeks.—IV. Other settlers from the continent of Europe—the Belgæ—the Cimbri—the Carnabii.*

THE original settlements of countries, and particularly of those which lie at the most remote distances from the spot whence all the generations of mankind issued, are commonly enveloped in a cloud that the keenest eye cannot penetrate. But this obscurity naturally awakens curiosity; and conjecture will, of course, step in to relieve it. Here opens a spacious field for the wanderings of the imagination, especially if it descry some glimmering light of history to direct its researches. By whom this island was first peopled, and at what period, and where and in what manner the subsequent colonists of Britain formed their settlements, till the invasion of Julius Cæsar, are points, which, though they have long exercised the ingenuity of historians, are, after every discussion, still ambiguous. That a writer, therefore, who seems to be confined by his subject within the limits of a particular province, should enter into the general question of the original peopling of the island, dark and involved as it confessedly is, might be attributed, at first sight, to a daring spirit fond of encountering difficulties, which to avoid, would incur no censure, but which to meet, would be impertinent and hazardous. Yet it will appear, in the course of the present chapter, that not to notice those early antiquities in a History of Devonshire, would be an unpardonable omission; since they are chiefly applicable to this very spot. And not only in Devonshire, but in the South of Devonshire, we may discover, perhaps, some traces of the original colonization of the island. That the Aborigines of Britain came from the neighbouring continent of Gaul, is the commonly-received opinion: But it has likewise been maintained, on no improbable grounds, that our primitive Colonists emigrated from the East before the existence of the European or Continental settlers.

And this is the Hypothesis, which, from its connexion with Devonshire, seems to claim, at least, a cursory attention.

That the original inhabitants of Danmonium were of eastern origin, and, in particular, were Armenians, is a position which may, doubtless, be supported by some shew of authority. But, whilst I assert, that our first Colonists were of eastern origin, I do not intend to deny what I conceive cannot be denied, that all Europe was peopled by emigrations from the east: I mean only to draw a line of distinction between the Aborigines of this country, who came from the east by sea, and settled at once in Britain, and those tribes who came from the east by land, and gradually spread over the continent.

That this distinction is not fanciful, may possibly appear, hereafter, from the religion of our first colonists, as well as their language, their manners, and usages, and several other particulars, in which they bore not the least resemblance to the Celtic race that peopled Europe: With the Celtic race, indeed, they had no communication; and to the Celtic race they were not known.

In the mean time, let us consider the testimony of one of our chronicles, which speaks to the point of the Armenian emigration. The Saxon Chronicle positively asserts, that "the original inhabitants of Britain came from Armenia, and that they seated themselves in the south-west part of the island:" (a) The same Chronicle next records "the arrival

of

(a) "In hac insula—Britannia—sunt quinque nationes; Anglica, Britannica seu Wallica, Scotica, Pictica et Latina. Primi hujus terræ incolæ fuerūt Britanni, qui ex Armenia profecti, in Australi parte Britannię primum sedem posuerunt. Postea contigit, Pictos ex Australi parte Scythiæ, longis navibus, haud ita multis, advektos, ad Hiberniæ septentrionales partes primum appulisse, ac a Scotis petisse, ut ibi habitare sibi liceret. Ceterum iis veniam dare volebant; respondent autem Scoti: Possimus nibilo secius, consilio vos juvare. Aliam novimus insulam hinc ad orientem, ubi (si visum fuerit) habitare possitis; et si quispiam

of the South-Scythians, by sea, in long ships, whom the Scoti in Ireland declined receiving, but advised their settling in Scotland—which they did : And afterwards the Scoti of Ireland intermarried, and were variously connected with this people.”

The Saxon Chronicle is said to have been written by a monk, at Lincoln : And similar chronicles were kept by the most learned monks in several monasteries throughout the kingdom. The monk of Lincoln seems to have been well informed : And there is no more reason to dispute the authority of the passage before us, than that of any other part of the book. For it is not a conjecture : It is not hazarded as an opinion : It is a positive assertion and relation of an event, as a thing generally known and understood to be true. The only doubt that can be thrown upon this passage, must arise from a note in Bishop Gibson's edition of the Chronicle, in which a different reading is suggested, and the word *Armorica* substituted for *Armenia* : And Bede is quoted as authorizing the conjecture. (a)

I have

*armis refiteri, nos vobis subuenimus, quo eam expugnare valeatis. Tum solvebant Picti, et hanc terram a parte boreali ingressi sunt; Australia enim Britones occupaverant, uti antea diximus. Tum Picti sibi uxores a Scotis impetrabant, ea conditione, ut suam regalem profapiam semper a parte feminea eligerent; quem morem longe postea servarunt. Contigit deinde, a norum decursu, Scotorum aliquos ex Hibernia profectos in Britanniam, hujus terræ partem aliquam expugnasse. Dux autem eorum Ræda vocabatur—a quo ipsi dicti sunt Dæleodi.”* Saxon Chron. (Gibson's Edit. Oxford, 1692.) p. 1, 2.

(a) “It appears to me (says a correspondent) that *ARMENIA* has here been substituted for *ARMORICA*. Bishop Gibson seems to have been well apprized of this blunder; for he refers the reader to Ven. Bede Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 1. where I find these words, which agree both in Wheeloc's and Smith's edition. ‘*In primis autem hæc insula Brittones solum a quibus nomen accepit, incolas habuit, qui de tractu Armoricano, ut fertur, Britanniam adveniti, australes sibi partes illius vindicarunt.*’ King Alfred's translation likewise has *Armorica*. The beginning of the Saxon Chronicle seems to be almost the same with the passage from which the foregoing is extracted, though the former is rather more concise. It is yet an unsettled point, whether the first part of the Chronicle was written (1) before Bede's time or not: Bishop Gibson and Bishop Nicolson hold contrary opinions; but, if it were necessary, I think I could bring forward some substantial arguments to prove that the former part of the Chronicle is actually taken from Bede. Tacitus and Caesar confirm what Bede relates, by the inference which they draw from the similitude of language and manners in the respective inhabitants of *Armorica* and Britain. In the mean time, Bishop Gibson himself in his note on this passage (which may be found in *Nominum Locorum Explicatione*, p. 12. subjoined to the Chronicle) observes: ‘*Armenia (lege Armorica) Gallie pars ab occidente, oræ maritimæ proxima, et a situ nomen sortita: Armorica enim est quasi ad mare. Cum Anglorum viribus oppressi erant Britanni, eorum pars huc se salutis causa contulit, unde Britanni Armoricani. Hodie Bretagne.*’ To my doubts whether the passage in Bede similar to that in the Saxon Chronicle, was an interpolation or not, the same ingenious correspondent replies: “The question you now propose, is not, whether *Armenia* or *Armorica*? but, whether the sentences in Bede, referred to as parallel with the passage in the Saxon Chronicle that notices *Armenia*, are really Bede's?—in other words—is the paragraph an interpolation? I do not scruple to declare that it is not: and, that you may rest satisfied of the truth of this assurance, I shall state such proofs as must, I think, produce conviction. Bede's ecclesiastical history with King Alfred's Anglo-saxon version was first printed, in this country, at Cambridge, in 1644, by Abraham Wheeloc, who had the use of several MSS. A splendid edition was afterwards printed at Cambridge, in 1644, by Dr. Smith, who had the use of other MSS. Of these MSS. the most ancient is that which is deposited in the Royal Library at Cambridge, and was written in 737, only two years after Bede's death. Neither Smith nor Wheeloc have said that the passage is not in this MS. On the contrary, all the MSS. seem to agree in all points, as to this passage, for there is not the most minute variation noticed in the readings. Bede died in 735: King Alfred died in 901. Alfred's Saxon translation closely follows Bede's Latin. Is it likely that at the short distance of a century and half, the king, whose extensive learning and sound judgment are so highly extolled, should have made use of a corrupted or interpolated manuscript, and should even have adopted and sanctioned an error, and that in a most material point? Our passage forms the fourth paragraph of the first chapter of the first book. The title of the chapter is, ‘*De situ Britanniae vel Hiberniae, & priscis earum incolis.*’ The first paragraph treats of the situation of the island; the second, of its fertility and natural productions; the third, of the climate; the fourth, of the languages and inhabitants; the fifth, of the Picts and of Ireland; and the sixth and last, of the Scots. Now the fourth paragraph could not, at any rate, be a mere interpolation; for supposing, for the sake of argument, that our passage was not part of the original work, this chapter would then have been defective, and not correspondent with its general title: for nothing was then left concerning the original inhabitants, of whom it professed to treat: And that the original paragraph should have been expunged, and a dissimilar one inserted in, is altogether incredible. Let us now consider the fourth paragraph. The words are these, ‘*Hæc in præsentia, juxta numerum librorum quibus lex divina scripta est, quinque gentium linguis, unam eam-*

*demque*

(1) That it was written before Bede's time, might be easily proved.



I have to add, that the context of the passage does not seem to warrant the word *Armorica*. The Saxon Chronicle, speaking of the original inhabitants, plainly intimates, that "they who settled first in the South or South-western parts, came a long voyage by sea." And next, says the Chronicle, "came also by sea, the Southern Scythians." About the Southern Scythians there seems to be no dispute. In the mean time, it is absurd to describe a colony from the opposite coast of Gaul, as coming a long sea-voyage. If, indeed, the original inhabitants settled in the western parts of the island, before the Southern Scythians came, they formed their colony in Britain, when the coasts of Gaul were uninhabited; when on the coasts of Gaul, there were no settlers of any description, and of course no Armoricans: The Armoricans, indeed, are comparatively of a modern date.

Our first settlers not coming over-land by way of Europe, the conclusion is, that they came by sea: Nor does there seem to be any difficulty in this supposition, if we allow that the Phenician merchants came hither, afterwards, by the same channel. From the passage I have quoted, it further appears, that a colony of South-Scythians touched at Ireland, and passed thence to North Britain. This is abundantly confirmed in the Irish records, which never appeared so advantageously as in Vallancey's ingenious Vindication of the Antiquity of the Irish. If the Picti, then, came from South Scythia, why not the Danmonii from Armenia? Whilst the one was able to come from the east, was there any charm to prevent the other?

With respect to the part of the island where our Eastern emigrators settled, I have already observed that it was, probably in the South of Devon. This is intimated, as we have seen, by the Saxon Chronicle. And, that the southams were inhabited in very early times, may be fairly inferred, I think, from the story of Brutus; though, with regard to facts, we reject it as legendary.

According to Geoffrey of Monmouth, Brutus, son of Silvius, having vanquished the giants of this island, called it Britain, after his own name, in 1108 before Christ.

In the mean time, those well known lines from the Architenius of Havillan—

*Inde dato cursu, Brutus comitatus Achate,  
Gallorum spoliis cumulatus, navibus æquor, &c. &c.*

tend to shew that this settlement was made in the South-west.

In the same Poem is described the conflict between Corinæus and the Giant: And the rock which the Poet mentions, is reported to be the Haw, a hill between the town of Plymouth and the sea.

Thus sings Havillan:

*Hos, avidum belli robur, Corinæus Averno  
Præcipites misit, cubitis ter quatuor altum  
Gogmagog Herculeæ suspendit in aere luctu, &c. &c.*

Nor is popular tradition silent on the subject. Our first heroes and our first towns are placed in the Southams by the voice of the people, that echoes, at this moment, to the Saxon Chronicle and the British Annals.

The inhabitants of Totnes describe Brutus as landing at their town, and point out the very stone on which he first set foot, when descending from his vessel: And, though the sea be now retired from Totnes, yet the records of former ages instruct us, that it actually flowed up to the very walls of the town. These are remarkable coincidences: I had almost said, that they are such as must carry conviction of the fact I have been asserting, to every unprejudiced mind.

We have here the express declaration of the Saxon Chronicle; the tale of the British Annalist; and the song of the poet Havillan; the traditional notions of the people of Totnes, transmitted from the remotest ages to the present race; and a fact in natural history; distinct in themselves—independent on each other—yet all meeting in the same point.

*domque summæ veritatis et veræ sublimitatis scientiam scrutatur et confitetur, Anglorum videlicet, Brittonum, Scottorum, Pictorum et Latinorum, quæ meditatione scripturarum cæteris omnibus est facta communis. In primis autem hæc insula Brittones solum a quibus nomen accepit, incolæ habuit, qui de tractu Armoricanæ, ut fertur, Britanniam advecti, Australes sibi partes illius vindicarunt.* Then proceeds the fifth: "Et cum plurimam insulæ partem, incipientes ab Austro, possedissent, contigit gentem in Pictorum, &c. Hiberniam, pervenisse, &c." Had the sentence in *primis*, &c. been wanting, the sense were incomplete; and we must have considered the subsequent paragraph as another interpolation. Had the latter been allowed to stand, where should we have found the nominative case to possessive? The *tibi quibus lex divina scripta est*? or the *linguæ quinque gentium*? Upon the whole, we must come to these determinations.

1. That there is no interpolation considered merely as such, namely, the introduction of extrinsic matter.  
2. That there is not a shadow of reason for supposing that the passage is *corrupted*, or that it does not stand, in the printed books, precisely as it came originally from Bede's pen."

Though

Though the Saxon Chronicle, singly taken, might not be admitted as decisive, yet, as strengthened by these collateral proofs, I cannot dispute its authority. Though the tradition of Totnes might, in itself, be allowed no great weight, yet, as supported by the Saxon Chronicle, we consider it with respect. The monk of Lincoln was a stranger to Totnes: He was ignorant of her traditions, and their enlivening relic. The inhabitants of Totnes were equally unacquainted with the Saxon Chronicle: They were unconscious of its existence: Nor hath its fame, perhaps, yet reached the traditionists of this ancient town. Not less remote, I conceive, was the connexion between Geoffry of Monmouth, and the Totonefians. Surely, no collusion between the parties can be suspected. I will not insist any further on this striking concurrence; though I cannot but remind the reader of the fact in natural history, which proves the tradition to be partly true. The tradition, therefore, claims some credit: And, thus acquiring force, it communicates its influence to the Saxon Chronicle and to the British Annals: And they all, mutually, corroborate each other.

Let us proceed to examine a few opinions, that apparently militate against this hypothesis. That Britain was peopled by the *Brigantes*, who were called also *Brigiones* and *Britanni*, is the positive assertion of Carte; though he owns that he differs from most other writers on the subject. But he alledges, that "most authors take things upon trust; whilst he sees and examines every thing with his own eyes." How far he really examined every thing with his own eyes, may admit of some doubt; since he expressly quotes Cæsar for his authority, in saying that the Aborigines of Britain were the *Brigantes*. I mention this to shew, at the same instant, both the ignorance and the boldness of Carte. Where doth Cæsar inform us that the Aborigines were the *Brigantes*? I defy all the admirers of Carte to point out such an intimation in any of Cæsar's writings: Vainly would they search for it even with Mr. Carte's "own eyes." Cæsar would have rejoiced at discovering who the Aborigines were, or whence they came.

The name of *Brigantes* was conferred upon the tribes who passed from the Continent into Britain, and was the signature of their separation from their brethren in Gaul. (a)

The Belgic *Trivonantes* are particularly mentioned as *Brigantes*, by Galgacus, a native of Britain: "*Brigantes semina duce, exurere coloniam, expugnare castra.*" (b)

Dr. Borlase, a much more respectable author than Carte, does not venture to oppose the vulgar notion that this island was originally peopled from Gaul. But (not to notice in this place his ideas relating to the religions and manners of the Britons and the oriental nations) he evidently sees some objections, to prevent his implicit assent to the common opinion.

Among other topics, the sentiments which the Britons themselves entertained of their origin, is the subject of his consideration. The Aborigines thought (says Borlase) that they were sprung from Dis, or from the earth; whilst the colonists of the coasts acknowledged, with more judgment, that they were sprung from the Gauls. And Dis was imagined to be the same person as the Egyptian Mercury or (c) Thoth, who was one of the leaders of the migration from Babel.

This is a very singular and striking circumstance. And this tradition of the British origin was (d) actually preserved by the Druids: And, we may well presume, it was founded on truth. There was something of mysteriousness in the tradition: And the communication of it to the people was, perhaps, very imperfect. It was probably repositied among those *secret* things of the Druids, which Cæsar mentions with reverence.

Bonduica, the queen of the Britons, affirmed, with some degree of triumph, that the wisest of the Romans were unacquainted with the true name of the Indigenæ. (e) This has, doubtless, an air of mystery. For simply to know the name of a colony, or the first founder of it, would be as much within the scope of the vulgar, as the more informed mind. To be acquainted with the name of the Indigenæ, would imply no great degree of wisdom. It must have been some recondite knowledge, therefore, of which Bonduica says, the wisest of the Romans were ignorant.

This much, at present, for Carte and Borlase. To introduce the Historian of Manchester, in this place, with a view of controverting his opinions, might be deemed an insult both to his genius and his learning. That I intend, however, the slightest disrespect to Mr. Whitaker, can never be conceived; whilst I have uniformly professed my

(a) See Whitaker's Genuine History, p. 72, 73, and his History of Manchester, p. 9, 10.

(b) Agric. Vit. c. 31.

(c) See Bochart, p. 463.

(d) *Ab Dite patre prognatos prædicant; idque ab Druidibus prædicitum dicunt.* Cæsar, L. 6.

(e) *Si testimonio Dionis Cassii fides habenda est, Britannerum Regina Bonduica affirmet, Romanorum sapientissimos verum nomen indigenarum ignorasse.* Not. in Ricard. p. 153. high



high veneration of his antiquarian abilities, in a strain which could only be prompted by ideas of uncommon merit. The authority of Mr. Whitaker, must, doubtless, be allowed great weight. That Mr. Whitaker has derived the Britons from the Gauls, and placed the first inhabitation of this island, about one thousand years before Christ, appears from his *Manchester* and from his (a) *Genuine History of the Britons*. And, in a correspondence with which he has lately favoured me on this subject, he thus expresses his sentiments. "When the Phenicians, says he, first traded here, the Belgæ were the inhabitants, who came hither from Gaul, about three hundred and fifty years before Christ, and the Aborigines, who came hither from the same country about one thousand years before Christ. As to the Saxon Chronicle, it is wholly incompetent to decide upon the point. The writer of it knows nothing of those early times but what was transmitted to him from the Romans and Greeks. To these, therefore, we must appeal. Cæsar is our earliest author, and in himself, also, our best. "*Britannia pars interior ab iis incolitur, quos natos in insula ipsa memoria proditum dicunt: Maritima pars ab iis, qui præde ac belli inferendi causa, ex Belgis transierant; et, bello illato, ibi remanserunt, at que agros colere ceperunt.*" These lines form the grand distinction of our Island Fathers. When the Aborigines and the Belgæ came, successively, Cæsar does not inform us. He only says, in another place, "*Plerosque Belgas, of Gaul, esse ortos a Germanis, Rhenumque antiquitus transducos, propter loci fertilitatem ibi consedisse, Gallosque qui ea loca incolebant, expulisse.*" This incident is too evidently connected with that above, not to be allowed to be nearly contemporary with it. The Belgæ of Germany invaded Gaul, seized all the north-east to the Meme and the Seine, and then progressively passed into Britain. As posterior colonists, they inhabited the line of the coast, having dislodged the prior colony from it, and confined them to the interior of the island. And when either of these colonies came hither, is pointed out very happily, and with a full conformity to collateral history, by that little commentary drawn up by Richard of Cirencester, in the fourteenth century, which had been strangely smuggled out of Britain into Denmark, and which returned back to its native country about thirty years ago. "*Anno mundi M. M. M. Circa hæc tempora cultam et habitatam primum Britanniam arbitrantur nonnulli;*" where we observe his actual reference to some ancient author or authors, and their dubiousness concerning the precise year of so remote an event. But for the second colony as coming in a period much nearer to the line of Roman history, he speaks from his authors thus positively: A. M. M. M. D. C. L. "*Has terras intrarunt Belgæ.*" On the whole, it appears, that Mr. Whitaker is disposed, not only to derive the original Britons from Gaul, but to fix the first colonization of the island about one thousand years before Christ; and that, in determining this point, he chiefly relies on the authority of Richard of Cirencester. But, with all deference to Mr. Whitaker's judgment, I cannot but think, that the very passage which he cites from Richard, to corroborate his argument, has, in itself, a strong tendency to overturn it. Let us review his extract, with what immediately follows it, in the original: The whole passage will wear a very different aspect and lead to a very different conclusion. "*(b) A. M. M. M. M. circa hæc tempora cultam & habitatam primum Britanniam arbitrantur nonnulli.*" So far Mr. Whitaker—but Richard proceeds—"*cum illam salutarent Græci Phenicesque mercatores.*" The obvious meaning of this passage, doubtless, is, that about the year of the world three thousand, (and about one thousand years before Christ,) this island was, in general, cultivated and peopled in every part of it—inasmuch that the Phenician and Greek merchants were beginning to trade with the natives." Mr. Whitaker must certainly allow, that if this passage be cited to fix the date of the peopling of the island, it may be brought, at the same time, to fix the date of the Phenician and Grecian commerce with the islanders. But, if we admit its authority with this double view, we must understand that the peopling of Britain and the Phenician trade commenced at the same instant. This, however, is a manifest absurdity. Who can imagine that a race of adventurers, just landed on a desert island, could find themselves immediately in a situation to establish a mercantile connexion of any kind—much less, such an intercourse as the Phenician trade implies? By what (c) divination were they instantaneously directed to the minerals of Danmonium—whether those treasures were deep buried in the bowels of the earth, or whether they lay not far below the surface of it? By what wonderful process could they so rapidly prepare their tin for exportation? Surely we

(a) See *Genuine History of the Britons* asserted, p. 29, 30, 31, 32.

(b) Ricard, *Men. De Situ Britann.* Lib. 2. Cap. 1. (c) I might say "by what *Virgula Divinatoria*!"  
might

might allow some time for the settling of emigrators on an unknown island—for clearing away part of its woods to make room for human habitations—for the culture of its soil, to supply the necessities of life—before we looked to the discovery of its subterranean riches. Such a discovery is generally prompted by motives of avarice, of curiosity, or of luxury—motives which do not operate till the immediate wants of life are satisfied. But, after those productions of the earth were brought to light, could the natives (as I have already asked) have suddenly converted them into articles of commerce? And, when the Damnonian tin was become a marketable commodity, was it not by a strange concurrence of circumstances, that a regular trade began that very moment, with so remote a people as the Phenician merchants?—The conclusion, therefore, to be drawn from this passage in Richard, is, that so far from being now first colonized, the island, about a thousand years before Christ, was well cultured and peopled; and that foreign merchants had begun to trade with its inhabitants. So that the passage in question, whilst it memorizes the fertility and populousness of the island, refers to the first establishment of the British commerce. (a) It is wonderful, however, that Mr. Whitaker, whilst he lays some stress on the passage, as corroborating his opinion relative to the peopling of the island, not only rejects its more natural import, with regard to the British commerce, but asserts in direct contradiction to Richard, that the Phenicians *first* traded with the British *Belgæ*; since, Richard plainly intimates, that the Phenicians and Greeks began to trade with the natives, full six hundred and fifty years before the Belgæ arrived in Britain from the Continent.

As to the inhabitation of the island, it must necessarily have taken place, many centuries before.

That the evidence may be summed up as satisfactorily as possible in so doubtful a case, Mr. Whitaker hath referred us to a higher tribunal than that of Richard. He hath referred us to Cæsar. All parties, indeed, seem “to appeal unto Cæsar:” let Cæsar, then, decide the question. The principal particulars concerning Britain, in Cæsar’s commentaries, are as follows. (b) In the 4th book, Cæsar gives his reason for invading Britain—the assistance afforded by the islanders to the enemy. The island (says he) its inhabitants, harbours, coasts, and places of descent, were almost unknown to the Gauls. Some merchants frequented Britain, for the sake of trade: but they knew only the coasts opposite to Gaul. In every other respect, even they were strangers to the country and to the extent of the island, and ignorant who were the inhabitants, or what their customs were, or art of war, or military force, or most commodious harbours. In the 4th book also, (c) Cæsar lands in Britain, and describes the war-chariots of the Britons armed with scythes, and adds (in the strongest language) that the Romans were *astonished* and *terrified* at this *new* mode of fighting. He retreats into Gaul. In the 5th book, Cæsar prepares for a second invasion of the island. He passes over into Britain: and he thus describes the inhabitants. The sea-coast or maritime parts are inhabited by different tribes from Belgium, who came from the Continent, allured by the love of war and plunder. And these different people, settling in the country, retain the names of the tribes and states from whence they are descended. But the interior parts are inhabited by those, who, according to general fame, are reputed to be the original natives of the soil. In the 15th section, the enemy, supported by their chariots, vigorously charged the Roman cavalry and advanced guard—a sharp conflict ensued—Cæsar sent two cohorts to support his men—but they were (d) *so terrified by the new manner of fighting*, that they were broken through and routed. By this action it appeared, (e) that the legions were by no means a fit match for such an enemy: nor could even the cavalry engage without great

(a) Had Richard intended to point out merely the original inhabitation of Britain, he would not have placed *cultam* before *habitatum*. That the island was cultivated *first*, and peopled *afterwards* seems rather odd. It is a *ufteron-preteron* of which so accurate a writer as Richard could not have been guilty.

(b) *Quod omnibus fere gallicis bellis, hostibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia intelligebat.* See Delphin. Edit. of Cæsar’s Comment. Lond. printed 1719. P. 79, 80, &c. Suetonius assigns a very different reason for this invasion—intelligence of the wealth of the island: Cæsar had heard of the tin of Damnonium and of the pearl-fishery.

(c) Section 23d, 33d, 34th. *Nostris perterriti—atque hujus omnino generis pugnae perterriti—perturbati nostris novitate pugnae*—In the 2d book of the Pharsalia, Pompey says, that Cæsar:

*Territa quæstis offendit terga Britannis.*

(d) *Novo genere pugnae perterritis nostris.* P. 95.

(e) Section 16th.

danger—



danger—the enemy sometimes fighting in their chariots, then suddenly quitting their chariots and fighting on foot, in detached parties. In the 6th book, Cæsar says—“Over all Gaul there are only two orders of men, who have in any degree honor or power—all the rest are slaves. These are, the Nobles and the Druids. The Druids preside over matters of religion and of law: the whole study and occupation of the Nobles, is war. The institution of the Druids, is said to have come originally from (a) Britain. From Britain it passed into Gaul: and still, those who wish to be perfect in this religion, travel into Britain for instruction. What the Druids committed to writing, is written in *Greek* letters.” (b)

The studies and religion of the Druids are in the same book, described to be as follows—“An exact observation and knowledge of the motions of the Heavenly Bodies—enquiries into the origin and nature of All Things—and the power of the Immortal Gods; with a belief that the ever-living soul passes from one body into another. In the same book, the Gauls esteem themselves to be descended from Father Dis.—So the Druids, who have the secret in their hands, instruct them. They reckon time by nights and not by days. The Germans differ widely from the Gauls. They know nothing of the Druids or of sacrifices.” These notices of Julius Cæsar are faithfully reported. And they will elucidate several points of discussion in the following sections. Our chief point, at present, is the first colonization of the island. I shall only observe on the whole extract, that in the first part—book the 4th—Cæsar is not so clear in his account as in the subsequent part—gathering his information only from merchants, previously to his landing, and not being able to procure intelligence of the Britons from any other description of people on the Continent, though after his landing, indeed, he speaks with more certainty as from his own knowledge. But in the 5th book, after his second descent, he talks no longer of obtaining intelligence from merchants: he speaks positively and clearly, as from his own knowledge and opinion, grounded upon a more intimate view of the people. And his distinction between the parts of Britain, which had been settled from the Continent, and the parts which were inhabited by those who did not come from the Continent, is strongly and decisively marked. And, in his account of the war-chariots of the Britons and their manner of fighting, utterly new and unknown to the Romans, and of their other customs as well as their religion, there are a clearness and a discrimination that speak a thorough acquaintance with his subject. With respect to the first settlers, Cæsar’s account directly implies, that they did not come from the Continent—for he speaks of those who did; and whom he well knew; and with whom, as knowing them, he negotiated in private to facilitate the success of his invasion. Though the Belgæ, then, and various continental tribes of the Celtic race had passed over and settled in the maritime parts, with whom he had some acquaintance; yet none of these tribes were the Aborigines of the island: nor could any of these continental invaders give him the least satisfactory information relative to the Aborigines. We should remark, also, that the continental settlers carried their original names with them into the island: and the tribes from whom they were descended, retained those names on the continent. The Belgæ of Gaul had still their name re-echoed by the Belgæ of Britain. But where on the continent of Europe shall we find the name of the Aboriginal Britons? Yet they had a name; and their name was *Danmonii*. When, in a subsequent age, some of the *Danmonii* passed over from Britain into Ireland, they carried thither their hereditary name, though it was still retained in Britain. Such would have been precisely the case with a colony from Gaul. And the *Danmonii*, if derived from thence, would have been recognized on the Continent, as bearing the name of their progenitors. Their traditional (c) ideas of their own origin, indeed, should render us, at least, cautious in deriving the Britons from Gaul; and still more cautious in deriving them from Gaul so late as about a thousand years before Cæsar. For if they had emigrated at so late a period from the Continent, they would probably have preserved some

(a) In a note to Bishop Gibson’s edition of Camden, it is observed: “that the Britons and Gauls having the same religion, does plainly argue an alliance, as Mr. Camden urges. But, if the discipline of the Druids, so considerable both for religion and government, were, as Cæsar observes, first found in Britain, and thence conveyed into Gaul, does it not seem to intimate, that Britain must have been peopled before Gaul, as having by longer experience arrived at a more complete scheme of religion and government? Besides, if our island had been peopled from Gaul, would it not look probable to say, they must bring along with them the religion and discipline of the place?” See Gibson’s Camden. Britan. p. 14.

(b) If *crassus* be not the true reading—a point which will hereafter be discussed.

(c) Noticed above.

account of their original, in Cæsar's time: they would have retained at least an indistinct idea of their real descent. The Belgæ leaving Gaul 650 years afterwards, preserved the history of their emigration, and corresponded with their continental fathers. This emigration was about 350 years before Cæsar. They preserved, therefore, their history and their connexion with their fathers, for 350 years. Let us allow the Aboriginal Britons the same space of time, for the same history and the same correspondence. If this be the case, they were in possession of their colonial history, and they were corresponding with their fathers on the Continent, 300 years before the arrival of the Belgæ. During the space of these 300 years, we may conceive that the clearness of their history was somewhat obscured, and that their correspondence with their fathers had ceased to be regularly maintained: but we cannot suppose, that, during this time, their colonial memoirs and their continental connexions were utterly annihilated. If, then, the traces of their alliance remained, however faint, at the arrival of the Belgæ, about 350 years before Cæsar, nothing is more probable than that those fading traces were refreshed by the Belgæ, who came from Gaul and must have known their connexions on the Continent. The Belgæ, it is true, were their enemies. But the language of the Belgæ, the same as their own, must have awakened every dormant idea of their former friends. For the last 350 years, therefore, before Cæsar, the native Britons would have been in no danger of losing the memorials of their origin. Even by a hostile communication with the Belgæ, they must have renewed the vestiges of their primitive alliance: and these vestiges, when once restored, could not have perished before the time of Cæsar. Their second tendency to decay, was surely not so rapid as their first. But history informs us, that the Aborigines actually kept up a correspondence with the Continent by means of the Druids of Britain and Gaul. It is impossible, then, that they could have been ignorant of their true origin, if derived from Gaul—much less, could they have maintained a tradition of their immediate descent from one of the leaders of the migration from Babel. It is ridiculous to suppose that in so short a space of time such an idea could have been introduced and have universally prevailed among the Aboriginal Britons, if merely a Gaulish colony.

If it be asked, at what period are we to fix the emigration from the east or from Armenia to the British isles? I answer, that, probably, it was not long after the dispersion from Babel—at the destruction of the great monarchy or empire of Nimrod. Polydore Virgil recites the various traditions and accounts of the first peopling of Britain, and inclines to the opinion, that it was originally colonized not long after the dispersion. Humphry Lluyd quotes Aristotle *de Mundo* addressed to Alexander the Great; where it is asserted, that Britain, which he calls Albion, was settled A.M. 2220, and was so named by the ancient inhabitants long before the Roman name was ever known in Britain. We find Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, writing thus 165 years after Christ—"cum, priscis temporibus pauci forent homines in Arabia et Chaldaea, post linguarum divisionem ausculti et multiplicati paulatim sunt. Tunc quidam abierunt versus orientem; quidam concessere ad partes majoris continentis, alii porro profecti sunt ad septentrionem, sedes quesituri; nec prius deserunt terram ubique occupare, quam etiam Britannos in Arcetis climatibus acceperint." Here it is to be observed, that Theophilus considers this island as already peopled, and inhabited by Britons, even before these emigrators, some time after the dispersion at the Tower of Babel, begun to colonize the different parts of the world. Nothing, in truth, is more credible, than that the south-west part of our Island was peopled by sea; whilst the western parts of Europe were absolutely uninhabited; since it was long before mankind could have migrated so far westward by land. In the nature of things, emigrations by land must go on much slower than by sea. In the mean time, the most ancient historians agree that the sea, now called the *Mediterranean*, was formerly an inland lake, as also the *Pontus Euxinus*; but that in process of time, by a great deluge, the latter forced its way into the former, and the former into the ocean by the straits of Hercules or Gibraltar—Before that time, therefore, there could be no navigation from the coasts of Asia to the western ocean; and the communication, if any, must have been in part, by a journey overland from Marseilles, or from Cadiz, and from thence by taking shipping on the coasts of Spain. To fix the æra, therefore, of the deluge I mention, would probably fix the date of the peopling of Britain and Ireland.

But, without entering into conjectures on a period so remote, it seems unquestionable that Britain, as well as Ireland, was peopled in very early times, from the eastern countries. The Danmonii, in short, are entitled, beyond dispute, to rank among the most ancient Nations in the world—as the Romans termed them *Aborigines*—that is,

among



*among the first race of mankind.* The Romans never employed this expression in any other sense.

This much for the first peopling of the island, or rather the south-west parts of it: For I consider the south of Devonshire as actually colonized, whilst the rest of the island was yet a desert, and even the opposite continent of Gaul and the greater part of Europe were uninhabited.

That there were other emigrations from very distant countries into Britain, before the invasion of Julius Cæsar, is extremely probable. The Indigenæ of the *Land of Promise*, the Canaanites, afterwards called the Phenicians, having been dispossessed by Joshua, about one thousand four hundred years before Christ, made vast emigrations into the islands of the Mediterranean sea. And, perhaps, there was no great interval of time before they reached the British isles.

The voyages of the Phenicians to Daumonium were not mercantile only. (*a*)

"It is so certain as to be universally allowed among the learned, (says (*b*) Wells) that the *Carthaginians* were a colony of the Tyrians or *Phenicians*, and so descendants of *Canaan*. It is also generally believed, and that not without grounds, that this colony came from the *Land of Canaan* at the time when *Joshua invaded it*." Meantime it is worthy of remark, that the Phenicians, wherever they wished to fix their trade, *planted colonies* and built cities. All along the coasts of the Mediterranean, they established themselves in this manner; and, when they passed the Straits, they pursued the same plan. When they became acquainted, therefore, with the south-west coasts of our island, it is very unlikely that they should drop their original uniform plan, and not attempt to gain a permanent footing in so distant a country; the trade with which was certainly more precarious in proportion to its remoteness, and with which they were interested in preserving a regular intercourse for ages.

A *Phenician* colony must easily have united with the aboriginal Islanders, as they derived their religion from the same source, and differed very little from the Armenian Britons, in their language, manners, or customs.

After the Phenicians, came the *Greeks*, to trade in the western parts for tin and lead, and other articles, and called the British isles the *Cassiterides*.

And that a Grecian colony actually settled here, may appear from the number of Greek words introduced into the language of *Danmonium*.

We now come to the common and popular notion—the peopling of some parts of our Island, by the nations from the neighbouring continent: For this we by no means intend to deny, though we maintain the probability of a prior colonization from the east.

Mr. Carte, who is totally mistaken in all his positions, and whose antiquities are replete with error, is even so negligent as to mistake the time, when the Belgæ made their incursion into this island. And he positively tells us, that "Devonshire and Cornwall were all, in a manner, wild forest, at the coming of the Belgæ, as they continued to be in a great degree, till within one hundred and fifty years after the conquest." This false assertion, manifestly against the truth of *all* history, (*c*) while it militates against common sense, is too ridiculous to merit one moment's attention. The Belgæ, we find from Richard, made their expedition into this island, from Gaul, three centuries and half before Christ. And, in the course of two hundred and fifty years, as Mr. Whitaker thinks, they extended their conquests in this island, over Kent and a small part of *Middlesex*, over *Sussex* and the greatest part of *Hampshire* and *Wiltshire*, over *Dorsetshire*, *Devonshire*, and a part of *Cornwall*.

Driven out by these invaders, Mr. Whitaker tells us, many of the Britons, (aboriginal Britons, as I conceive) passed over into Ireland.

When the Belgæ, says he, first landed upon the southern shore of Britain, about three hundred and fifty years before the christian æra, and took possession of Kent, *Sussex*, *Hampshire*, *Dorsetshire*, and *Devonshire*, the Britons, dislodged from their ancient settlements, transported themselves into the neighbouring isle of Ireland.

(*a*) Dr. Stukely intimates in his *Memoirs to Soc. Antiq.* (Dec. 3d, 1761) that the Britons, from their first plantation here, under the *Tyrian Hercules*, by the *Phenicians*, from the Red Sea and Arabia, had been secluded many ages from the rest of the world; and that THIS PLANTATION TOOK PLACE BEFORE GAUL WAS PEOPLED.

(*b*) See his *Geog. of the Old and New Test.* vol. I. p. 149.

(*c*) Hume, in his short notice of the Antiquities of the Island, is almost as mistaken as Carte.



The Belgæ, continues Mr. Whitaker, had been thus settled two hundred and fifty years in the island, when Divitiacus came over from Gaul, into it. He had acquired the sovereignty of the continental and island Belgæ. And, bringing over a large reinforcement of the former, he enabled the latter to extend their possessions into the interior parts of the country. And he subdued the rest of Middlesex and all Essex, all Surrey, the rest of Hampshire, and the adjoining parts of Berkshire, the rest of Wiltshire, the remainder of Cornwall, all Somersetshire, and the south-west of Gloucestershire.

Hence a second emigration of the Britons into Ireland. \*

But it by no means appears from Richard, Mr. Whitaker's principal authority, that the Belgæ had conquered so great a part of the island, before the arrival of Divitiacus. Richard simply informs us, *Has terras intrarunt Belgæ*. That they at that time reduced † Devonshire, or obliged so great a number of its inhabitants (the *aboriginal Danmonii*) to take refuge across the seas, and possess themselves of Ireland, is surely an assertion without proof. Not long after (says Richard) Divitiacus arrived and subdued a great part of this kingdom of the Britons.

*“ Non diu postea cum exercitu in hac regnum transit Rex Eduorum Divitiacus, magnamque ejus partem subegit.”*

But, according to Mr. Whitaker, a great part of the British kingdom was already subdued to his hands. Mr. Whitaker, however, assigns him his task with great precision, gives him several provinces to conquer, and represents a *second* party of aboriginal Emigrants flying before his arms into Ireland. Yet, from Richard's account, I should conceive that only one emigration had taken place, in consequence of the Belgic invasions.

A. M. M. M. D. C. L. *Circa hæc tempora in Hiberniam commigrarunt ejedæ a Belgis Britones, ibique sedes posuerunt, ex illo tempore Scoti appellati.*

That the Belgæ made such inroads into Devonshire, as to force great numbers of the *Danmonii*, or Aborigines of the West, from their ancient seats, and occasion their emigration into Ireland, is evident beyond a doubt: But so complete a reduction of Devonshire, by the Belgæ, even before Divitiacus, is, surely, not to be admitted as an historical fact. I can scarcely imagine, indeed, that the Belgæ, thus reinforced by Divitiacus, made an entire conquest of Devon and Cornwall. But, whatever was the success of the Belgæ, it is certain, that the Britons of the coasts very soon combined together to oppose the common enemy. Before the coming of the Romans, we find from Richard, that *gestum est Cassibolini cum civitatibus maritimis bellum*. Under Cassibelinus the Britons prosecuted the war against the Belgæ: And, if British Exeter were ever occupied by the Belgæ, it was recovered by Cassibelinus before the arrival of Cæsar.

In the mean time, the *Cimbri* and the *Carnabii* (from the neighbouring Continent also) had formed settlements in the west of the island.

The *Cimbri* (says Mr. Whitaker) occupied the south-west of Somerset, and the north-east of Cornwall, as far as the river Cambala.

But it is plain, from Richard, that the north of Devon, as well as part of Somerset and Cornwall, was inhabited by the *Cimbri*, from Bridgewater quite to Hartland Point; and that the *Cimbri* were a distinct people from the *Danmonii*, though they were afterwards considered as the same people. This author, speaking of the first peopling of Britain, says, that although various nations seated themselves in various parts of Britain, yet it was not well known who first peopled the island, and that it was uncertain, whether the *Cimbri* were the Welch, or of a more ancient origin.

The *Carnabii* spread over the remainder of the north of Cornwall, and over all the south-west, as far as Falmouth Haven.

Such, then, were the different establishments of the tribes from the Continent. In fixing these settlements Mr. Whitaker is doubtless right. But when he endeavours to reduce

(a) The Irish colony (says Mr. Whitaker) was afterwards augmented by the addition of other Britons, equally dislodged from their native regions by the Belgæ, and equally repairing to the wilds of Ireland. This second embarkation was made about two hundred and fifty years after the first; when the Britons fled from Divitiacus.

(b) Yet Mr. Whitaker himself says (see his Appendix to the History of Manchester, No. 1.) that the Belgæ could not have settled in the more western counties at first. Passing, assuredly, across the narrowest part of the sea, and confining themselves, as Cæsar informs us, to the southern shore; they must *gradually* have extended their dominions from Kent to the Land's End. And their first possessions would be Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire; and Dorsetshire, *Devonshire*, Somersetshire, and Cornwall their last.

the

the Danmonii, or original Britons, upon the same footing with the wandering tribes of Gaul; when he describes the Danmonii of Devonshire as one of the five Belgic colonies, we cannot but consider him as involuntarily steering against the current of historical truth. And this will, I trust, appear hereafter, whether the name of the Danmonii, their persons, or their character, be the subjects of investigation.

On the whole, it should seem, that whilst the common idea of a colony from Gaul, must be admitted as true, the less popular notion of prior colonizations from the east, may at least be speciously defended. He, who in addition to the extracts before us, would bring together the various passages in point, which occur in Herodotus, Strabo, Polybius, or Pliny, (not to notice obscurer authors,) would be induced, perhaps, to think, that if Devonshire and Cornwall were not the first inhabited of the island, yet that the Aboriginal Britons were Asiatic; and that, after several emigrations from the east, the Belgæ and other nations from the Continent possessed themselves (generally speaking) of the maritime parts of Britain, driving a great number of the Aborigines into Ireland, or into the heart of the island.

## SECTION II.

## VIEW of the DANMONIAN SETTLEMENTS, DIVISIONS of LANDS, and GOVERNMENT, in the BRITISH PERIOD.

- I. Geography of Danmonium from Ptolemy—from Richard—Settlements of the Aborigines or Danmonii on the south-side of the Jugum Ocrinum—of the Phenicians on the north-side of the Jugum Ocrinum—of the Greeks to the south-west—of the Cimbri to the north-east—of the Carnabii to the north-west—The whole of Devonshire and Cornwall reduced by the Danmonii.—II. Division of Danmonium into districts or clanships—a number of clanships forming a cantred—a number of cantreds, supposed to have been six in Danmonium, forming a kingdom—Landed Property—Tenures of Lands—Services of the Chiefs—of the Villains.—III. Danmonian Government—Seats of Judicature in the clanships, cantreds and kingdom of Danmonium—Probable Vestiges of Courts or Judgment-seats in each of the six cantreds—Presiding Officers in the Courts—Princes of Danmonium, as reported in the British chronicles.

IN the former section, I enumerated the different emigrators from the east, from Greece, and from the continent of Gaul, by whom Danmonium was, successively, peopled. To draw the line of their respective settlements in Danmonium, to mark the divisions of their landed property, and to ascertain their government, before the Roman arrival, must be the business of the present section. In order to determine these points with some degree of precision, I shall first endeavour to fix the geography of Danmonium; adverting to the descriptions of Ptolemy and of Richard, as far as they relate to the western part of the island. Ptolemy of Alexandria, who flourished in the former part of the second century, under the Emperors Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, is one of the most ancient geographers, whose works are now extant. It may be proper to premise, that there are two general errors in Ptolemy which affect the whole geography of the island. This writer has made all England decline from the true position as to the length of it, and entirely changed the position of Scotland, representing its length from east to west, instead of from south to north. And he hath placed the whole of South Britain too far north, by two or three degrees. I must observe, also, that Ptolemy computes the longitude from Alexandria in Ægypt, the place of his residence.

In the description of the western side of the isle which lies along the Irish and Vergivian seas, after the Estuary Ουεξαλα, we have

Ηερχλεος ακροι—ιδ—ιγ. Promontory of Hercules 14.00 53.00

Αντιοτεραιον ακροι το και βολεγειον—α—ιβ λ Promontory Antivestræum, sometimes called Bolerium 11.00 52.30.

Δαμονιον το και Οκρινον ακροι ιβ να λ. Promontory Danmonium, called also Ocrinum 12.00 51.30.

In the description of the next side, lying towards the south, and bounded by the British ocean, after the promontory Ocrinum, come

Κενιανος ποτ. εκβολαι ιδ να λδ. Mouth of the river Cenion 40.00 51.45

Ταμαρεν ποτ. εκβολαι ις γο νς ε. Mouth of the river Tamarus 15.40 52.10

Ισχυα



Ἰσκακκ πόλι. εκβολαι ιξ ιβ γ. Mouth of the river Ifaca 17.00 52.20

Αλανις πόλι. εκβολαι ιξ γο ιβ γο. Mouth of the river Alænus 17.40 52.40

The Danmonii are placed next to the Durotriges. Μεθ υς δυσημικωλιατοι Δουμνονιοι, εν οις πολεις—Next to the Durotriges, in the most western part, are the Danmonii, among whom are these towns—

Ουολιβα ιδ λδ ιβ γ. Voluba 14.45 52.20

Ουξελα ιε ιβ λδ. Uxela 15.00 52.45

Ταμαρη ιε ιβ δ. Tamare 15.00 52.15

Ισκα ιξ λ ιβ λδ. Ifca 17.30 52.45

In this geographical description, the Promontory of Hercules is, confessedly, Hartland-Point, in the west corner of Devonshire.

The Promontory *Antivestium*, or *Bolerium*, is the Land's-End—perhaps called *Ant-west-erium*, from the British words *An dinez Tir*, which signify the Land's-End; and *Bolerium* from *Bel e rhin*, the head of a Promontory. (a)

The Promontory *Ocrinum* is the Lizard-Point in Cornwall; probably called *Ocrinum*, from *Och rhin*, a high Promontory: And, the *Lizard* is, probably, of British derivation, from *Lif-ard*, a lofty projection. (b) Here ends Ptolemy's Description of the Western Coast of Britain.

In his description of the next side, lying towards the south, and bounded by the British ocean, Ptolemy mentions—the mouth of the river *Genion*, which is supposed to be Fal-mouth Haven, so called from the British word *Genou*, a mouth; of which there is still some vestige in the name of a neighbouring town, *Tregony*. (c)

The river Tamarus retains its ancient name, being called Tamar, from *Tamarav*, *gentle river*: And its mouth is Plymouth-Haven. (d)

The river Ifaca, or Ifca, is the Exe, which, passing Exeter, falls into the sea at Exmouth.

The river Alaenus is supposed to be the Axe, and its mouth Axmouth. It was, perhaps, called Alaenus, from *Alaun iu*, the full river. (e)

The towns of the Danmonii were *Voluba*, according to (f) Camden and (g) Baxter, Grampound, but in (b) Horsley's opinion, Loftwithiel—

*Uxela*, supposed by Mr. (i) Camden to be Loftwithiel—by Mr. (k) Baxter, Saltafh—by (l) Horsley, Exeter.

*Tamare* was certainly a town upon the Tamar. (m) Horsley thinks it was Saltafh—but (n) Camden and (o) Baxter suppose it to be *Tamarton*, retaining its ancient name.

*Ifca*, or *Ifca Danmoniorum*, was Exeter, the capital of the Danmonii.

So much for the geography of Ptolemy, as far as it relates to Danmonium. To Antoninus, the imperial Notitia, the Anonymous chorography, and the Itinerary of Richard, I shall have recourse hereafter.

In the mean time, however, Richard's descriptions must not be neglected in fixing the Geography of the island.

Mr. Whitaker was the first person who duly appreciated the value of Richard's work. (p) Richard's authorities, says Mr. Whitaker, were Ptolemy and his contemporary writers, the tradition of the Druids, ancient monuments, documents and histories. And in Richard is a Map of Britain, (q) drawn up by himself, "*secundum fidem monumentorum perveterum*." This Mr. Bertram thinks far superior to all the rest of Richard's commentary, for the curiousness and antiquity of it. And, as the oldest map of the island that is now extant, and the only old one of Roman Britain, Mr. Whitaker admits it to be a great curiosity. Maps of the island, however, were not uncommon in Richard's time. He himself speaks of some, as *recentiore ævo descriptas*, and generally known. (r) And this is but of little value: It is frequently inaccurate: It frequently contradicts its own itinerary.

The following is Richard's description of the West of Britain. (s)

"*Infra Heduum terras siti erunt Durotriges, qui et Morini alias vocantur. Metro-polin habebant Durinum et promontorium Vindeliam.*

(a) Baxter, p. 19, 36. (b) Baxter, p. 186. (c) Baxter, p. 77. Camd. Brit. p. 16. (d) Baxter, p. 222. (e) Baxter, p. 10. (f) p. 17. (g) p. 254. (h) p. 378. (i) p. 18. (k) p. 257. (l) p. 378. (m) p. 376. (n) p. 25. (o) p. 221. (p) See History of Manchester, vol. 1. p. 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90. Octavo edition. (q) In the 14th century. (r) p. 3. (s) p. 19, 20.

In horum finibus sensim coarctatur Britannia, et immensum efformare videtur brachium, quod irruptionem minitantem commode repellit oceanum.

In hoc brachio, quæ intermissione Uxellæ amnis, Heduarum regioni protenditur, sita erat regio Cimbrorum. Utrunque vero moderum Walliæ nomen dederint, an vero antiquior sit Cimbrorum origo—non aque constat. Urbes illis præcipuæ Termolus et Artavia. Visuntur hæc, antiquis sic dictæ, Herculis columnæ, et non procul hinc insula Herculeæ. Sed a fluminis Uxellæ finibus continuum procurrit montium jugum, cui nomen Ocrinum, extremumque ejus ad promontorium ejusdem nominis extenditur.

Ultra Cimbro extremum insulæ angulum incolebant Carnabii; unde, forsitan, quod hodieque retinet nomen, obtinuit Carnubia. Urbes habebant Musidum et Halangium. Cum vero bas olim desertas propemodum et incultas Britannicæ partes Romani numquam salutaverint, minoris omnino momenti urbes eorum fuisse videntur, et Historicis propterea neglectæ, Geographicis tamen memorantur promuntoria Bolerium et Antivestæum.

Memoratis modo populis in litore oceani austrum versus affines ad Belgas-Allobroges, sedem habebant Danmonii, GENS OMNIUM VALIDISSIMA; quæ ratio movisse videtur Ptolemæum, ut totum hunc terræ tractum qui in mare brachii instar prætenditur, illis adscripserit. Urbes habebant Uxellam, Tamaram, Volubam, Ceniam, omniumque matrem Iscam, fluvio cognomini imminuentem. Fluvii apud ipsos præcipui memorati modo Isca, Durius, Tamarus atque Cenius. Ora eorum maritima promuntoria exhibet tria, de quibus mox paulo dicemus. Hanc regionem, utpote METALLIS ABUNDANTEM Phœnicibus Græcis et Gallis mercatoribus probe notam fuisse constat. Hi enim ob magnam, quam terra ferebat, stanni copiam eo sua frequenter extendebant negotia; cujus rei præcipua sunt documenta supra nominata tria promuntoria—Helenis scilicet, Ocrinum et Κεῖς μέλιτων, ut et nomina civitatum, GRÆCAM PHENICIAM—QUE ORIGINEM redolentia. (a)

Ultra brachium in oceano sitæ sunt insulæ Sygdiles, quæ etiam Oestrominides et Cassite-rides vocabantur, dictæ. (b)

Such are our best documents relating to the Geography of Danmonium. And I should dispose of our successive colonists in the following manner.

The Aboriginal colony from the east, occupied perhaps, at first, little more than the south coasts of Devonshire. And they afterwards extended their settlements along the

(a) *Herculis prom.* Hartland Point.

*Antivestæum prom.* Land's End.

*Ocrinum prom.* Lizard Point.

*Cenion. fluv. ostia.* Valle River.

*Tamari fluv. ostia.* Tamar River.

*Iscae fluv. ostia.* Exe River. Rich. not. p. 175.

(b) With respect to the west of the island, Mr. Whitaker says: "The *Durotriges* or *Morini*, lived in Dorsetshire, and had *Durinum*, *Durnovaria* or Dorchester for their capital. And the *Hædri* filled all Somersetshire to the *Æstuary Uxella*, Bridgewater Bay, or the river of Ivel, on the south; the south-west of Gloucestershire, to the hills of Wotton-Under-Edge, or its vicinity; and the north-west of Wiltshire, to the Avon and Cricklade. (1) These, however, appear from Ptolemy, to have been subdued by the Belgæ; their country being expressly ascribed by him to that people. (2) The Cimbri extended over the rest of Somersetshire, except a small part to the east of the Thone, (3) and along the north of Cornwall, as far as the river Cambala, the Camel, or Padstow Harbour. (4) The Carnabii spread over the remainder of the north of Cornwall, and over all the south-west, as far as Falmouth Haven. (5) And the Danmonii possessed, originally, the rest of Somersetshire, (6) the rest of Cornwall, and all Devonshire. But, before the coming of the Romans, the Danmonii had subdued both the Carnabii and Cimbri, and usurped their dominions. (7)"

(1) Richard, p. 20 and 24.

(2) *Ischalis* & *Aquæ Calidæ*. So also Ptolemy places the *Durotriges*, not south-west as he is generally translated, but to the south and west of the Belgæ, ἀπο δυσμῶν καὶ μεσημβρίας; the *Durotriges* being to the south of the Somersetshire Belgæ, and to the west of the Hampshire.

(3) *Uxella urbs* is given to the Danmonii by Richard, and yet is given to the *Hædri* by the Map, in express contradiction to the account.

(4) Richard's Map.

(5) *Cenia Urbs* & *Cenius Fluvius*, given to the Danmonii by Richard.

(6) *Uxella Urbs*. Richard.

(7) Ptolemy and Richard, p. 20. *Danmonium Promontorium*. And the Danmonii are δυνάμειοι, or the most westerly tribe, in the former.

line of the Totoneſian Shore, and occupied the country both to the ſouth-eaſt and ſouth-  
weſt, whiſt they had the *Jugum Ocrinum*, or that mountainous tract which runs through  
Devonſhire and Cornwall, for their northern boundary.

That theſe Aboriginal ſettlers were the *Danmonii*, I have little doubt. There is no  
evidence to the contrary. And there are ſeveral conſiderations, which, as they occur in  
their proper places, will gradually confirm our minds on this ſubject. Mr. Whitaker, how-  
ever, has decided it otherwiſe: and he has degraded the *Danmonii* into a tribe of the  
Belgæ. But it is very plain from Richard, that the *Danmonii* were a diſtinct people from  
the Belgæ. Richard mentions the *Danmonii* as the moſt reſpectable of all the Britiſh  
nations. He calls them, in one place, *gens omnium validiſſima*: and, deſcribing the diſ-  
ferent ſettlements on the iſland, he mentions the kingdom of the *Danmonii* as a *moſt*  
*powerful ſtate*.

*Fiat vero ab extrema Primæ provinciæ ora initium cujus littora Galliæ obijciuntur. Tres  
vero laudatiſſimos validiſſimofque ſtatus Cantianum nempe, Belgium, et Danmonium com-  
plectitur hæc Provincia. (a)*

And he notices thirty battles fought with the combined forces of the *Danmonii* and  
the Belgæ. (b) The *Danmonii* are not only introduced, in Richard's commentary, as a  
ſeparate nation, but as a nation of much greater conſequence than the Belgæ of the  
neighbouring continent.

Not many ages, probably, elapſed, from the eſtabliſhment of the *Danmonii*, in the  
ſouth of Devon, before the Phenicians, not content with trading voyages, fixed a colony  
on the north ſide of the *Jugum Ocrinum*, a country as yet uninhabited, and to which they  
might have been directed by the ſouthern coloniſts: And their firſt town, perhaps, near  
Hartland or Hertland Point, was the *Town of Hercules*, their God of navigation; whiſt  
the Promontory itſelf was called *Herculis Promontorium*, and Lundy, at no great diſtance,  
*Heraclea* or the *Iſland of Hercules*.

In the mean time, the Greeks, perhaps, were planting a colony at the Ramhead, a  
promontory on the ſouthern coaſt of *Danmonium*, beyond which the firſt oriental tribes  
had not, as yet, extended their habitations. This Promontory they called *κρη μελωπον*:  
And from this point they might have ſtretched their ſettlements as far weſt as they  
pleaſed, over a wild unpeopled country.

But, in proceſs of time, theſe ſettlements (to the ſouth at leaſt of the *Jugum Ocrinum*)  
were thrown into great diſorder by the Belgæ from Gaul, who finally ſeated themſelves  
as a people beyond the eaſtern limits, and, who, at the arrival of the Romans, were on  
a friendly footing with the *Danmonii*, or were induced at leaſt to unite their forces  
with the Aboriginal Britons, in oppoſition to a common enemy.

Nor were the Phenician colonies to the north of the *Jugum Ocrinum*, undiſturbed: The  
Cimbri invaded *Danmonium* on the north-eaſt, and eſtabliſhed themſelves there: And  
the Carnabii ſettled on the north-weſt.

After all theſe agitations, it appears, that the whole of Devon and Cornwall, both the  
ſouth and north ſide of the *Jugum Ocrinum*, were reduced under the ſubjection of the *Dan-*  
*monii*, before the arrival of the Romans.

After thus determining the *Danmonian* ſettlements, it is natural to enquire into the  
different ranks of the ſettlers, and to mark the diſtribution of property according to  
theſe ranks.

The firſt buſineſs of the leader of a colony, muſt have been to aſſign eſtates to his  
chiefs: And the aſſignment (c) of eſtates to each of the chiefs, would occaſion the coun-  
try to be divided into *leſſer* or *greater diſtricts*; and *Devonſhire* to be parcelled into diſ-  
tricts coeally with the firſt plantation of it.

Theſe *leſſer diſtricts* were ſimilar to our preſent *townſhips*, and the aſtual origin of them.  
And the manſion of the chief and his tenants, and the neighbouring cotes and adjacent  
lands, would form *one diviſion* or *townſhip*. The manſion of another chief (with its  
appendages) formed a *ſecond* townſhip. And theſe little diviſions muſt have commenced  
with the firſt colony.

And, perhaps, the adjoining downs and extenſive woods, were aſſigned in common,  
to a determinate number of *townſhips*.

(a) Richard, p. 17.

(b) p. 21.

(c) It is evident that the *Britons* had fixed property; ſince the Druids, we are told, decided all  
diſputes about the limits of lands.



For the more regular administration of justice, a number of these townships were soon combined into one *cantred*. Such divisions we actually find in ancient Ireland, whither the Danmonii had emigrated; and in Wales also, where, among the earliest institutes of that country, they are referred to the primitive Britons. (a) Formed some time before the towns were constructed, the cantreds would borrow their appellation from the most remarkable objects of nature within them.

(b) The south of Danmonium, including all that tract of land, that lies south of the *Jugum Ocrinum*, from the borders of Dorset to the Land's-End or the *Ocrinum Promontorium*, was, probably, divided into four cantreds; the *first* cantred extending from Dorset to the river Ica—the *second*, from Ica to the river Durus—the *third*, from Durus to the river Tamara—the *fourth*, from Tamara to the *Ocrinum Promontorium*.

The north of Danmonium, including all that tract of land which lies north of the *Jugum Ocrinum*, from the Uxella to the east, to the *Antivesteum Promontorium* to the west, naturally divides itself into two cantreds—the north-east cantred, from Uxella to Cambala, inhabited by the Cimbri; and the western cantred from Cambala to the *Antivesteum Promontorium*, inhabited by the Carnabii.

Danmonium, then, was divided into six cantreds. But what communication originally subsisted between the two cantreds north of the *Jugum Ocrinum*, and the four cantreds south of this mountainous chain, or in what manner or in what period the cantreds, on either side of the hills, were so formed as to coalesce into one kingdom, it may be difficult to conjecture. That they were all united under one kingdom, before the arrival of the Romans, is an undoubted fact. Mr. Whitaker informs us, that when the Romans invaded the island, the Danmonii had conquered the Cimbri and Carnabii, and usurped their dominions. Certain it is, that, at this crisis, the names of Cimbri and Carnabii were sunk in the name of Danmonii, and that all Devonshire and Cornwall, in fact, was denominated Danmonium.

As a certain number of *clanships*, therefore, were united to form a *cantred*; so several *cantreds* (six in Danmonium) were united to form a kingdom. Perhaps, the principal clan-ship in the cantred of Ica, was situated on the banks of the Exe; and the mansion of the (c) *Chief*, was that fastness or fortress in the woods, which gave rise to the city of Exeter. In the cantred of Durus, Totnes, possibly, had its origin—in that of Tamara, Tamerton or Plymouth—in that of Cenius, Tregony. And, whilst, among the Cimbri, we may observe the clan-ship of Hertou or the town of Hercules, we may trace, perhaps, Redruth, or the town of the Druids, in the country of the Carnabii. Thus was property distributed in Danmonium. And it was, conditionally, distributed by the Sovereign amongst his subjects.

After the Sovereign, ranked the Chiefs, holding their lands immediately from the crown: And, as the immediate tenants of the crown, they were obliged, by their tenures, to certain services to it. They were obliged to wait on the King at dinner, for instance; or to follow him to the war. They were bound to construct or repair the royal castles. They were assessed with rent either in money or kind. Under the reserve of these services and payments, the chiefs had a full property in their lands; and could transmit them to their heirs.

Inferior to the chiefs, the great body of the people were divided into two classes—the *free*, and the *complete villains*. The former might relinquish their lands, or remain upon them, at their own discretion: The latter were the property of their lord, and saleable as a part of the estate. They were both subject, like the chiefs, to attendance in war, and to payments, in money or returns in kind.

The tenures of lands were anciently the same in Wales. The discovery of the same holdings even so early as the tenth century and in the laws of Howel Dha—holdings, not formed by that legislator of Wales, but referred by Howel himself to prior institutes, and ascribed to the earliest Britons—very strikingly proves their great antiquity. And the general resemblance of the tenures among the natives of Wales, the Aborigines of Ireland and the Highlanders of Scotland, as well as the original tribes of the Britons, demonstrates the whole system of polity to have been derived from their common and

(a) The *cantred*, though including a larger district, gave rise to the *hundred*.

(b) See Richard's Map.

(c) This *Chief*, probably, was the Danmonian Sovereign—his *fastress*, a castle of great strength—and his *town*, very soon, a large city.

immediate parents—the Emigrators from Asia. And it demonstrates this whole system, unknown to the neighbouring continental tribes, to have been introduced into the island by the primitive colonists of Danmonium.

Such (says Mr. Whitaker) was the curious and original frame of the British tenures—tenures which seem to have been derived from a very ancient origin, and to have existed coeval with the first plantations of the island. And they were, plainly, I think, the joint result of a *colonizing* and a *military spirit*.

If we look to the eastern nations for such tenures, we shall find, in Genesis, a picture, of tribes or clans, and chiefs or petty princes: And we shall discover the same holdings at the present day, on the plains of Arabia. From the difference of a continental or island-situation, as well as the climate and other circumstances, the nature of property was somewhat different in Arabia and Danmonium. The Patriarchs, in elder days, and the Arabian Princes, at the present hour, are described as traversing extensive tracts of country, and as removing with their dependents and their cattle, from one spot where the pasturage was exhausted, to another which had been hitherto unoccupied: And the Danmonii are commonly represented as a wandering people, and as feeding their flocks at one time in Devonshire and at another in Hampshire. But this, from the nature of the island, and the populousness of it, was impracticable. Their origin, however, is sufficiently pointed out by their disposition to wander, which they discovered as far as their situation would permit them. Within the circle of his territories, the British chief was, undoubtedly, accustomed to shift the scene; sometimes attending his flocks on the cultivated hills—sometimes in the fertile vallies, and sometimes driving them to the downs, at a considerable distance. Even in the time of Cæsar, the Aborigines who had fled into the centre of the island, were discriminated by this roving genius from the tribes of Gaul: To Cæsar's own observation this formed a striking part of their character: Nor could the airiness of an Asiatic temper, so opposite to the European mind, that loves its accustomed habitation, be more clearly manifested than by their breaking up their establishments, as they repeatedly did, at the appearance of every invader. Though, *gens omnium validissima*, and well able to repel an enemy, yet so slight was their attachment to their native soil, that they abandoned it on the first attack, and either rushed from the sea-coasts into the central woods of Britain, and there began to build fresh fortresses and fix new clans, or rapidly embarked for other islands, and formed colonies on the Irish coast, or where-ever fortune might direct their ships. In the mean time, they resembled the Arabs, also, as nearly as their situation would allow, in the distinctions of rank or station.

But let us dismiss, for the present, the idea of these resemblances; and pass to a consideration of the British government.

The institution of *townships* and of *cantreds* was particularly subservient to the administration of civil justice. Every *township* and *cantred* had a distinct court of justice. The controversies which could not be decided in the court of the *township*, was carried to the court of the *cantred*: and the controversies not determined in the *cantred*, was carried to a court superior to all. The government of a township was that of a large family; where we might observe a species of patriarchal policy, originating from natural relationship and necessary subordination. And from a combination of distinct families, clanships, or townships, would result the government of a cantred.

In the same manner from a combination of cantreds would result the government of a kingdom. The regal government, however, of Danmonium, was not simply monarchical: The Druids, undoubtedly, participated with the British sovereign, both in the civil and military government. The Druids were the principal directors of the state. They had the same influence in war as in peace; whilst, attending the military expeditions, they animated the troops to victory by their displays of future glory, or interposed between armies ready to engage, and prevented the bloody conflict by the dignity of their persons, and sublimity of their doctrines, and by the terrors of enchantment and prophecy.

The Kings had no power even to punish their soldiers. “To inflict punishment (says Tacitus) belongs to the Druids: And this they affect to do, in obedience to their Deities, who are more peculiarly present, as they tell us, with their armies in war.” The British sovereigns had little power, either in framing or executing the laws. The laws among the ancient Britons were not considered as the decrees of their princes; but as the commands of their gods. And the Druids were supposed to be the only persons

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to whom the gods communicated a knowledge of their will. It was consequently the part of the Druids, to enact the laws as well as to explain them to the people. This venerable order, then, decided by their own laws, all public and private controversies, and pronounced judgment in criminal cases. He who refused to submit to their decision, was excluded from their sacrifices, and shunned as a polluted person.

With respect to the seats of judicature in the clanships, cantreds, or kingdom of Danmonium, it is very remarkable that we have many corresponding accounts proving the British courts to have been generally held in the open air and on high places. The British courts of judicature were sometimes called *Gorseddau*: And these Gorseddau were convened in the open air, on the summit or slope of a hill, near a pillar or pillars of stone, or within some appointed circle of stones, or some appropriated amphitheatre of stones and turf. In the regions of Caledonia and Ireland, they were held for ages after this period, on the side of a hill; and the judges were seated on green banks of earth. And there is an ancient law in Wales, that respects this usage. The judge is there directed, with a view to his personal accommodation, to sit with his back to the sun or wind. It is not improbable, that many of these situations, which were fixed on for enacting or administering the laws, or for other solemn occasions of the legislature, had been previously consecrated to religion. Where could legal assemblies be held more properly than in places consecrated to religion, (a) already revered equally by the higher and inferior orders, and therefore likely to influence the governors as well as the governed? When any place had been distinguished by the rites of worship, and was considered with a kind of sacred dread, as the habitation of the Deity, the laws enacted or enforced on the spot, would be thought to partake of its sacredness. The monument of Gilgal was first dignified by religious rites: And it afterwards became the seat of justice and national councils. (b) There are numberless spots in Danmonium, still marked by stone pillars or circles, or amphitheatres, which, in those early days, were, probably, set apart for the purposes of government. The single stone pillar often occurs in sacred writ. Samuel made Bethel and Gilgal the annual seats of judgement. (c) At Gilgal, Saul was confirmed king, and the allegiance of his people renewed with sacrifices and great festal joy. (d) At Mizpah, Jephtha was solemnly invested with the government of Gilead. (e) And the general council against Benjamin seems to have been held at this place. (f) At the stone of Shechem, erected by Joshua, Abimelech was made king—(g) Adonijah by the stone of Zohelath. (h) Jehoshaphat (i) was crowned king standing by a pillar. And Josiah (k) stood by a pillar, when he was making a solemn covenant with God. From these instances, it should seem, that pillars of stone were set up to distinguish places of extraordinary convention: But it is impossible to speak with precision on this point. Dr. Borlase is, perhaps, too fanciful in discriminating his courts of council and of judicature. His “stones to stand by,” and “stones to stand upon,” and “his stones to sit on,” are erected, probably, on a very sandy foundation. (l) To attribute particular pillars, or stone circles, to particular uses, must be a matter of the most hazardous conjecture. At the same time I allow, that the custom of “sitting on stones in council,” was very ancient among the eastern nations. And in one of the sculptures on the shield of Achilles, the elders are convened in council, sitting on stone seats, within the sacred circle:

Οἱ δὲ γερῶνες

(m) Εἰσὶν ἐπὶ ζυγίστοι λιθοῖς ἱερῇ ἐνὶ Κυκλῶ.

Borlase proceeds to observe, “that circular monuments had still other uses, besides those of religion and law.” Where these stone-benches are semicircular, and distinguished by seats and benches of like materials, there is no doubt but they were designed to ex-

(a) See Borlase, p. 191, 192, 193. (b) 1 Sam. ii. 14. XV. 31, 33. (c) 1 Sam. VII. 16. (d) 1 Sam. XI. 14. (e) Judges, XI. 11. (f) Judges, XX. 1. 3. (g) Joshua, XXIV. 26. (h) 1 Kings, i. 5. (i) 2 Kings, XI. 14. (k) 2 Kings, XXIII. 3.

(l) The name of Dr. Borlase hath, frequently, occurred: And I have, sometimes, been under the necessity of differing from this pleasing antiquarian, though in matters of mere speculation. On the whole, I am greatly indebted to his Antiquities, for assistance in my present research: They are replete with original investigation. If I have, any where, dropped a word that may appear disrespectful to Dr. Borlase, it should be referred to the particular point in discussion. I revere his memory! well assured, that he may justly be ranked among those few, whose learning was unaffected, whose manners were ingenuous, and whose religion was sincere.

(m) Homer's Iliad, p. 18, v. 504.



hibit plays. There is a theatre of this kind in Anglesea, resembling a horse-shoe, including an area of twenty paces diameter, with its opening to the west, called *Bryn-gwyn*, or *Supreme Court*. It lies in a place called *Trer-Dreow*, or *Druid's Town*; whence it may be reasonably conjectured that this kind of structure was used by the Druids. It is somewhat singular that Borlase should have almost appropriated this theatre to plays and sports; when the name itself points out a place of judicature. He chose to call it a theatre; and he was afterwards misled by the sound. But the people usually assembled (says he) to hear plays acted, and to see the sports and games, in amphitheatres of stone, not broken as the cirques of stone-erect. The Doctor, then, notices an amphitheatre of the fort, "the most remarkable monument of the kind which he had yet seen"—the amphitheatre of St. Just, in Cornwall, which, if not appropriated to judicial matters, was chiefly designed, perhaps, for this purpose. And so, likewise, was the amphitheatre of Piran; both which shall be described in their proper places. We have great reason, therefore, to conclude, that many of the more striking monuments in Danmonium, which we have at this day an opportunity of observing, were, generally speaking, erected as judicial seats; though we have not sufficient data to determine what kinds of pillars, circles, or amphitheatres, were intended for ordinary meetings, or more solemn assemblies—or for the courts of a clan, of a cantred, or of a kingdom. In each of the *six cantreds* which I have enumerated, we may possibly find such vestiges of the British government.

In the cantred of Iſca there are several stone pillars and circles of stone, which are evidently druidical. Perhaps, in this cantred, there are few druidical stones more remarkable than two rocks in the parish of Widworthy, or that point more clearly to the judicial assemblies of the Britons. One of these stones is a large flint rock, situated at the northern extremity of the parish of Widworthy. It is known by the name of the Grey-stone. It is five feet in height, and four in width and depth. And, at the southern extremity of the parish, is another stone of nearly the same dimensions. In the cantred of Durius, there seem to be a much greater number of druidical remains, than in the eastern part of Danmonium. On Hameldown in particular, in the parish of Manaton, is a large circle of stone, which is called Grimspound. This circular line of stone incloses an area of near three acres. And, on the area, are many small circles, consisting of single stones erect. That Grimspound was the seat of judicature for the cantred of Durius, is no improbable supposition. For the cantred of Tamara, we may fix, I think, the seat of judicature at Crockern-torr, on Dartmoor: here, indeed, it seems already fixed at our hands. And I have scarce doubt but the stannary parliaments at this place were a continuation even to our own times of the old British courts, before the times of Julius Cæsar. Those stannary parliaments were similar in every point of resemblance to the old British courts. Crockern-torr, from its situation in the middle of Dartmoor Forest, is undoubtedly a very strange place for holding a meeting of any kind. Exposed as it is to all the severities of the weather, and distant as it always hath been within our times, or within the memory of man, from every human habitation, we might well be surprised that it should have been chosen, for the spot on which our laws were to be framed; unless some peculiar sanctity had been attached to it in consequence of its appropriation to legal or judicial purposes, from the earliest antiquity. Besides, there is no other instance that I recollect, within our own times, of such a court, in so exposed and so remote a place. (a) On this Torr, not long since, was the warden's or president's chair, seats for the jurors, a high corner stone for the cryer of the court, and a table, all rudely hewn out of the rough moorstone of the Torr, together with a cavern, which for the convenience of our modern courts, was used in these latter ages as a repository for wine. Notwithstanding this provision, indeed, Crockern-torr was too wild and dreary a place, for our legislators of the last generations; who, after opening their commission, and swearing the jurors on this spot, merely to keep up the old formalities, usually adjourned the court to one of the stannary towns. From the nature of this spot, open, wild, and remote, from the rocks that were the benches, and from the modes of proceeding, all so like the ancient courts, and so unlike the modern; I judge Crockern-torr to have been the court of a cantred, or its place of convention, for the purposes of the legislature. And this cantred, according to my division of Danmonium, must have been Tamara. For the Cantred of Cenius, the British courts might possibly have been held, near

(a) Crockern-torre was just such a seat of judicature as the Psalmist alludes to—"Let their judges be overthrown in stony places." Psalm 141.

that astonishing stone monument which Borlase describes in the parish of Constantine. (a) From its vast magnitude and position, and from the scenery around it, I should conceive it to be well calculated to impress awe upon the multitude: and its extensive shadow might have diffused a more solemn air over chiefs assembled in council, or druids dispensing justice. In the cantred of the Cimbri, we may fix the judgment seat, amidst that wild recess, *the Valley of Stones*; where those learned antiquarians, Lyttelton and Milles, had imagined a variety of druidical monuments. (b) "I was pleased, (says Lyttelton in a letter to Milles) with the rude romantic scenes between Comb-martin and Linton, and particularly with what you apprehend to be a druid *gorfeddau*." This *gorfeddau* lies opposite to a karn of rocks, which is called the *Cheefe-wring*. In the cantred of the Carnabii, Karnbre-hill, will, doubtless, exhibit a *gorfeddau*: for, on this hill, we find almost every species of druid monuments, rocks, basons, circles, stones-erect, remains of cromlechs, karns, a grove of oaks, a cave, and a religious enclosure. On Karnbre-hill, Borlase has described a rock, which he supposed to be "one of the *gorfeddau*, or places of elevation, whence the Druids pronounced their decrees. In some places, indeed, these *gorfeddau* were made of earth: but it was plainly unnecessary to raise hillocks of earth, where so many stately rocks might contribute full as well to give proper dignity to the seat of judgment." (c) "The town about half-a-mile across the brook which runs at the bottom of Karnbre-hill, was anciently called *Red-dreuw*, or more properly *Ryddreuw*, the *Druid's-Ford*, or *Crossing of the Brook*"—says Borlase: and the Doctor refers for his authority, to a grant of the fairs there, to the Bassets of Tehidy, in the time of Henry VII. (d) In the mean time, Pryce asserts, (e) that "*Redruth—Dredruith*—signifies the *Druid's Town*." And of this he is assured, "from its vicinity to *Karn-brea*, that celebrated station of Druidical superstition; where are to be seen a multifarious collection of monumental druidism. *Redruth—Ryd-dryth*, is, also, the *Red Ford*. But that cannot be the name of the town, as there are deeds in the possession of Sir Francis Bassett, Bart. where it is denominated *Dredruith*. This name is so very ancient, as to be given to the situation of the town, before this kingdom was divided into parishes; as old writings express thus: *In the parish of Uny juxta Dredruith*. In fine, though the parish is now, and has been immemorially called *Redruth*, its real dedicatory name is *St. Uny*: and, therefore, if I mistake not, the town claims an evident antiquity, prior to any other in the county." At all events, there is no doubt but *Redruth*, in the vicinity of Karnbre, was one of the chief towns of the Druids of Danmonium. And at *Plan-an-guare*, in *Redruth*, there were very lately the remains of an amphitheatre. (f) But the amphitheatres of St. Just and St. Piran, bear the most evident marks of the judicial court, in this cantred of the Carnabii. The amphitheatre of St. Just (in the hundred of Penwith) situated near the church, is somewhat disfigured by the injudicious repairs of late years; but, by the remains, it seems to have been a work of more than usual labour and correctness. It was an exact circle of one hundred and twenty-six feet diameter. The perpendicular height of the bank, from the area within, is now seven feet: But the height from the bottom of the ditch without, at present ten feet, was formerly more. The seats consist of six steps, fourteen inches wide, and one foot high, with one on the top of all, where the rampart is about seven feet wide. There is a larger circular work, of higher mound, fossed on the outside, and very regular in the amphitheatre, in the parish of Piran-sand. The area of the amphitheatre, perfectly level, is about one hundred and thirty feet diameter. The benches, seven in number, of turf, rise eight feet from the (g) area. That plays were acted in these amphitheatres, I have not a doubt. But I concur with Mr. Whitaker in thinking, that these circles were originally designed for British courts of judicature. As we find that the Druids bore a conspicuous part in the legislature, perhaps we may place a Druid in each cantred, as the supreme judge; whilst the chiefs of the clanships

(a) See Borlase's Antiquities, page 166.

(b) I have a few scraps in the hand-writing both of Lyttelton and Milles, relating to the Valley of Stones; but nothing satisfactory can be collected from them.

(c) Borlase's Antiquities, p. 114.

(d) Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 116.

(e) Pryce's Vocabulary.

(f) See Pryce's Vocabulary.

(g) For a more particular description of this curious work, I refer my readers to Borlase's Natural History, p. 298.



exercised a subordinate jurisdiction and presided in their inferior courts. But since there was an appeal from these inferior courts to the druidical, so, probably, there was an appeal from the cantreds to one court in Damnonium superior to all : And this must have been the regal or archdruidical court. "As there was an *Archdruid* in Gaul (says Borlase) to preside in all cases of difficulty, importance, and solemnity ; so, doubtless, in Britain—whence the Gauls had their plan—there was lodged the same or the like authority, in one, or more superior Druids." But I am inclined to think that there was one supreme Druid in every kingdom—since in most instances, the different kingdoms or states of Britain, were independent on each other ; and, since the Druids had the principal management in every state, both as legislators and judges. According to Cæsar, and other ancient authors, there was an Archdruid—to whom appeals were made from the tribunals of the inferior judges, and who always held an annual court at a fixed time, in some central situation. The chief residence of the Archdruid of Gaul, was at *Dreux*, in the *Pais Chartrain*, in the very centre of Gaul. Here, on a consecrated spot, he held his court. Of the British Archdruid's residence, Mr. Rowland thinks he has discovered some vestiges in the isle of Anglesea. But if we confine ourselves within the limits of Devonshire and Cornwall, and fix an archdruidical seat in the west, I should imagine that Drewsteington would be the most eligible spot. The very name of *Drewsteington* instantly determines its original appropriation to the Druids. And that this (a) "*town of the Druids upon the river Teign*," was the favourite resort of the Druids, is evident from a great variety of druidical remains which the most incurious spectator must necessarily observe, in the neighbourhood of the town, and which will hereafter be described. The only remaining Cromlech in Devonshire, marks this spot as more peculiarly the seat of the Druids : And the Archdruid, perhaps, could not have chosen a more convenient place for his annual assembly. (b)

Such, then, are my conjectures on the subject of our Damnonian government. Who our governors were, it would be vain to enquire. It would be fruitless to search for the names of the subordinate Chieftains, or of the cantred Druids ; when the chronicled names of our Kings are, I conceive, for the most part, fabricated. Who our Kings were, the British chronicles pretend to tell us : yet if we look into remote antiquity, with a view of discovering the succession of our western Princes, we shall find, perhaps, not a single record that merits our notice, in the light of an historical document.

That Brute, commencing his reign over the Britons in the year of the world two thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine, assigned these western territories to his valorous companion Corineus, as the reward of an astonishing victory over the giant Gogmagog, whom the latter precipitated down the Plymouth cliff, is not literally the language of truth. But the founder of the western Kingdom had numerous successors to share his honors : and, if, when facts are wanting, we are willing to seize on fable to supply the deficiency, we may contemplate for more than a thousand years, the imaginary Princes of Damno-

(a) *Dru-sfen-ton*, says Borlase, *Druid-stones-town* : But if our author mean *Drewsteington* in Devonshire, he is certainly mistaken in his etymology. In his observations, however, on the druidical traces to be found in the names of towns, houses, hills, and brooks, he is, unquestionably, right. "All names that have *Drudau Dru*, *Druwydd*, *Drudion*, *Derywydden*, *Dervo*, and *Dar*, may be reckoned of Druid original : Thus *Bod-dr den*, *Druid's-house*, *Rhied-druith*, *nobilium Druidarum vadum*—*DRUSTENTON*, *Druid's-stones-town*—*Goon-dervo*, *the Druid's-downs*—*Tin-dervo*, *Druid's-bill*."

(b) "From the central situation of the Cromlech, (says Chapple) we might infer the fitness of the place for a druidical abode ; supposing that the present limits of this county were, then also, nearly the boundaries of a distinct province of druidical government in this western part of Britain. For we learn from Cæsar, (1) that the Druids of Gaul met annually in a place consecrated and appropriated to that purpose, on the confines of *Carnutum* (now *Chartres*) then taken to be the middle of all Gaul ; where people at variance resorted from all quarters to have their controversies and law-suits finally decided by those absolute judges, from whose sentence lay no appeal. From this, and Cæsar's further testimony, concerning the origin of this discipline, which he tells us was supposed to have been first instituted in Britain, and from thence transferred to Gaul—whence, even then, persons desirous of being more perfectly instructed in it, took a voyage hither to be better informed concerning it—we may reasonably conclude, that the Druids, in their distribution of justice, as well here as in Gaul, took all possible care to shorten the journeys of the people obliged to attend their courts of judicature." Chapple's Description and Exegesis of the Drewsteington Cromlech.

(1) *De Bello Gallico*. Lib. 6.

nium. Yet the eye wanders with dissatisfaction and disgust over a long and dreary tract of time, which seems diversified only by chimeras. Contenting myself, therefore, with a few observations, on the reputed Rulers of the west, before the time of Cæsar, I shall quickly hasten to more interesting enquiries. The annalist informs us, with all the gravity of truth, that about the time of the prophet Samuel, Guendolen the daughter of our hero, enjoyed Danmonium as her paternal inheritance. The most remarkable of her successors were Heninus, who married a daughter of King Lear, and his son Cunedagius, who filled the throne at the time of the building of Rome; and the two brothers, Belinus and Brennus, to the first of whom were allotted Loegria, Cambria or Danmonium—to the second, all from the river Humber to Cathness in Scotland. To Belinus and Brennus is ascribed the demolition of Rome; and, what is rather remarkable with respect to the sacking that great city, there is only the difference of twenty years between the British Chronology and the Roman Fasti. But to memorize the fictitious actions of these Princes would be tedious. It was in the year three thousand nine hundred and forty-six, (a) that Britain, invaded by Julius Cæsar, began to experience the shock of the Roman arms: and Theomantius, the second son of the famous British King Cassibelan, was, at this moment, Duke of Danmonium.

## SECTION III.

## VIEW of the RELIGION of DANMONIUM in the BRITISH PERIOD.

I. *Druidism the Religion of Danmonium—Its great Antiquity in this Island—evidently derived from the East, not the Continent of Europe.*—II. *Its Doctrines—secret—popular.*—III. *Its Rites and Ceremonies.*—IV. *Its Temples.*—V. *Parallel between the Danmonians and the Persians—proving the Eastern Origin of the Danmonians—Contrary Opinions examined.*—VI. *The corrupt Religion of the Phenicians—of the Greeks—of the Tribes from the neighbouring Continent.*

THE earlier inhabitants of the island, in proportion as they were known to the nations around them, became, more and more, the objects of curiosity. The various singularities, that so strongly marked the Danmonians, must have stood forth prominent and bold, in contrast with the general European feature. Among these national peculiarities, the religion of Danmonium was also new: And so striking was its character of sanctity and wisdom, that it attracted the attention of the more learned and inquisitive among the Gauls, who were before unacquainted with the aboriginal islanders. The Celtic tribes from the Continent of Europe, could give Cæsar very little information respecting the Britons, except what related to their religion, which had been recently introduced into Gaul from Britain; but which was totally unknown in Germany, and other parts of the Continent. This religion, therefore, differed widely from the religion of Europe: We shall find that it bore a strong resemblance to the religion of Asia. It was Druidism: And, whether we consider its antiquity in Britain, its secret or popular doctrines, its rites and ceremonies, or its temples, we shall, on every view of the subject, perceive its eastern origin.

Mr. Carte (b) asserts, it seems, from Cæsar, “that the Druidical religion was from the most ancient times, the common religion of Britain, Gaul, and Germany; though Britain was most skilled in it:” Cæsar, however, says the very reverse. Cæsar informs us, that the Druid religion was but very lately introduced into Gaul, from Britain; and, that in his time, the Gauls still went to Britain for instruction. He expressly says, that the Germans had no Druids. So that Cæsar’s report amounts to this—that Druidism was the religion of Britain long before it was known in Gaul, and was established in

(a) Richard, p. 50.

(b) In justice to Mr. Carte, I should observe, that setting aside the *Pons asinus* of antiquities, his history is well written. The antiquarian part of his work, is, doubtless, full of error. But his mistakes and inconsistencies on so obscure a subject, would have merited a very slight censure, had ingenuity thrown over his Hypothesis an air of speciousness. I do not blame his decisive manner: For, amidst the darkest ambiguities, a writer, who is animated by his subject, cannot always avoid decisiveness.



Gaul long before it was known in Germany. It seems to have been communicated to Germany about the time of Tiberius. We see, then, contrary to Carte's opinion, that Britain did not receive its religion from the Continent of Europe: Whence we may infer, that it was not originally peopled from hence; but that, probably, it was peopled long before the western parts of Europe were inhabited. Dr. Borlase himself admits the evidence of Cæsar, (a) to prove the seniority of druidism in Britain. "I must observe (says our author, with great propriety and good sense) that none of the ancient authors deny what Cæsar advances: Strabo and Pomponius Mela, in their observations on the Druids, copy Cæsar as their best guide: Tacitus does not contradict him in any one point: (b) and, to silence our wonder how the Britons should give an order of priesthood to their nearest neighbours the Gauls, Pliny, who is more circumstantial in describing the rites of Druidism than any other writer, asserts, that the Britons were so excessively devoted to all the mysteries of magic, that they might seem to have taught even the Persians themselves this art. (c) There is another circumstance worthy of notice in what Cæsar says—which is, that the institution of the Druids was maintained in greater purity and strictness in Britain than in Gaul; and that, when the Gauls were at a loss in any point relating to this discipline, their custom was to go over to Britain for their better information. "Does not this (says Borlase, cautious as he is in advancing any thing new or unpopular) in a great measure confirm our ideas that the Gauls were taught this discipline by the Britons; and that the Britons, whenever any difficulty occurred, had recourse to the first fountain for instruction? The *Druid Priesthood*, then, was more ancient in Britain than either in Gaul or in Germany. Though we might vainly labour to ascertain the exact time of its appearance, yet we are assured that it had been established in Britain many centuries before the arrival of Cæsar. There were Druids in this island, remarkable for their antiquity, long before the times of Pythagoras, who lived six hundred years before Christ. It is asserted by an ancient writer, that the Druids were venerated for their philosophy more than a thousand years before Pythagoras had promulgated his doctrines in Italy. (d) And Aristotle and Clemens Alexandrinus concur in asserting the high antiquity of the British priesthood. But, setting these authorities aside, that single passage in Cæsar, where a popular idea is said to have been founded on a tradition from the Druids, (e) sufficiently speaks to their antiquity. It is a reference, in Cæsar's time, to the Druids of the earlier ages. In the mean time, the great resemblance which the Druids bore to the Persian Magi, Gymnosophists, and Brachmans, is a strong argument in favor of their antiquity. And Borlase is near the point of asserting, that such a conformity between islanders in the west, and the most remote nations in the east, "who do not appear (says he) to have had the least communication since the dispersion," can only be accounted for by supposing the Britons to be a colony from the east, at the very time of the dispersion. But enough on this topic.

Let us consider the Druid religion. And first for its doctrines. It appears, that the British Druids, like the Indian Gymnosophists, or the Persian Magi, had two sets of doctrines—the first, for the initiated—the second, for the people. That there is *one* GOD, the creator of heaven and earth, was a secret doctrine of the Brachmans. And the *nature and perfection* of the Deity were among the Druidical Arcana. (f) Pomponius Mela confirms

(a) *Disciplina in Britannia reperta atque in Galliam translata esse, existimatur.* Druidism was found in Britain and from thence translated into Gaul.

(b) The author of *La Relig. de Gaulois*, ingenuously confesses, that the Gauls had their religion from Britain. Vol. I. p. 13.

(c) *Druidarum disciplina in nostra Britannia reperta, atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur. Unde Plinius eleganter declamat lib. 30. his verbis: "Sed quid ego hæc commemorem in arte oceanum quoque transgressa, et ad naturæ inane pervecta? Britannia bodieque cum attonite celebrat tantis ceremoniis, ut dedisse Persis videri possit."* Idem Julius Cæsar affirmat in *Ephemeridis*: "Et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo, discendi causa, proficiscuntur." Richard Mon. p. 12.

(d) *Pherecydes, Pythagoræ præceptor, primus publicavit Druidarum argumenta, pro animæ immortalitate.* Hoffman's Dict. in verb.—*Cæterum cuilibet vel modice perspicaci patebit, Druidas philosophatos plus mille annos antequam eruditio Pythagoræ innuisset in Italia.* Steph. Forcatulus de Gall. Imp. et Philos. p. 41.

(e) Cæsar L. 6. p. 127.

(f) Selden (on Drayton's Polyolbion) observes: "Although you may truly say with Origen, that before our Saviour's time, Britain acknowledged not one true God; yet it comes as near to what they should

confirms this account of Cæsar: *Druidas terræ mundique magnitudinem et formam, motus cæli et siderum, et quid Dii velint scire se profiteri.* And Lucan: *Solis nosse Deos, et cæli numina vobis.* That these ideas were derived from (a) Noah, I have scarcely a doubt: They were brought into this island by the immediate descendants of those holy men, to whom only the secrets of Noah were communicated, and who, as consecrated to religion, were thus entrusted with the secrets of heaven. The imperishable nature of the soul was another doctrine of the Druids, which in its genuine purity, perhaps, was incommunicable to the vulgar. But the soul's immortality connected with many sensitive ideas, was generally preached to the people. It was with unvarying firmness that the Druids asserted the immortality of the soul. And the universal influence of this doctrine on the conduct, excited the surprize of the Greeks and Romans. It was this, which inspired the soldier with courage in the day of battle; which animated the slave to die with his master, and the wife to share the fates of her husband; which urged the old and the feeble to precipitate themselves from rocks, and the victim to become a willing sacrifice. And hence, the creditor postponed his debts till the next life; and the merchant threw letters for his correspondents into the funeral fires, to be thence remitted into the world of spirits! (b) The Druids believed also, that the soul, having left one earthly habitation, entered into another—that from one body decayed and turned to clay, it passed into another fresh and lively, and fit to perform all the functions of animal life. This was the doctrine of transmigration, maintained in common by the Druids and the Brachmans. (c) Sir William Jones describes a great empire—the empire of Iran; the religion of which was *Sabian*; so called from the word *Saba*, that signifies a host, or more properly *the host of heaven*, in the worship of which the Sabian ritual consisted. *Mababeli* was the first monarch of Iran. His religion he was said to have received from the Creator, as well as the orders established throughout his monarchy—religious, military, mercantile, and servile. These regulations were said to be written in the language of the Gods. (d) The tenets of this religion were, that there was but one God, pure and good—that the soul was immortal, and an emanation from the Deity—that it was for a season separated from the supreme Being, and confined to the earth to inhabit human bodies, but would return to the Divine Essence again. The purer sectaries of this religion maintained, that the worship of fire was merely popular; and that they appeared only to venerate that sun upon whose exalted orb they fixed their eyes, whilst they really humbled themselves before the supreme God. They were assiduous observers of the motions of the heavenly luminaries, and established artificial cycles, with distinct names, to indicate the periods, in which the

should have done, or rather nearer than most of others, either Greek or Roman—as Cæsar, Strabo, Lucan, and other authors might convince us. For, although Apollo, Mars, and Mercury, were worshipped among the *vulgar Gauls*; yet it appears that the Druids invocation was to one all healing and all saving Power!”

(a) A Chaldean inscription was discovered some centuries ago, in Sicily, on a block of white marble. A Bishop of Lucera, who wrote on the subject, asserts: That the city of Palermo was founded by the Chaldeans, in the earliest ages of the world. The literal translation of this inscription is as follows: “During the time that Isaac, the son of Abraham, reigned in the valley of Damascus, and Esau, the son of Isaac, in Idumea, a great multitude of Hebrews, accompanied by many of the people of Damascus, and many Phenicians, coming into this triangular island, took up their habitation in this most beautiful place, to which they gave the name of Panormus.” The Bishop translates another Chaldean inscription, which is over one of the old gates of the city. This is extremely curious—“*There is no other God but one God. There is no other power but this same God. There is no other conqueror but this same God whom we adore.*” The commander of this tower is Saphu, the son of Eliphas, the son of Esau, brother of Jacob, son of Isaac, son of Abraham. The name of the tower is Beych; and the name of the neighbouring tower is Pharat.”

(b) See Borlase's Antiquities, p. 98.

(c) That the Druids believed in the immortality of the soul, and in its transmigration from one body to another, is not only affirmed by Cæsar, as we have seen, but by many ancient writers. *Ἀρχαίως τὰς ψυχὰς λήγουσι*—says Strabo. And Lucan:

Vobis autoribus, *umbræ*

*Non tacitas erebi sedes, diisque profundi*

*Pallida regna petunt—regit idem spiritus artus*

*Orbe alio longæ, canitis si cognita, vitæ.*

See also Val. Maximus and Diodorus.

(d) All the sculptures of Persepolis are purely Sabian.



fixed stars appeared to revolve. They are also said to have known the *secret powers of nature*, and thence to have acquired the reputation of magicians. Sects of these still remain in India, called Sufi, clad in woollen garments or mantles. In ancient times, every priesthood among the eastern nations had several species of sacred characters, which they used in their hiero-grammatic writings, to render their religion more mysterious; whilst they preserved its written doctrines and precepts in such characters as none but their own order could understand. These sacred characters have been often noticed by Antiquarians, under the denomination of *Ogham*. (a) The Ogham characters were used by the priests of India and Persia, the Egyptians and Phenicians, and the Druids of the British isles. Sir William Jones tells us, that the writings at Persépolis bear a strong resemblance to the Ogham—that the unknown inscriptions in the palace of Jemschid are in the same characters, and are, probably, sacerdotal and secret, or a sacerdotal cypher; and that the word *Ogham* is Sanscrit, and means “*mysterious knowledge*.” That similar inscriptions are to be found in Ireland, is abundantly proved by Colonel Vallancey. But, the most extraordinary circumstance is, that the word *Ogham* still continues among the people of Indostan, Persia, and Ireland, with the same sacred meaning annexed to it! The Druids not only concealed, in this manner, their secret tenets from the knowledge of the people, but they often instructed their pupils by symbolical representations, with the same view of involving their doctrines in mystery, and rendering them too dark for the vulgar apprehension. This mode of instruction was truly oriental. And to prove that the Druids were even refined in their allegories, the picture of Hercules Ogimius, as described by Lucian, need only be produced. (b) There is another evidence of the symbolical learning of the Druids in *Basso Relievo*; discovered, some time since, over the door of the temple of Montmorillon, in Poictou. It is a lively representation of the several stages of life, at which the Druid disciples were gradually admitted into the mysteries of the Druid system. (c)

From these mysteries of the Druids, let us pass to their *popular doctrines*. Amidst the sublimer tenets of this priesthood, we have every where apparent proofs of their polytheism. And the grossness of their religious ideas, as represented by some writers, is very inconsistent with that divine philosophy, which we have considered as a part of their character. These, however, were popular divinities, which the Druids ostensibly worshipped, and popular notions which they ostensibly adopted, in conformity with the prejudices of the vulgar mind. The Druids well knew, that the common people were no philosophers. There is reason, also, to think that a great part of the idolatries I am about to mention, were not originally sanctioned by the Druids, but afterwards introduced by the Phenician colony. But it would be impossible to say, how far the primitive Druids accommodated themselves to vulgar superstition, or to separate their exterior doctrines and ceremonies from the fable and absurd rites of subsequent times. Cæsar thus recounts the popular divinities. “*Deum maxime Mercurium colunt. Hujus sunt plurima simulacra. Hunc omnium artium inventorem ferunt; hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem; hunc ad quasvis pecunie mercaturæque habere vim maximam arbitrantur. Post hunc, Apollinem, et Martem, et Jovem et Minervam. De his eandem fere quam reliquæ gentes habent opinionem—Apollinem*”

(a) In ancient Panie Hogham signifies wisdom.

(b) Hercules “as there exhibited, and known by his usual ornaments; but instead of the gigantic body and fierce countenance given him by others, the Druids painted him, to Lucian’s great surprize, aged, bald, decrepid: and to his tongue were fastened chains of gold and amber, which drew along a multitude of persons, whose ears appeared to be fixed to the other end of those chains. And one of the Druid philosophers thus explains the picture to Lucian. “We do not agree with the Greeks in making Mercury the God of eloquence. According to our system, this honor is due only to Hercules, because he so far surpasses Mercury in power. We paint him advanced in age, because eloquence exerts not all her most animated powers but in the mouths of the aged. The link there is, because the tongue of the eloquent and the ears of the aged, justifies the rest of the representation. By understanding his history in this sense, we neither dishonour Hercules, nor depart from the truth: For we hold it indisputably true, that he succeeded in all his noble enterprizes, captivated every heart, and subdued every brutal passion, not by the strength of his arms (for that was impossible) but by the powers of wisdom, and by the sweetness of his persuasion.” See Borlase’s Antiquities, p. 500.

(c) There is a plate of it in Montfaucon’s Supplement, tom. 2, p. 221. and in the Religion de Gaules, vol. 1, p. 144. And Borlase has very satisfactorily explained it—See his Antiquities, p. 101, 102, 103.



*morbos depellere—Minervam operum atque artificiorum initia transdere—Jovem imperium celestium tenere—Martem bella regere.*" (a) The origin of the British Gods, has been generally attributed to the Phenicians or Canaanites. The God whom the Romans compared to Jupiter, was worshipped by the name of *Taram* or *Taramis*, and of *Thor*—both which names signify the *Thunderer*, in Phenician. The God whom the Romans compared to Mercury, was worshipped by the name of *Teutates* or *Theutates*, or *Taautos* or *Thoth*—the Phenician name for the *son of Misor*. The God whom the Romans compared to Mars, was worshipped under the name of *Hizzus* or *Hesus*, and also by the name or *Cham* or *Camu* or *Camo*—called by the Romans *Camulus*. He was, also, called *Hues*—which is another name for *Bacchus* or *Bar-chus*—that is, the *son of Chus*. The Greeks adopted the *Hues* in the rites or orgies of Bacchus. It is of Phenician origin, and signifies *Fire*! And, as such, *Bacchus* was worshipped! The God whom the Romans compared to Apollo was worshipped by the name of *Bel-ain*, or, as the Romans called him, *Belinus*. He was, also, called *Bel-atre-cadrus*, from the Phenician, *Bel-atur-cares*, signifying, *Sol Affricæ Deus*. The God whom the Romans compared to Diana, was *Belifama*: It is a Phenician word, signifying, the *Queen of heaven*. The God whom the Romans compared to Minerva, was worshipped by the name of *Onca*, *Onva*, or *Onvana*; the Phenician word for that Goddess. The God whom the Romans compared to Venus, was worshipped by the name of *Andrafte*—the *Astarte* of the Phenicians. The other Gods of the Britons were the *Pluto*, *Proserpine*, *Ceres*, and *Hercules* of the Romans. Of these divinities the Druids had symbolical representations: A cube was the symbol of Mercury, and the (b) oak of Jupiter. But it would be a vain attempt to enumerate their Gods. In the eye of the vulgar they deified every object around them. They worshipped the spirits of the mountains, the vallies, and the rivers. Every rock and every spring were either the instruments or the objects of adoration. The moon-light vallies of Danmonium were filled with the faery people: And its numerous rivers were the resort of Genii. The fiction of Faeries is supposed to have been brought, with other fantastic extravagancies of a like nature, from the eastern nations, whilst the European christians were engaged in the holy war: Such, at least, is the notion of an ingenious writer, who thus expresses himself: "Nor were the monstrous embellishments of enchantments, the invention of romancers; but formed upon eastern tales, brought thence by travellers from their crusades and pilgrimages, which, indeed, have a cast peculiar to the wild imagination of the eastern people." (c) That Faeries, in particular, came from the east, we are assured by that learned orientalist, M. Herbelot, who tells us, that the Persians called the Faeries *Peri*, and the Arabs *Genies*; that, according to the eastern fiction, there is a certain country inhabited by Faeries called *Ginnistan*, which answers to our *Faery-land*; and that the ancient romances of Persia are full of *Peri* or Faeries. (d) Mr. Warton, (e) in his observations on Spenser's Faery-queen, is decided in his opinion, that the Faeries came from the east: But he justly remarks, that they were introduced into this country long before the period of the Crusades. The race of Faeries, he informs us, were established in Europe, in very early times. But "*not universally*," says Mr. Warton. The Faeries were confined to the north of Europe—to the *ultima Thule*—to the *British isles*—to the *divisio orbe Britannis*. They were unknown, at this remote æra, to the Gauls or the Germans. And they were probably familiar to the vallies of Scotland and Danmonium, when Gaul and Germany were yet unpeopled either by real or imaginary beings. The belief, indeed, of such invisible agents assigned to different parts of nature, prevails, at this very day, in Scotland and in Devonshire and Cornwall—regularly transmitted from the remotest antiquity to the present times, and totally unconnected with the spurious romance of the Crusader or the Pilgrim. Hence those superstitious notions, now existing in our western villages, where (f) the *Spriggian* are still believed to delude benighted

(a) Lib. 6.

(b) Their affected veneration for the oak, and even the oak-mistletoe, is well known.

(c) Supplement to the Trans. Pref. to Jarvis's *Don Quixotte*.

(d) Herbelot tells us, that there is an Arabian book, entitled "*Pieces de corail amassées sur ce qui regarde le Ginnès, ou Genies*." But, above all, see the Arabian Night's Entertainments.

(e) See Warton's *Observat. on Spenser*, vol. i. p. 64.

(f) "That the Druids worshipped rocks, stones, and fountains, and imagined them inhabited, and actuated by divine intelligences of a lower rank, may be plainly inferred from their stone-monuments. These inferior deities, the Cornish call *Spriggian*, or Spirits; which answer to *Genii* or *Faeries*: And the vulgar in Cornwall still discourse of their *Spriggian*, as of real beings; and pay them a kind of veneration." Borlase's *Antiquities*, p. 107.

travellers, to discover hidden treasures, to influence the weather, and to rule the winds. —“ THIS, then, says our excellent critic, in the most decisive manner—THIS, says WARTON, STRENGTHENS THE HYPOTHESIS OF THE NORTHERN PARTS OF EUROPE BEING PEOPLED BY COLONIES FROM THE EAST ! ” The inhabitants of Shetland (*a*) and the isles, pour libations of milk or beer through a holed stone, in honor to the spirit *Brownyn*—and I doubt not but the Danmonii were accustomed to sacrifice to the same spirit; since the Cornish and the Devonians on the borders of Cornwall, invoke, to this day, the spirit Brownyn, on the swarming of their bees. (*b*) With respect to rivers, it is a certain fact that the primitive Britons paid them divine honors. Even now, in many parts of Devonshire and Cornwall, the vulgar may be said to worship brooks and wells, to which they resort at stated periods, performing various ceremonies in honor of those consecrated waters. And the Highlanders, to this day, talk with great respect of the genius of the sea; never bathe in a fountain, lest the elegant spirit that resides in it should be offended and remove; and mention not the water of rivers without prefixing to it the name of *excellent*. (*c*) And in one of the western islands, the inhabitants retained the custom to the close of the last century, of making an annual sacrifice to the genius of the ocean. (*d*) That at this day, the inhabitants of India deify their principal rivers, is a well-known fact: the waters of the Ganges possess an uncommon sanctity. And the modern Arabians (like the Ishmaelites of old) concur with the Danmonii, in their reverence of springs and fountains. Even the names of the Arabian and Danmonian wells have a striking correspondence. We have the (*e*) *singing-well*, or the *white fountain*: and there are springs with similar names in the deserts of Arabia. (*f*) Perhaps, the veneration of the Danmonii for fountains and rivers, may be accepted as no trivial proof to be thrown into the mass of circumstantial evidence, in favor of their eastern original. That the Arabs, in their thirsty deserts, should even adore their “ wells of springing water,” need not excite our surprize. But we may justly wonder at the inhabitants of Devonshire and Cornwall thus worshipping the Gods of numerous rivers, and never-failing brooks, familiar to every part of Danmonium.

The Druid rites come next to be considered. The principal times of devotion among the Druids, were either midday or midnight. The officiating Druid was clothed in a white garment that swept the ground. On his head he wore the tiara. He had the anguinum or serpents egg, as the ensign of his order: his temples were encircled with a wreath of oak-leaves; and he waved in his hand the magic rod. (*g*) As to the Druid sacrifice we have  
various

(*a*) See Martin, p. 391.

(*b*) The Cornish cry, *Brownyn! Brownyn!* from a belief, that this invocation will prevent the return of the bees into their former hive, and make them pitch, and form a new colony.

(*c*) See Macpherson's Introduction to the History of Great-Britain and Ireland, p. 163, 164.

(*d*) See Harris's Western Islands, Edit. 2. p. 28, 29.

(*e*) *Fen-tergan*, the fountain of the fingers, the *singing-well*, or the *white fountain*. Dr. Pryce.

(*f*) See Arabian Nights Entertainment—a genuine work.

(*g*) Among the Druid ceremonies, the cutting of the *mistletoe* should be noticed. One of Mr. Urban's correspondents mentions “a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Penzance, in the western part of Cornwall, who has been curious in making such a collection of antiquities, as chance or his endeavours could furnish him with. Among other things in this cabinet (says the correspondent) I particularly distinguished a piece of gold in the form of a crescent, supposed, I think upon sufficient authority, to have been worn always by the Druid when he performed the ceremony of cutting the *mistletoe*. Although the religious worship of the Druids was polluted with human sacrifices, yet it appears that these extreme propitiations of the Deity were resorted to only upon very extraordinary occasions, such, for instance, as when an invasion, or their darling liberty, was threatened. For we learn that many of the rites, which the crafty policy of that order of priesthood had imposed upon the ignorance and credulity of the people, were yet innocent in their nature, and well enough adapted to the rude notions of uncultivated life. The power of healing, which was found to reside in herbs, could not fail to attract the notice of the Druids, and to promote their interests by an obvious delusion. The natural effects, which resulted from their application to the human body, were by them ascribed to celestial influences and supernatural interpositions: but, when the herb was cut or gathered, the presence and consecration of a Druid were necessary, without which every hope of relief was vain; nor did any impious patient ever dare to provoke the anger of the gods by an unauthorized appeal to their interference. Among other herbs or plants, the *mistletoe*, from its near affinity to the oak, that principal object of the British worship, was held in peculiar veneration. No profane hand could presume to cut the sacred *mistletoe*; nor were all times and seasons proper for the performance



various and contradictory representations. It is certain, however, that the Druids offered human victims to their gods. And there was an awful mysteriousness in the original Druid sacrifice. Having defecated on the human sacrifices of various countries, Mr. Bryant informs us, that among the nations of Canaan, *the victims were chosen in a peculiar manner*. Their own children and whatsoever was nearest and dearest to them, were thought the most worthy offerings to their god! The *Carthaginians*, who were a colony from Tyre, carried with them the religion of their mother country, and instituted the same worship in the parts where they settled. It consisted in the adoration of several deities, but particularly of *Kronus*, to whom they offered human sacrifices, the most beautiful victims they could select. Parents offered up their own children as dearest to themselves, and therefore the more acceptable to the deity: They sacrificed "the fruit of their body for the sin of their soul." *Kronus* was an oriental divinity—the god of light and fire; and, therefore, always worshipped with some reference to that element. He was the *Moloch* of the Tyrians and Canaanites, and the *Melech* of the east. *Philo Byblius* tells us, that in some of these sacrifices there was a *particular mystery*, in consequence of an example which had been set these people by the god *Κρόνος*, who, in a time of distress, offered up his only son to his father *Θεός*. When a person of distinction brought an only son to the altar and slaughtered him by way of atonement, to avert any evil from the people—his was properly the *mystical sacrifice*, imitated from *Κρόνος*; or from Abraham offering up his only son Isaac. Mr. Bryant is of opinion, that this mystical sacrifice was a typical representation of the great vicarial sacrifice that was to come. At first, there is no doubt but the Druids offered up their human victims, with the same sublime views. The Druids maintained, *quod pro vita hominis nisi vita hominis reddatur, non posse aliter deorum immortalium numen placari*. (a) This mysterious doctrine is not of men, but of God! It evidently points out THE ONE GREAT SACRIFICE FOR THE SINS OF THE WHOLE WORLD! But after the Phenician colonies had mixed with the primeval Britons, this degenerated priesthood seem to have delighted in human blood: and their victims, though sometimes beasts, were oftener men. And not only criminals and captives, but their very disciples were inhumanly sacrificed on their altars; whilst some transfixed by arrows, others crucified in their temples, some instantly stabbed to the heart, and others impaled in honor of the gods, bespoke, amidst variety of death, the most horrid proficiency in the science of murder. But the druid holo-caust, that monstrous image of straw, connected and shaped by wicker-work, and promiscuously crouded with wild beasts and human victims, was, doubtless, the most infernal sacrifice, that was ever invented by the human imagination. (b) These cruelties were certainly not attached to primitive druidism: they

formance of this rite: for so did the superstition of the people receive it. But *when the moon had passed her first quarter*, a Druid, specially appointed, arrayed in white, a golden hook in his hand, a golden crescent fastened upon his garment, approached the plant, and performed the ceremony of cutting, amidst the concourse and acclamations of the surrounding multitude. The hook or knife was of gold, that the mistletoe might escape the pollution of every baser metal; and the crescent of gold represented, by a single image, that time of the moon before which it was not lawful to cut the mystic plant. This very singular piece of antiquity was discovered by a common labourer in turning up the ground near Penzance; and saved from rustic ignorance, which would have sold it for old gold, by the good fortune and virtue of John Price, esq. of Chuane, in the neighbourhood of that town, in whose cabinet it remains for the inspection of the curious. The plate of gold from whence it is fashioned is extremely thin, much too thin for the superficial dimensions, probably on account of the great scarcity of metal in those days, which by the bye, if any doubt could be entertained, would be an additional proof of its original designation. With respect to its figure, the best description I can propose to the reader is, by referring him to the moon, its prototype, at that period of its increase when, as I before stated, the ceremony of cutting the mistletoe was performed; its size and weight (its weight very trifling) being such as to make it an ornament, and not an incumbrance, upon the garment. Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 61, p. 34.

(a) Cæsar, p. 124.

(b) In an ode written on the isle of Mann, to the memory of bishop Wilson, at the request of Dr. Wilson his son, and Mrs. Macaulay Graham, the author thus describes the Druids and their sacrifices:

———"Ye fleeting shapes, I cried,  
Amidst these glooms in pity glide,  
For, here he joy'd to rove

they are to be ascribed to the Phenician colonists, of a subsequent period. Among the Druid ceremonies, may be reckoned also the *turnings* of the body, during the times of worship. The numerous *round monuments* in Danmonium, (a few of which will be described in the next section) were formed for the purpose of this mysterious rite. In several of the Scottish isles, at this day, the vulgar never approach "the fire-ballowing karne," without walking three times round it from east to west, according to the course of the sun. The Druids probably turned sunways, in order to bless and worship their gods; and the contrary way, when they intended to curse and destroy their enemies. The first kind of turning has been called the *deisfol*: the second the *tuaphol*. Tacitus alludes to the latter in a very remarkable passage: *Druidique circum preces diras, sublati ad cælum manibus, fundentes, novitate aspectus perculere milites*. The Roman soldiers, we see, were terrified by the novelty of this rite—a plain proof that it was unknown to those countries which had been subjected to the Roman yoke. The holy fires of the Druids may also deserve our notice. We have, at this day, traces of the fire-worship of the Druids, in several customs both of the Devonians and the Cornish: But, in Ireland, we may still see the holy fires, in all their solemnity. The Irish call the month of May, *bel-tine*, or fire of Belus; and the first of May, *la-bel-tine*, or the day of Belus's fire. In an old Irish glossary, it is mentioned, that the Druids of Ireland used to light two solemn fires every year; through which all four-footed beasts were driven, as a preservative against contagious distempers. The Irish have this custom at the present moment: they kindle the fire in their milking-yards—men, women, and children, pass through, or leap over it; and their cattle are driven through the flames of the burning straw, on the *first of May*. And, in the month of November, they have also, their fire-feasts; when, according to the custom of the Danmonian as well as the Irish Druids, the hills were enveloped in flame. Previously to this solemnity, (on the eve of November) the fire in every private house was extinguished: Hither, then, the people were obliged to resort, in order to re-kindle it. The ancient Persians named the

In elder times, when mystic strains  
Echoed through consecrated fanes;  
And rites of magic charm'd the reverential grove.

Who now, while memory views in tears  
The curtain'd scene of former years,  
Shall guard these dimwood rocks;  
Where Genii, oft, on sounding wings,  
Flutter'd, at evening, o'er the springs  
That lav'd the wreathing roots of yon fantastic oaks?

Who now shall join the minstrel's lay,  
While glitter to the full moon's ray  
Their high-strung harps of gold;  
Or, who survey the sweeping pall  
Of bards, amid the festal hall,  
The Druid's floating pomp and hoary seers of old?

Who now, where, stain'd with sacred blood,  
The central oak o'ertops the wood,  
Shall see the victim laid  
Shivering—on the dark shrine—and pale,  
As midnight kills the spectred vail,  
And, list'd for the stroke, the lightning of the blade?

. . . . .

What! dost thou mourn the vanish'd rite  
That gave to horror the pale night,  
And shook the blasted wood;  
While, as the victim's dying cries  
Announc'd the human sacrifice,

Scar'd at the infernal scene, the moon went down in blood?"

See Bishop Wilson's works, quarto edition, vol. 1, p. 137, appendix. The author well remembers, that after passing a truly philosophic hour, with Mrs. Macaulay and Dr. Willon, at Alfred House in Bath, he proceeded to Oxford, where, at Ch. Ch. he wrote the ode in question, on the evening of his arrival, and immediately dispatched it to the Bath printer; as Wilson's works, he understood, were almost ready for publication.

month



month of *November, Adur, or fire*. *Adur*, according to Richardson, was the angel presiding over that element: in consequence of which, on the ninth, his name-day, the country blazed all around with flaming piles; whilst the magi, by the injunction of Zoroaster, visited, with great solemnity, all the temples of fire throughout the empire; which, on this occasion, were adorned and illuminated in a most splendid manner. Hence our British illuminations in November had probably their origin. It was at this season, that *Baal Samhan* called the souls to judgment, which, according to their deserts, were assigned to re-enter the bodies of men or brutes, and to be happy or miserable during their next abode on the earth. But the punishment of the wicked, the Druids taught, might be obliterated by sacrifices to Baal. The sacrifice of the black sheep, therefore, was offered up for the souls of the departed, and various species of charms (a) exhibited.

*Baal.*

(a) The primitive christians, attached to their pagan ceremonies, placed the feast of All-souls on the La Samon, or the second day of November. Even now, the peasants in Ireland assemble on the vigil of La Samon, with sticks and clubs, going from house to house, collecting money, breadcake, butter, cheese, eggs, &c. for the feast; repeating verses in honor of the solemnity, and calling for the *black sheep*. Candles are sent from house to house, and lighted up on the Samon, (the next day). Every house abounds in the best viands the master can afford: apples and nuts are eaten in great plenty; the nutshells are burnt; and from the ashes many strange things are foretold. Hempseed is sown by the maidens, who believe that, if they look back, they shall see the apparition of their intended husbands. The girls make various efforts to read their destiny: they hang a smock before the fire at the close of the feast, and sit up all night concealed in a corner of the room, expecting the apparition of the lover to come down the chimney and turn the smock: they throw a ball of yarn out of the window, and wind it on the reel within, convinced that if they repeat the pater-noster backwards, and look at the ball of yarn without, they shall then also see his apparition. Those who celebrate this feast, have numerous other rites derived from the Pagans. They dip for apples in a tub of water, and endeavour to bring one up in their mouths: they catch at an apple when stuck on at one end of a kind of hanging beam, at the other extremity of which is fixed a lighted candle; and that with their mouths only, whilst it is in a circular motion; having their hands tied behind their backs. A learned correspondent, (whose name it would ill become me to mention in this place, but whose patronage I shall be proud to acknowledge hereafter) thus writes from Ireland: "There is no sort of doubt but that Baal and fire was a principal object of the ceremonies and adoration of the Druids. The principal seasons of these, and of their feasts in honor of Baal, were new-year's day, when the sun began visibly to return towards us: this custom is not yet at an end, the country people still burning out the old year and welcoming the new, by fires lighted on the tops of hills, and other high places. The next season was the month of May, when the fruits of the earth begun in the eastern countries to be gathered, and the first fruits of them consecrated to Baal, or to the sun, whose benign influence had ripened them; and I am almost persuaded that the dance round the may-pole in that month, is a faint image of the rites observed on such occasions. The next great festival was on the twenty-first of June, when the sun, being in Cancer, first appears to go backwards and leave us. On this occasion, the *Baalim* used to call the people together, and to light fires on high places, and to cause their sons and their daughters, and their cattle, to pass through the fire, calling upon Baal to bless them, and not to forsake them. This is still the general practice in Ireland; nor, indeed, in any country are there more Cromlechs, or proofs of the worship of Baal or the sun, than in that kingdom; concerning which, I can give you a tolerable account, having been, myself, an eye-witness to this great festival in June. But I must first bring to your recollection the various places in Ireland, which still derive their names from Baal, such as Baly-shannon, Bal-ting-las, Bal-carras, Belfast, and many more. Next I must premise, that there are in Ireland a great number of towers, which are called Fire-towers, of the most remote antiquity, concerning which there is no certain history, their construction being of a date prior to any account of the country. Being at a gentleman's house, about thirty miles west of Dublin, to pass a day or two, he told us, on the 21st of June, we should see an odd sight, at midnight. Accordingly, at that hour, he conducted us out upon the top of his house, where, in a few minutes, to our great astonishment, we saw fires lighted on all the high places round, some nearer and some more distant: We had a pretty extensive view, and I should suppose, might see near fifteen miles each way. There were many heights in this extent, and on every height was a fire: I counted not less than forty. We amused ourselves with watching them, and with betting which hill would be lighted first. Not long after, on a more attentive view, I discovered shadows of people near the fire, and round it: and every now and then, they quite darken'd it. I enquired the reason of this, and what they were about? and was immediately told, they were not only dancing round, but *passing through the fire*; for that it was the custom of the country, on that day, to make their families, their sons and their daughters, and their cattle, *pass through the fire*, without which they could expect no success in their dairies, nor in the crops, that year.

I bowed,

*Baal-sambain*, a Phenician appellation of the god of Baal, in Irish signifies the *planet of the sun*. *Meni* is an appellation of the same deity. "Ye are they that forget my holy mountain (says Isaiah) that prepare a table for Gad, and furnish the drink-offering unto Meni." According to Jerom and several others, Gad signifies *fortune*, or good-fortune, and, in this sense, is used in the 11th verse of the 30th chapter of Genesis. Those passages in Jeremiah, where the prophet marks the superstition of the Jews, in *making cakes for the Queen of heaven*, are very similar to this of Isaiah. At this very day we discover vestiges of the festival of the sun, on the *eve of All-souls*. As, at this festival, the Pagans "ate the sacrifices of the dead"—so our villagers, on the eve of All-souls, burn nuts and shells, to *Fortune*, and pour out libations of ale to *Meni*. The Druids, who were the Magi of the Britons, had an infinite number of rites in common with the Persians. One of the chief functions of the eastern magi, was divination: And Pomponius Mela tells us, that our Druids possessed the same art. There was a solemn rite of divination among the Druids, from the fall of the victim and convulsion of his limbs, or the nature and position of his entrails. But the British priests had various kinds of divination. By the number of criminal causes, and by the increase or diminution of their own order, they predicted fertility or scarceness. From the neighing or prancing of white horses, harnessed to a consecrated chariot—from the turnings or windings of a hare let loose from the bosom of the diviner (with a variety of other ominous appearances or exhibitions) they pretended to determine the events of futurity. Of all creatures, however, the serpent exercised, in the most curious manner, the invention of the Druids. To the famous *Anguinum* they attributed high virtues. The *Anguinum* or Serpent's-egg, was a congeries of small snakes rolled together, and incruited with a shell, formed by the saliva or viscous gum or froth of the mother-serpent. This egg, it seems, was tossed into the air by the hissings of its dam; and, before it fell again to the earth (where it would be defiled) it was to be received in the sagus, or sacred vestment. The person who caught the egg, was to make his escape on horseback; since the serpent pursued the ravisher of its young, even to the brink of the next river. (a) Pliny, from whom this account is taken, proceeds with an enumeration of other absurdities relating to the *Anguinum*. This *Anguinum* is, in British, called *Glain-neidr*, or the Serpent of Glas: And the same superstitious reverence which the Danmonii universally paid to the *Anguinum*, is still discoverable in some parts of Cornwall. (b) Mr. Lhuyd informs us, that the Cornish retain variety of charms, and have still, towards the Land's-end, the amulets of *Maen Magal* and *Glain-neidr*—which latter they call a *Melprev*, and have a charm for the snake to make it, when they have found one asleep, and stuck a hazel wand in the centre of her spiræ." Camden tells us, that "in most part of Wales, and throughout all Scotland, and Cornwall, it is an opinion of the vulgar, that about Midsummer-eve, (though in the time they do not all agree) the snakes meet in companies; and that by joining heads together and hissing, a kind of bubble is formed, which the rest, by continual hissing, blow on till it passes quite through the body; when it immediately hardens and resembles a glass ring, which, whoever finds, shall prosper in all his undertakings. The rings, thus generated, are called *Gleini Nadroeth*, or Snake-stones. They are small glass amulets, commonly about half as wide as our finger-rings, but much thicker, of a green color usually, though sometimes blue, and waved with red and white." Carew says, that "the country-people, in Cornwall, have a persuasion, that the snakes breathing upon a hazel-wand, produce a stone-ring of blue color, in which there appears the yellow figure of a snake, and that beasts bit and envenomed, being given some water to drink, wherein this stone has been infused, will perfectly recover of the poison." (c) From the animal the Druids passed to the vegetable world; and there, also, displayed their powers, whilst, by the charms of the mistletoe, the selago and the famolus, they

I bowed, and recognized the god *Baal*. This custom is chiefly preserved among the Roman Catholics, whose bigotry, credulity, and ignorance, has made them adopt it from the ancient Irish, as a tenet of the christian religion. The Protestants do not observe it: But it was the universal custom in Ireland, before christianity.

(a) Lib. 29, c. 3.

(b) In his Letter, dated March 10, 1701, to Rowland, p. 342.

(c) See Carew's Survey, p. 22. Mr. Carew had a stone-ring, of this kind, in his possession: And the person who gave it him avowed, that "he himself saw a part of the stick sticking in it"—but "*penes autorem sit fides*"—says Mr. Carew.

prevented



prevented or repelled disease, and every species of misfortune. They made all nature, indeed, subservient to their magical art; and rendered even the rivers and the rocks prophetic. From the undulation or bubbling of water, stirred by an oak branch or magic wand, they foretold events that were to come. This superstition of the Druids, is even now retained in the western counties. To this day, the Cornish have been accustomed to consult their famous well, at *Madern*, or rather the *spirit* of the well, respecting their future destiny. "Hither (says Borlase) come the uneasy, impatient, and superstitious; and by dropping pins or pebbles into the water, and by shaking the ground round the spring, so as to raise bubbles from the bottom, at a certain time of the year, moon, and day, endeavour to remove their uneasiness: Yet the supposed responses serve equally to encrease the gloom of the melancholy, the suspicions of the jealous, and the passion of the enamoured. The Castalian Fountain, and many others among the Grecians, was supposed to be of a prophetic nature. By dipping a fair mirror into a well, the Patraeans of Greece received, as they supposed, some notice of ensuing sickness or health, from the various figures portrayed upon the surface. The people of Laconia cast into a pool, sacred to Juno, cakes of bread-corn: If the cakes sunk, good was portended: If they swam, something dreadful was to ensue. Sometimes, the superstitious threw three stones into the water; and formed their conclusions from the several turns they made in sinking." The Druids were, likewise, able to communicate, by consecration, the most portentous virtues to rocks and stones, which could determine the succession of princes or the fate of empires. To the Rocking or (*a*) Logan-stone, in particular, they had recourse to confirm their authority, either as prophets or judges, pretending that its motion was miraculous.

In what consecrated places or temples these religious rites were celebrated, seems to be the next enquiry: And, it appears, that they were, for the most part, celebrated in the midst of groves. The mysterious silence of an ancient wood, diffuses even a shade of horror over minds that are yet superior to superstitious credulity. The majestic gloom, therefore, of their consecrated oaks, must have impressed the less informed multitude with every sensation of awe that might be necessary to the support of their religion, and the dignity of the priesthood. The religious wood was generally situated on the top of a hill or a mountain; where the Druids erected their fanes and their altars. The Temple was seldom any other than a rude circle of rock, perpendicularly raised. An artificial pile of large flat stone, in general, composed the altar: And the whole religious mountain was usually enclosed by a low mound, to prevent the intrusion of the profane. Among the primæval people of the east, altars were inclosed by groves of trees; and these groves consisted of plantations of *oak*. Abram passed through the land unto the place of Sichem—unto the *oak* of Moreh: And the Lord appeared unto Abram; and there he builded an altar unto the Lord, who appeared unto him beside the oak of Moreh. (*b*) That particular places and temples in Danmonium, were appropriated to particular deities, is an unquestionable fact. Borlase tells us, that the old British appellation of the Cassiterides or Scilly Islands, was *Sulleb* or *Sylleb*—which signifies *rocks consecrated to the sun*. (*c*) This answers to the temples of Iran, which were dedicated to the sun and the planets: And the sacred ceremonies of Iran are represented by sculptures, in the ruined city of Jernschid. (*d*)

(*a*) Of these Logan-stones, we have several yet remaining in Devonshire, which I shall notice hereafter.

(*b*) In Babylon, the oak was sacred to Baal.

(*c*) Of these islands, the British name was *SULLEH*, signifying *flat rocks dedicated to the sun*. Thus *St. Michael's Mount* was originally called *DINSUL*, or *the hill dedicated to the sun*. And the vast flat rocks, common in the Scilly Isles, particularly at *Peninis*, *Karn-leb*, *Penleeb*, *Karn-wavel*; but, above all, the enormous rock on *Salakee Downs*, formerly the floor of a great temple, are no improbable arguments that they might have had the same dedication, and so have given name to these islands. Nor is it an unprecedented thing to find an island, in this climate, dedicated to the sun. Diodorus Siculus, B. 3, speaking of a Northern Island, over against the Celtæ, says: "It was dedicated to Apollo, who frequently conversed with the inhabitants: And they had a large grove and temple of a round form, to which the priests resorted, to sing the praises of Apollo." And there can be no doubt but this was one of the British Islands, and the Priests, Druids. See Borlase's *Ancient and present State of the Isles of Scilly*, p. 59, 60. See, also, his *Antiquities of Cornwall*, B. 2. C. 17.

(*d*) Cooke, in his enquiry into the Patriarchal and Druidical religion, says: "Not to lay any greater stress than needs, upon the evidence of the affinity of words with the Hebrew and Phenician; the multitude of *altars* and *pillars*, or *temples*, set up in the ancient patriarchal way of worship throughout England, Ireland, Scotland, and the islands, form a conclusive argument, that an oriental colony must have been very early introduced."

And a number of places in Danmonium still preserve in their names, the lasting memorials of the British deities. In *Trefadarn*, we have the town or house of Saturn—in *Nanfadarn*, the Valley of Saturn. And many of the enormous rocks, which rise with peculiar grandeur in those wild places, were undoubtedly appropriated to the fire-worship of the God. We have, also, places in Danmonium, which retain the names of Mars and of Mercury, as *Tremer*, the town of Mars, and *Gun-Mar'r*, and *Kelli-Mar'r*, the Downs and the Grove of Mercury. It was in the Phenician age, the corrupted age of Druidism, that temples were erected to *Belisama*, or the Queen of heaven, both in the metropolis of the island, (a) and in the chief city of Danmonium (b); that a temple was consecrated to *Onca*, at Bath (c); and that sacred buildings were probably frequented at the *Start-point*, by the votaries of *Astarte*, and at the promontory of *Hertland*, by the worshippers of *Hercules*.

From all those views of the Druid religion, I have no doubt but it derived its origin immediately from *Asia*. Dr. Borlase has drawn a long and elaborate parallel between the Druids and Persians; where he has plainly proved, that they resembled each other, as strictly as possible, in every particular of religion. It was the sublime doctrine of the primitive Druids of Danmonium, that the Deity was not to be imaged by any human figure: And the Magi of Persia, before and long after Zoroaster, admitted no statues into their temples. The Druids worshipped, indeed, the whole expanse of heaven; which they represented by their circular temples: And the Persians held, that the whole round of heaven was their Jupiter. From all their monuments that remain, it appears, that the Druids never admitted of covered temples for the worship of their Gods: And the ancient Persians performed all the offices of their religion in the open air. Both the Druids and the Persians worshipped their God on the tops of the mountains. The Persians worshipped the serpent, as the symbol of their god Mithras, or the sun: And from their veneration for the Anguinum, and other circumstances, we may conclude, that the Druids paid divine honors to the serpent. The Persians maintained, that their god Mithras was born of a rock; beside other absurdities of this nature: And the rock-worship of the Druids is sufficiently known. The Druids maintained the transmigration of the soul; and the Persians held the same doctrine. As to the priesthood, and the ceremonials of religion, the Druids, and the Persian Magi, were of the noblest order in the state: The Druids were ranked with the British Kings; and the Magi with the Kings of Persia. The Druid Priest was clothed in white; the holy vesture, called the *Sagus*, was white; the sacrificial bull was white; the oracular horses were white. In like manner the Persian Magus was clothed in white; the horses of the Magi were white; the King's robes were white; and so were the trappings of his horses. The Druids wore sandals: so also did the Persians. The Druids sacrificed human victims: so did the Persians. Ritual washings and purifications were alike common to the Druids and Persians. The Druids had their festal fires, of which we have still instances in these western parts of the island: and the Persians had also their festal fires, at the winter solstice, and on the 9th of March. The holy fires were alike familiar to the Druids and the Persians. The Druids used the holy fire as an antidote against the plague or the murrain in cattle: and the Persians placed their sick before the holy fire, as of great and healing virtue. In Britain, the people were obliged to rekindle the fires in their own houses, from the holy fires of the Druids. And the same custom actually exists, at this day, in Persia. The day after their feast, which is kept on the 24th of April, the Persians extinguish all their domestic fires, and to rekindle them, go to the houses of their priests, and there light their tapers. To divination, the Druids and Persians were both equally attached; and they had both the same modes of divining. Pliny tells us, that our Druids so far exceeded the Persians in magic, that he should conceive the latter to have learnt the art in Britain. The Druids foretold future events, from the neighing of their white oracular horses. Cyrus, King of Persia, had also his white and sacred horses: And, not long after Cyrus, the succession to the imperial throne was determined by the neighing of a horse. The Druids regarded their mistletoe as a general antidote against all poisons: and they preserved their selago as a charm against all misfortunes. And the Persians had the same confidence in

(a) The Temple of Diana, where St. Paul's now stands.

(b) At Exeter was found, a few years since, a lamp, which, evidently, belonged to a temple of Diana.

(c) *Bath-onca*—*Badonia*.



the efficacy of several herbs, and used them in a similar manner. The Druids cut their *Mistletoe* with a golden hook: And the Persians cut the twigs of *Ghez* or *Haulm*, called *Burjam*, with a peculiar sort of consecrated knife. The candidates for the vacant British throne had recourse to the *fatal stone*, to determine their pretensions: And, on similar occasions, the Persians recurred to their *Artizoe*. Dr. Borlase has pointed out other resemblances: But I have enumerated only the most striking. It is of consequence to observe, that Dr. Borlase has formed this curious parallel without any view to an hypothesis. Every particular is related with caution and scrupulousness: No forced resemblances are attempted; but plain facts are brought together, sometimes, indeed, reluctantly; though the Doctor seldom struggled against the truth. His mind was too candid and ingenuous for such a resistance. In the mean time, a systematical collector of facts is always animated by his subject. Every circumstance that seems to strengthen his theory, imparts a briskness to his circulation. From the ardor of his spirits, his expressions acquire new energy—his portraits a high colouring. But we cannot congratulate the Doctor on such an enlivening glow: His narrative is tame; his manner is frigid. And, what is truly unfortunate, after he has presented us with all these accumulated facts, he is at a loss in what manner to dispose of them. He sees, indeed—he is startled at the discovery that they make against his own and the common opinion: He perceives, that they might be brought in evidence against himself. A faint glimmering of the *secret history* of the world seems to shoot across his mind; but he is lost again in darkness. Such is his distressing situation. Observe how he labours to get clear from the difficulties in which he has involved himself. The Druids, he had maintained, were a sect which had its rise among the Britons. Here, we see, he owned the independency of our Druids on the Druids of the Continent; though his supposition that Druidism absolutely originated in Britain, is evidently absurd. At this juncture, it is a supposition that involves him in greater perplexity. It evidently cuts off all resources in the Continent of Europe: However puzzled the Doctor may be, he cannot look to the Gauls or the Germans for the solution of the difficulties he has started. He cannot say, that we received Druidism from the east (as is commonly said) through the medium of Germany and Gaul; and hence account for those various similarities—since he traces the birth of Druidism on this island itself! He has, undoubtedly, simplified the question: and he points our views through a very narrow vista to the east, or rather to Persia alone. He seems, indeed, to have insulated himself, and to have rejected the common succours. To account for these resemblances he might have recurred, had he not fixed the origin of Druidism in Britain, to the continental tribes, whom he might have represented as bringing Druidism, pure and uncorrupted, from Asia over Europe, into this remote island. He would, in this case, have followed the beaten track. Dr. Borlase, indeed, seems to be sensible, that this beaten track ought to be abandoned. If he had followed it, he would have wandered far from the truth: In the present case, he is as near the truth as he possibly could have been, without reaching it. But see his poor, his wretched conclusion—after such a noble accumulation of facts—such a weight of circumstantial evidence, as seems irresistible—See his miserable subterfuge: “It has been hinted before, that the Druids were, probably, obliged to Pythagoras, for the doctrine of the transmigration, and other particulars: And, there is no doubt, but he was learned in all the magian religion: It was with this magian religion that the Druids maintained so great a uniformity. ’Tis not improbable, then, that the Druids might have drawn by his hands, out of the Persian fountains.” What can be more improbable than this? That a single man, who by travelling through a foreign country, had acquired some knowledge of its religion, should have been able, on his return from travel, to persuade a whole priesthood, whose tenets were fixed, to embrace the doctrines and adopt the rites he recommended, is surely a most ridiculous position. Besides, were this admitted, would it account for the strength and exactness of these resemblances? If Pythagoras introduced any of the Druidical secrets into Britain, it was, I suppose, through his friend Abaris—for it does not appear that this sage ever travelled into Britain, himself. “Abaris, the Doctor slyly hints, was very intimate with Pythagoras—so intimate, indeed, that he did not scruple to communicate to him, freely, the real sentiments of his heart.” And Abaris, it seems, paid a visit to the Danmonians. Here, then, all is high. Pythagoras was fortunate enough in a remote country, to dive into the hidden things of its inhabitants—to explicate the profoundest of all secrets, the mysteries of religion. These Arcana, it seems, he imparted to Abaris, his bosom friend: And Abaris very civilly

communicated the whole to our Devonshire and Cornish priests. And our Devonshire and Cornish priests, with a versatility that shewed their sense of his politeness, new-modelled their religion, on his plan. Hence the resemblance of the Druids and the Persians in a thousand different points!—Doctor Borlase, however, is by no means satisfied with this argument. But, too timid to divest himself of the opinions which he had long taken upon trust, he makes still another effort to account for a likeness so embarrassing. “Whence (says he) this *surprising conformity* in their priests, doctrines, worship, and temples, between two such distant nations as the *Persians and Britons*, proceeded, it is difficult to say. *There never appears to have been the least migration*—any accidental or meditated intercourse betwixt them, after the one people was settled in Persia, and the other in Britain.” This strict agreement was too obvious to escape the notice of the judicious Peloutier. Dr. Borlase attempts a solution of the difficulty, in the following manner. “The Phenicians were very conversant with the Persians for the sake of eastern trade: And nothing is more likely than that the Phenicians, and after them the Greeks, finding the Druids devoted beyond all others to superstition, should make their court to that powerful order, by bringing them continual notices of oriental superstitions, in order to promote and engross the lucrative trade which they carried on in Britain for so many ages. And the same channel that imported the Persian, might also introduce some Jewish and Egyptian rites. The Phenicians traded with Egypt, and had Judaa at their own doors: And, from the Phenicians, the Druids might learn some few Egyptian and Jewish rites, and interweave them among their own.” That the Phenician merchants should have taught our Druids, the Persian, Jewish, and Egyptian religion, is too absurd a supposition to require a formal refutation. Admitting that these merchants were in the habit of retailing religion, and bartering it with the Britons for tin; can we think, that these religious tenets and ceremonies could be imported in such excellent preservation as we find them in this island; or, if so imported, would be, at once, honoured by our Druids, with a distinguished place among their old religious possessions? It is singular that Dr. Borlase, who was so near the truth, should have wandered from it, immediately on the point of approaching it. Dr. Borlase, however, is remarkable for his fairness in stating every question; though the conclusions he draws from his premises are not always the most obvious. Others have attempted to get rid of the question in a more general way. To account for this similarity in the opinions and institutions of our Druids, and all the oriental priests, it is said that they were derived from one common fountain—from *Noah* himself, who set apart an order of men for the purpose of preserving those doctrines, through successive ages, and in various countries, wherever this order might be dispersed. But the descendants of those who travelled west of Mount Ararat, are not supposed to have reached Britain by travelling overland, till after many generations. Their progress must have been necessarily slow; and discontinuous and variously interrupted. In this case, they must have lost the character of their original country, before they could have settled in Britain. And the spirit of their religion must have evaporated in the same proportion: We should expect, therefore, to find fainter traces of it, the further we pursued it from its fountain-head. We have observed, however, the contrary in this island. If the Druids had been Celtic priests, they would have spread with the several divisions of the Celts. They would have been eminent among the Germans: they would have been conspicuous, though less visible, among the Gauls. But, in Germany, there were no Druids: And Gaul had none, till she imported them from Britain. In short, we need not hesitate to declare, that the Druidism of Britain was Asiatic. The Danmonii, transplanted into the British isles, retained those eastern modes, which seemed little accordant with their new situation. And was not their worship of the sun so unnatural in the dreary climates of the north, their doctrine as to the stars, so little regarded for scientific purposes by the European nations, their *sublime tenets* concerning the *origin of nature* and of the *heavens*—were not all these strongly contrasted with the religion of the continent? Were not all these absolutely unknown to the Europeans; and deemed, as soon as discovered, the objects of curiosity and veneration? Were not all these new to Cæsar? In fact, the British Druids knew more of the true origin of the mythology adopted by the Greeks and Romans, than the Greeks and Romans probably did themselves: And I cannot but observe, that every part of Cæsar’s account of their religious tenets, merits a dissertation; for they refer to the first ages of mankind. Does Cæsar, any where, speak thus of the *Belgæ*—those fugitive Germans, driven by their stronger neighbours over the Rhine into Gaul, and afterwards, perhaps, driven from

Gaul



Gaul to take shelter on the sea-coast of Britain? Does he any where speak thus of one tribe or state on the Continent?—I believe no where. The doctrines of the British Druids were peculiar to themselves in Europe—full of deep knowledge and high antiquity. Mr. Whitaker himself exclaims in a style truly oriental: “There was something in the Druidical species of heathenism, that was peculiarly calculated to arrest the attention and impress the mind. The rudely majestic circle of stones in their temples, the enormous Cromlech, the massy Logan, the huge Carnedde, and the magnificent amphitheatres of woods, would all very strongly lay hold upon that religious thoughtfulness of soul, which has been ever so natural to man, amid all the wrecks of humanity—the monument of his former perfection!” That Druidism then, as originally existing in Devonshire and Cornwall, was immediately transported, in all its purity and perfection, from the east, seems to me extremely probable.

But we have seen that this religion is not entirely consistent with itself—that though wisdom and benevolence are sometimes exhibited as its commanding features, yet the grossest folly and inhumanity are no less prominent, on other representations of it. The Phenicians, however, introducing their corrupt doctrines, and degenerated rites, will account at once for these incongruities. And we have already observed the intermixture of the Phenician with the Aboriginal doctrines and ceremonies. If a Phenician colony, subsequent to the first peopling of the island, settled here (as I have stated in the second section) about the time of Joshua, there is no doubt but they disseminated in Danmonium a vast variety of superstitious notions. At this juncture, their religion was stained with manifold impurities.<sup>(a)</sup> But, as I have hinted above, it would be impossible to separate all the superstitions which were countenanced as popular tenets by the Druids before the arrival of the Phenician colony, from the superstitions which this colony introduced. I shall not, therefore, in this place, attempt to discriminate the Phenician from the primitive Danmonian religion. For the Grecian colony, they were surely not inactive in spreading their religious tenets where they settled; though there is more of fancy than of real truth in the accounts which are pretended to have been transmitted through the line of history, respecting their *deities* or *their temples*, in this country. The authorities, on which such traditions rest, are very doubtful, if not palpably spurious: And yet our chronicles had a certain *παρασηται*; though, when they got footing on a simple fact, they so embellished it by poetical fictions, that many are led to suspect the whole to be false, because they are convinced that the greatest part is so. That the Grecian colony built a temple at the *Κρη μείλων*, or incorporating with the Danmonii, erected a temple at Exeter, I will not presume to assert. But if the existence of the colony be granted, we need not doubt but they had buildings appropriated to religious worship. The Belgæ, invading our coasts, drove the Britons of Danmonium into the central parts, and thus contributed to spread the Druid religion over the rest of the island. With respect, however, to the religion of the Belgæ, and of the other continental tribes, I shall not attempt to characterize it. Certain it is, that before the time of Cæsar, the Gauls were in possession of Druidism, though in a very imperfect state. Their religion could have ill-remembered the Druidism of Danmonium, whilst they blindly adopted those corrupt notions and impure ceremonies which prevailed in the greater part of Europe. But, amidst these tokens of degeneracy, they still displayed some proof both of wisdom and of diffidence, whilst, conscious of their religious inferiority, and not ashamed to avow it, they frequently resorted, for instruction, to the Aborigines of Britain!

(a) In conformity to this idea, we find, that the Persian religion was first Magian entirely: Then came in Sabianism, with all the additions of image-worship: Then came Zoroaster, and his reformation of magianism. The Phenicians anciently worshipped only the sun and moon, under the names of Baal or Belus, and Attarte—*præsepente autem Iddatiria, Hercules Phœnix aliique Deorum numerus auxerunt.* (1)

(1) Wife, Bodle. Med. p. 218.

## SECTION IV.

## VIEW of the CIVIL, MILITARY, and RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE of DANMONIUM.

I. *The Danmonian Houses—their Form and Materials—their Situation—The Danmonian Caverns—The Danmonian Town, consisting of a Mansion-House, and a number of inferior Houses—a Beacon overlooking it—a Road from one Town to another—Vestiges of the British Houses on Dartmoor—British Caverns in Devonshire and Cornwall—Line of Beacons on each Side of the Jugum Ocrinum—and on the Jugum Ocrinum itself.*—II. *Architecture of the Britons more respectable than it is usually considered—City of Exeter—Plan of a British City on a Gold Coin of the Britons, probably Exeter—Exmouth—Okehampton—Dreuxfeington—Totnes—Armenton—Plymton—Tamara—Voluba—Uxella—Cenia—Termolus—Artavia—Mufidum—Halangium—Redruth—Military Structures—Karnbre-Castle—Castles with Keeps—Rougemont-Castle—Okehampton-Castle—Totnes-Castle—Plymton-Castle—Trematon-Castle—Restormel-Castle—Launceston-Castle—British Roads in Danmonium.*—III. *Religious Architecture—the Rock Idol—the Logan-Stone—the Rock-Bason—the single Stone-Pillar—two, three, or more Stone-Pillars—Circular Stone-Pillars—the Cromlech—Assemblage of Druidical Monuments at Dreuxfeington—the Stonehenge of the Druids, or the complete Druid Temple.*—IV. *Phœnician, Grecian, and Belgic Temples—the Barrow—Conclusion.*

THIS period might be rendered, perhaps, peculiarly interesting, from an extensive survey of the British Architecture: But the nature of the work obliges me to contract my views within a very narrow circle. For the present subject, I propose, first, to consider the houses and towns of the Danmonians, cursorily inspecting both their *civil* and *military* buildings; and secondly, to notice their religious structures.

With respect to the architecture of the Danmonians, nothing can be advanced with certainty. The Greek and Roman writers observed the arts and manners of the ancient Britons so superficially, or received such vague and false accounts of the British islanders from others, that I cannot recur to those authors with any degree of confidence. Diodorus Siculus informs us, that the Britons dwelt in houses constructed with wood, and covered with straw. And, in regard to their form, Dio calls the British houses *σκηναί*; and Zonaras (*a*) makes Caractacus call them *σκηνοειδῆ*. Mr. Whitaker describes the houses of the Britons as great round cabins, built principally of timber, on foundations of stone, and roofed with a sloping covering of skins or reeds. But the British houses were sometimes constructed in a different form—not rounded, but nearly squared, and containing about sixteen yards by twelve within. Such, at least, as Mr. Whitaker informs us, was the ground-work of a building which was discovered within Castlefield, in 1766, and laid in a manner that bespoke it to be British. About half a yard below the surface of the ground, was a line of large irregular blocks; and under it were three layers of common paving stones, not compacted together with mortar, but with the rude and primitive cement of clay. (*b*) Thus the houses in the western isles of Scotland, to this day, are built of stone and cemented with earth. And the same sort of foundation has been discovered about those huge obelisks of the Britons, near Aldborough in Yorkshire, which are so similar to the stones erected frequently without their circular temples. As to their materials, the British dwellings must have somewhat varied, according to their situations. In the neighbourhood of Dartmoor, for instance, their walls, probably, consisted of granite; and near the Denyball quarry, they were roofed, perhaps, if not entirely built with slate. (*c*) Such is the case at the present day. Though cob-walls are generally preferred in Devon and Cornwall, yet in the vicinity of the Denyball-quarry, and along the north coast of Cornwall, the cottages of the meanest peasants are chiefly constructed with slate. The Danmonians dwelt, also, in caverns. In the mean time, we are not to imagine, that the Danmonians could boast no structures superior to the habitations I have described. The houses I have noticed were those only of the people in general: And, there

(*a*) Basil. 1557. p. 124.

(*b*) Mr. Whitaker thinks, that this *square house*, at Manchester, was rather for the cattle of the Britons; since "the British houses were roomy buildings, of a round form, and covered with a convex roof."

(*c*) In British, *Sglatta*.



was, doubtless, a great distinction between the dwellings of the chiefs and the villains. The Lord's mansion was, as our superior houses remained in the last century, all constructed of wood, on a foundation of stone; was one ground story; and composed a large oblong and squarish court. A considerable part of it was taken up by the apartments of such as were retained more immediately in the service of the seignior. And the rest, which was more particularly his own habitation, consisted of one great and several little rooms: In the great room was his armoury; the weapons of his fathers, the gifts of friends, and spoils of enemies, being disposed in order along the walls. Such is the dwelling of the chieftain in the Scottish isles. And as the first class of the nobility, the Druids were surely provided with more commodious habitations than are generally assigned them. It is commonly imagined that the houses of the Druids were mere excavations in the rocks, or little stone cabins, such as are to be seen, at this moment, in the Scottish isles, and which tradition has consecrated to the Druids. The structures to which I allude, are called *Tig-the-nan-Druidb*. They consist of a few large unwrought stones, piled up in the simplest manner, without lime or mortar; and they are capable only of holding a single person. I speak not of accommodation—even the peasants on the skirts of Dartmoor, would disdain these Druid houses. In short, whilst I assent to the opinion, that the little buildings in question were Druidical, supposing them to be *Sacella*, to which the common people resorted for various religious purposes, I conceive that the family-seats of the Druids were edifices as large and as convenient as any in the British period. Yet, the common people resided in meaner houses or in caves. And the dwellings of the vulgar, numerous in comparison to those of the chiefs, met the eye in every direction: Hence the descriptions of British houses in ancient writers are, for the most part, taken from these rude habitations. For the situation of the Danmonian houses, we have to remark, that the seat of the Chieftain was sometimes fixed on the summit of a hill, but more commonly in the hollow of a valley, either on the margin of one stream, or at the confluence of two. This latter mode of building, for security from winds and convenience of water, continued almost to the present day. The fashion of this moment has a particular regard to prospect, erecting houses on eminences that overlook the surrounding plantations, and command all the neighbouring country. In the vicinity of the Chieftain's seat, were built the different cottages of his tenants, either on the slope of the hill, or along the margin of a river that pursued the course of the winding combe. From this collection of houses, all subordinate to the great house, originated the British town: and the inferior houses were so placed as reciprocally to guard each other, whilst they stood under the immediate command of the chief mansion: So that, on a military view, the clanship was a fortified town, with a castle to defend it. And, indeed, the first towns of the Britons have generally been described as mere fortresses or strong holds. They were not scenes, we are told (a), of regular and general residence. They were only places of refuge amidst the dangers of war, where the Britons might occasionally lodge their wives, children, and cattle; and the weaker resist the stronger till succours could arrive. This was more particularly the case with the caves of the Danmonii, which are certainly to be regarded in a military light. Of such caverns we have many instances in Danmonium, partly, perhaps, natural, and partly artificial. That these caverns were places of temporary residence in the time of war, whither the Danmonii retired, for the security of their persons, their domestic furniture, and their warlike stores, I should judge not only from the disposition of the Aborigines so congenial with the oriental turn of mind, but from the resemblance, also, of our Danmonian excavations to those in Scotland and Ireland, which are allowed to be military retreats. But, whatever was their use, they were very similar to the caves of the eastern nations, and especially of Armenia. Before, however, we enter into particulars, it may be necessary to complete our sketch of the British fortified town. The fortrefs in which the chief resided, was the principal military work in every clanship: It was a fastness strengthened by considerable outworks. Yet, from its site on the side of a hill (and sometimes in a valley) it was by no means equal to the command of the neighbouring country, and consequently subject to surprize from an enemy, if it stood independent and unconnected with any other work. We may naturally place, therefore, some work on the brow of the hill; such as a watch-tower or beacon, whence the approach of an enemy might be observed, and an alarm might be given to the clanship. Such a structure might also be useful in communicating with another of a like nature, which be-

(a) Cæsar and Tacitus.

longed to a second clan, and in thus spreading such intelligence from town to town; so that all the cantreds, and in short the whole kingdom of Danmonium, might be almost instantaneously apprized of a hostile attack. A beacon then, it should seem, belonged to every clanship or town in Danmonium; sometimes placed on the natural hill, and sometimes on an artificial mount of earth or stone, where the brow of the hill was not sufficiently commanding. Not only the high antiquity of beacons, in various countries, but the frequent vestiges of ruinous beacons in Danmonium, in situations exactly adapted to the purposes I have mentioned, may assure us of this fact. But artificial mounts were at first, perhaps, thrown up by the Aborigines with a different view: They were, probably, raised as marks of the progress of colonization. An ingenious correspondent (a) has observed, "that the great marks of an Asiatic crossing the Euxine sea, are to be traced out in our modern maps, through Moldavia and Germany, into Britain, by the landwears or divisions, such as that at Lexden-heath, in Essex; and that another vestige is in the mounts, or *tumuli*, such as Silbury in Wiltshire, and the Grange Barrow in Ireland." Thus the Asiatic emigrants into this island, probably, erected mounts in the vicinity of every new habitation, as they proceeded in colonizing Danmonium. But these mounts, becoming useless as colonial landmarks, must have been soon estranged from their original destination, and adopted for military purposes, originally, I conceive, for fire-beacons. In the mean time, to finish the whole, a road from one town to another, was absolutely requisite. It would be vain to diffuse alarms over Danmonium, by the beacon-fires, if there were no roads from fortress to fortress—if the whole of the intervening spaces were still overhung with thick-branching trees, and overgrown with briars or coppice. In this case, every town would have been in a manner insulated; and, though with difficulty approached by an enemy, yet, when invaded, must have long trusted to itself, before any succours could arrive. A road, therefore, was soon struck out from one town to another, for the convenient intercourse of the different clans. If we imagine, then, a strong *manſion-house* built on the side of a hill, and a cluster of *inferior habitations* rising on the bank of a river, immediately under the eye of the fortress, and a road winding through the valley, and sloping away till it gains the higher grounds, and a beacon on the natural or artificial eminence overlooking the whole, and commanding the circumjacent country, we may conceive a tolerable idea of a British town as represented in its primeval rudeness. Thus have I exhibited a rough draught of an *infant British town*, both in a *civil* and *military* light, according to the vulgar idea of the towns of the Britons. That there are, at this day, relics of such habitations and military works as I have delineated, on the hills or amidst the combs and cliffs of Danmonium, would appear without much labor of investigation. Of the round houses of the Britons which I first noticed, Dartmoor, perhaps, might furnish us with some remains. There are a great number of round structures scattered over this extensive moor. They are built with stone, and, in general, resemble the British house in their dimensions, as well as the rotundity of their form. But, unfortunately, they are all roofless: The bare walls only remain; and these walls are, for the most part, in a very ruinous condition. Towards Whifton's wood, these houses seem to be in a less dilapidated state. And here, as in several other places on the moor, they lie contiguous to each other; so as to suggest the idea of a village or town. The common notion is, that they were erected to secure the flocks and herds of the Danmonians, against wolves and other wild beasts which infested the country. But a great part of Dartmoor, was probably peopled in ancient times: And tradition concurs with probability, in settling this opinion. All the inhabitants of the skirts of the forest, relate, as a certain fact, which their fathers had told them, that "the hill-country was (b) peopled, whilst the vallies were full of serpents and ravenous beasts." The forest, undoubtedly, abounded with trees: And, as the Britons invariably preferred the woods to the plains, there is no doubt but they erected many fortresses on the sylvan heights of Dartmoor. Indeed, the round walls I have just noticed, admitting that they were mere pens for flocks, would tend to prove the inhabitation of Dartmoor; since the Britons, like the Arabs, had always apartments for their cattle near their own. In Whifton's wood, then, and in the ruinous cabins around it, we may contemplate the

(a) Colonel Simcoe, now Governor of Quebec.

(b) Peopled "by christians" (an old man informed me) meaning *human beings*. "The bottoms (or the low-grounds) he said, were all slime:" And he had a strange notion of winged serpents.



fading features of a Danmonian clanship.<sup>(a)</sup> But, as the Danmonians sometimes resided in caves, let us look, also, to their rock recesses, in Devon and Cornwall. The cave in the rock near Chudleigh, has been already described as a natural hollow. Yet it seems to be as well formed for the purpose of concealment in time of war, as several of the Danmonian excavations, which are evidently artificial. Kent's Hole, which has also been described, would furnish a safe asylum in time of war. About two miles to the S. W. of Berryhead, there is a remarkable hole in the rock under Darle point: And the remains of a mound, or old wall, are to be seen on that promontory, about a mile S. E. of Brixham. Just within the Bolt-head, at the west end of Salcombe-bar, is a subterraneous passage, called Bull-hole, which, the common people have an idea, runs quite under the earth to another such place in a creek of the sea, called Sewer-mill, at three miles distance. The tradition is, that a bull should enter it at one end, and come out at the other. How far these two caverns are really the same, has never been determined; none of those who have entered them having had the resolution to proceed sufficiently far to ascertain the fact. On the east side of the parish of South Huish, is an entrenchment on the declivity of a hill, but very near the summit, facing the north. About twenty yards in the rear of this entrenchment (which will be described in its proper place) a walled cave was discovered a few years since: The farmer who made this discovery, dug up the foundation of it. It was about twenty feet long, seven or eight feet broad, and ten or twelve feet deep: but nothing was found in the cavern. On the west side of the village of Lower Torr, and near the river Yalm, is a cavern in a marble rock. The entrance is by a long narrow cleft; but, as we advance, it becomes more spacious, and goes near two hundred feet under the rock. The country-people have a tradition, also, relating to this cavern. And they believe, as they were taught by their fathers, that from this cavern a way passed under the river to the church of Yalnton, which stands about two or three hundred yards distant, on high ground, to the north. The cavern discovered about twenty years ago, on the west side of the Haw, at Plymouth, and looking into Mill-Bay, was partly, perhaps, an artificial work of the ancient Britons. As I have but slightly mentioned it in my sketch of the natural history, I shall here give a particular description of this subterraneous abode. This cave was accidentally laid open by some miners, in blowing up a contiguous rock of marble. The aperture disclosed by the explosion, was about four feet in diameter, and looked not unlike a hole bored with an auger. It was covered with a broad flat stone, cemented with lime and sand; and, twelve feet above it, the ground seemed to have been made with rubbish brought thither, perhaps for the purpose of concealment. Here was, doubtless, some appearance of art, and vestige of masonry. The hill itself, at the northern side of which this vault was found, consists, for the most part, of marble. From the mouth of this cave (through which we descend by a ladder) to the first base, or landing-place, are twenty-six feet. At this base is an opening, bearing N. W. by W. which resembles a tent, stretching upwards somewhat pyramidically, to an invisible point. Hence it was called *Tent-Cave*. It is about ten feet high, seven broad, and twenty-two long; though there is an opening which, on account of its narrowness, could not well be examined, and which, probably, hath a dangerous flexure. In each side of this Tent-Cave is a cleft: the right runs horizontally inwards ten feet; the left measures six by four. The sides of the cave are, every where, deeply and uncouthly indented, and here and there strengthened with ribs naturally formed, which, placed at a due distance from each other, give some idea of fluted pillars as in old churches. In a direct line from this cave, to the opposite point, is a road thirty feet long. The descent is deep and rugged—the road is strongly but rudely arched over; and many holes on both sides are to be seen, but being very narrow do not admit of minute examination. Having scrambled down this deep descent, we arrive at a natural arch of gothic-like structure, which is four feet from side to side, and six feet high. Here some petrifications are seen depending. On the right of this arch, is an opening like a funnel, into which a slender person might creep: On the left is another correspondent funnel, the course of which is oblique, and the end unknown. Beyond this gothic pile, is a large space, to which the arch is an entrance. This space, or inner-room, is eleven feet long, ten broad,

(a) Not but a part of Dartmoor might have been waste, where the lords of the neighbouring clans had a right of common, and where flocks and herds were pastured, at particular seasons, under the care of shepherds and herdsmen.



twenty-five high: Its sides have many large excavations: And here two columns, which seem to be a mass of petrification, project considerably. On the surfaces of those pillars below, are seen some fantastic protuberances, and on the hanging roofs above, some chrysal drops that have been petrified in their progress. Between the columns, is a chasm capable of containing three or four men. Returning from this room, we perceive, on the left hand, an avenue thirty feet long, naturally floored with clay, and vaulted with stone. It bears S. S. W. and, before we have crept through it, we see a passage of very difficult access. It runs forward twenty-five feet, and opens over the vault thirty feet high, near a very large well. Opposite to this passage are two caverns, both on the right hand. The first bears N. W. by W. and running forward in a straight line, about twenty feet, forms a cave that verges somewhat to the N. E. Here we walk and creep in a winding course, from cell to cell, till we are stopped by a well of water, the breadth and depth of which are not fully known. This winding cavern is three feet wide, in some parts, five feet high, in some, eight. On our return to the avenue, we find adjoining to this cavern, but separated by a massy partition of stone, the second cavern, in a western direction: And, by descending some small piles of lime-stone, or rather broken rocks, the bottom here being shelving slate (or, more properly, a combination of slate and lime-stone) we discover another well of water. This is the largest. The depth of it is, in one place, twenty-three feet, the width uncertain. Opposite to this well, on the left hand, by mounting over a small ridge of rocks, covered with wet and slippery clay, we enter a vault eight feet broad, eighteen long, thirty high. Here, towards the S. E. a road, not easy of ascent, runs upwards of seventy-two feet towards the surface of the earth, and so near to it, that the sound of the voice, or of a mallet within, might be distinctly heard without—in consequence of which a very large opening has been made into it. At the bottom of this vault, in a place not readily observed, is another well of water; the depth of which, on account of its situation, cannot be easily fathomed, nor the breadth of it ascertained. Each cavern has its arch; and each arch is strong. The way to the largest well is, in one part, roofed with solid and smooth stone, not unlike the arch of an oven. It is very likely that the hill itself is hollow—Some of the caverns have reciprocal communications; but the clefts are often too narrow for accurate inspection. The water, here and there, is still dripping; and incrustations, usual in such grottos, in some places coat the surface of the walls. There are some whimsical likenesses, which it would be difficult to delineate.—In the parish of Shepton, rises that steep high hill, full of moorstone (with which the whole country abounds, lying on the edge of Dartmoor) called *Shepton-Torr*. Among the rocks, towards the top, is a small cleft, opening within to a wider room. From this place, the inhabitants of the cavern might command the whole country. The country-people have many superstitious notions of this hole. “In the tenement of Bolleit, in the parish of St. Berian, at the end of a little inclosure, is a cave, called the *Fogou*: Its entrance is about four feet, high and wide. The cave goes straight forward, nearly of the same width as the entrance, seven feet high, and thirty-six from end to end. About five feet from the entrance, there is on the left hand, a hole two feet wide, and one foot six inches high, within which there is a cave four feet wide, and four feet six inches high. It goes nearly east about thirteen feet, then to the south five feet more; the sides and end faced with stone, and the roof covered with large flat stones. At the end fronting the entrance, is another square hole, within which there was also a further vault, now stopt up with stones, through which we perceive the light. And here, must have been a passage for light and air, if not a back way of conveying things into and out of these cells. This cave is about a furlong distant from the village of Bolleit: And, indeed, the ground is so level above and each side of it, that no one would suspect there was a cave below, but for the entrance. There is a cave of the same name, in the parish of St. Eval, near Padstow. In the tenement of Bodinar, in the parish of Sancred, somewhat higher than the present village, is a spot of ground, amounting to no more than half an acre of land (formerly much larger) full of irregular heaps of stones, overgrown with heath and brambles. It is of no regular shape; neither has it any vestiges of fortification. In the southern part of this plot, we may, with some difficulty, enter into a hole, faced on each side with a stone wall, and covered with flat stones. Great part of the walls, as well as covering, are fallen into the cave, which does not run in a straight line, but turns to the left hand, at a small distance from the place where I entered (says Borlase) and seems to have branched itself out much farther than I could then trace it, which did not exceed twenty feet. It is about five feet high, and as much in width,

called

called the Giant's Holt, and has no other use, at present, than to frighten and appease froward children. As the hedges round are very thick, and near one another, and the inclosures extremely small, I imagine these ruins were, formerly, of much greater extent, and have been removed into the hedges; the stones of which appearing sizeable, and as if they had been used in masonry, seem to confirm the conjecture. Possibly, here might be a large British town (as I have been informed Mr. Tonkin thought) and this cave might be a private way, to enter or sally out of it: But the walls are every where crumbled down, and nothing regular is to be seen. I will only add, that this cave or *under-ground passage*, was so well concealed, that though I had visited it in the year 1738, yet, when I came again to see it, in 1752, I was a long while before I could find it. Of all the artificial caves I have seen in Cornwall, Pendeen *Vau* (by the Welsh pronounced *Fau*) is the most entire and curious. It consists of three caves or galleries: The entrance is four feet six inches wide, and as many high, walled on each side with large stones, with a rude arch on the top. From the entrance we descend six steps, and advance to the N. N. E. the floor dipping all the way. This first cave is twenty-eight feet long. The sides and roof of the second cave, are formed in the same manner as those of the first—the sides, the same distance, but the roof only five feet six inches high. Through a square hole, two feet wide, and two feet six inches high, we creep into a third cave, six feet wide and six feet high—neither sides nor roof faced with stone, but the whole dug out of the natural ground; the sides formed regularly and straight, and the arch of the roof a semicircle. *We see nothing of this cave, either in the field or garden, till we come to the mouth of it; as much privacy as possible being consulted.*"(a) In the isles of Scotland, and in Ireland (to which I resort, as originally peopled like Danmonium, by Asiatic colonies) there are a great number of artificial caverns. In the isle of Skie, are several little stone houses, built *under-ground*, called earth-houses, "which serve to hide a few people, and their goods, in the time of war."(b) In the isle of Ila, there is a large cave, called Vag-Vearnag, or Man's-Cave, which will hold two hundred men. And there are many such caves in Ireland; not only under mounts, forts, and castles, but under plain fields; some winding into little hills and risings, like a volute, or ram's horn; others running zig-zag; others again right forward, connecting cell with cell. That the Asiatics, from whose country the Danmonians are supposed to have emigrated, "made them the dens which are in the mountains, and caves, and strong holds,"(c) is evident, both from sacred and profane history. There is a remarkable passage in Xenophon,(d) describing the caves of the Armenians. Xenophon informs us, "that the houses of the Armenians were *under-ground*—that the mouth or entrance to these subterraneous habitations was like that of a well, but that underneath, they were wide and spreading—that there were ways for the cattle to enter, but that the men went down by stairs." In Armenia, at this day, the people dwell in caverns. "In a narrow valley (says Leonhaut Rauwolf) lying at the bottom of an ascent, we found a great stable, wherein we went. This was quite cut into the hill: And so was that wherein we lodged the night before. So that you could see nothing of it, but only the entrance. For they are commonly so in these hilly countries, *under-ground*, that the caravans may safely rest there, and defend themselves from the cold in the winter. This stable, twenty-five paces long, and twenty broad, was cut out of a rock." These descriptions of the Armenian caves agree, in several points, with that of the cave near Plymouth, as well as the Cornish caverns. Xenophon's cave is subterraneous: So is that near Plymouth: The apertures of both are narrow: And both caverns are, afterwards, sufficiently capacious. From such resemblances, however, I would by no means draw any conclusion. Nor, when I observe that the caves in Devon (so like the under-ground habitations of Armenia) are mostly in the South-ams, at no great distance from the river Arme, or the town of Armenton, on the banks of the Arme, where the emigrators from Armenia are supposed to have first settled, would I be understood to rest my theory of the Asiatic colonization on this circumstance; though, I confess, it strikes me as singularly curious.—Of the Beacons in Danmonium, we have numerous ruins: And there are a few entire, both to the south and the north of the Jugum Ocrinum. In some of these beacons (particularly in the north

(a) Borlase's Antiquities, p. 273, 274.

(b) Martin of the Isles, p. 154.

(c) Judges, vi. 2.

(d) De Exped. Cyri. Lib. 4.



of Devon) there are large excavations, not unlike the caverns I have just noticed. On the south side of the Jugum Ocrinum, there was, probably, a line of beacons that ran from the eastern limits of Danmonium (the country of the Durotriges or Morini) along to the Ocrinum Promontorium, its western extremity. Membury-beacon, near the eastern limits, would look far into Devonshire: And a beacon would not be useless at Axbridge; the bearings from which (to notice present objects) are Colyton-church, one mile N. N. W. Shute-hill, three miles N. Musbury-camp, two miles E. N. E. Axmouth-church, one mile S. Hogsdown-hill, one mile S. by E. The bearings from Hogsdown-hill, over Axmouth, are—Colyford, one mile due N. Colyton, a point to the W. Axminster, six miles, N. E. From the hill, two miles S. E. of Colyton, where, possibly, was a beacon—Axmouth-head, three miles S. S. E. Axmouth-town, two miles S. E. Combe-Pyne, four miles E. by S. Musbury-church, three miles due E. Axminster-church, six miles between N. E. by N. and E. N. N. Shute-hill, four miles N. E. Membury-beacon, between N. E. by N. and N. E. two little hills by Beer, two miles S. The bearings from Shute-hill by the beacon, are Axminster, three miles E. Membury-church, four miles N. E. by N. Musbury-church, two miles S. by E. Old Shute-house, half-a-mile W. by N. Watton-Pen, three miles W. S. W. Widworthy, two miles N. W. by W. On Sidmouth-hill, in the road to Salcombe, a beacon might have been erected in former times. The bearings from this eminence are, Sidbury-castle N. Bulverton-hill, N. W. by N. Harpford-beacon, N. N. W. North end of Sidmouth-hill N. W. Sidmouth-church and Peak-hill W. by S. the greatest headland between W. S. W. and S. W. by S. Harpford-beacon N. N. W. might correspond with the beacon on Sidmouth-hill. On Beacon-hill, a part of Blackdown, stands a beacon perfectly round. Hembury ford commands a large tract of country. The bearings from Hembury are Broad-hembury church, one mile and half, N. by W. Sanford-Peverell church, sixteen miles N. N. W. Willand-church, six miles between N. W. by N. and N. N. W. Halberton-church, nine miles, between N. W. and N. W. by N. Columbton, six miles and three-quarters N. W. Bradninch, seven miles W. N. W. Cadbury-castle and Silverton, twelve miles W. by N. Rewe, a little to the left. Plymtree, three miles between W. and W. by N. Thorverton, twelve miles W. Clift-hydon, four miles W. Broad-clift, ten miles W. by S. Pehembury, two miles W. by S. Talaton, three miles W. S. W. Streetway-head S. W. Ottery, six miles S. W. by S. Otterton-Pool, the same. Bokerel, one mile S. S. E. Gittisham, half-a-point more to the S. Aulsecombe, a mile and half S. E. Honiton, three miles, half-a-point more to the E. Heytorr-rocks, thirty-five miles W. S. W. The Obelisk at Mamhead, between S. W. and S. W. by W. There was formerly a beacon on Warborough-hill, in the parish of Kenton, where a fire being kindled, would instantly communicate with Woodbury-hill, on the other side of the river Exe. On Haldon-hill, there were, doubtless, several beacons in the British Period. The following are the bearings from the point of the Roman road, on Haldon, overlooking Exeter. Exeter, six miles, twenty degrees to the E. of N. Whitton-church, due N. Alphington-church, ten degrees E. of N. Ken-ford, a little to the east of Exeter. Ken-church, N. E. Exminster, fifty odd degrees from N. Topsham, sixty degrees. Powderham, E. Beyond it, Peakhill in the same line. Sidmouth-gap, eighty degrees from N. And Woodbury-castle in a line with it. Exmouth-point, and ope of the river, twenty degrees S. of E. On a hill on Radway estate, in Bishop's-teignton, are the remains of a beacon. A lane, called Beacon-lane, leads W. from Henmock-village, to an eminence that bears the name of Halfewood-hill. Here stood a beacon, the traces of which were visible a short time since. In the Southams, also, beacons may be traced; the link between those already noticed, and the beacons on the southern coasts of Cornwall. The bearings taken from Fire-beacon-hill, on Bozumsale, in the parish of Ditlisham, are as follows: The summit of the hill by Ivy-bridge W. N. W. Brent-hill, N. W. by W. Ashprington-church, four miles N. W. Holn-church, N. W. by N. Broadhempston-church, eight miles N. N. W. Totnes, a little more to the north, six miles. Dartington, a little more to the north of Totnes. Heytorr-rock N. Torr and Mary-church, eight miles, N. E. Ditlisham-church, one mile N. N. E. East-point of Torbay N. E. by N. Opening of the harbour of Dartmouth S. S. E. Tunstall-church, two miles S. On the skirts of Dartmoor, in the parish of Ugborough, are four vast heaps of stones, oval and concaved. One of these is called *Sharptorre*, from the shape, I suppose, of the eminence on which it is placed. The largest and two least lie on the opposite side of a vale, and are by the moor-men called *Dree-berries*, doubtless a corruption of *three barrows*. On enter-



ing from the waste into the inclosed lands of Ugborough, we pass to the south, between Ubbet East, and West beacons, two steep and lofty hills, or rather rocks, seen far and wide, and each commanding prospects surprizingly extensive. From the one may be surveyed a considerable part of East Devon, with the western coast of Dorset. The other (twelve miles distant) looks down on Plymouth-sound, and over the S. W. of Devon, deep into the S. E. of Cornwall: And, from both, we have numberless and grand views of the British channel. Thus was the chain of beacons extended to the most westerly extremity of the island. In the same manner, on the north side of the Jugum Ocrinum, there were, probably, communications through the whole country of the Cimbri and the Carnabii, from the river Uxella to the Antivesteum promontorium. In the parish of Stoodley, there is a noble eminence, which the Danmonians must soon have occupied. From the centre, where Stoodley-beacon was fixed, the ground rises gradually, till it comes to the inner bank; between which and the outer bank, there is a fall or ditch. This work is nearly circular, and contains about half an acre, including the entrenchments. It is on the summit of a high hill, and affords a very extensive prospect, especially towards the N. and N. W. so that the Severn sea may thence be plainly seen. It also commands Dartmoor, to the W. and S. W. But the prospect to the E. and S. E. is not so extensive; nor the hill so steep, on the E. and S. as on the N. and W. It is situated to the N. W. of Stoodley-town. About a furlong N. of North-Molton, is a large hill, called Beacon-hill, from the beacon or light-house, which was standing not long since. On the E. adjacent to this, is an open tract of ground, called Old-Park, which was a deer-park. The wall that inclosed it, is still standing in some places; in others it is to be traced. In this plot of ground, on the summit of an high hill (above the level of the town) was a fortification. Part of the rampart and ditch are still visible—and through this park runs the *Mole*, in a line almost N. and S. Bratton-down, the turf of which is as smooth as a bowling-green, and nearly as level, commands an extensive view of the country round; in which circular survey lies Youlston on the N. W. and nearer at hand, Arlington; the tower of Bratton; Hertland-Point; and towards the east, Exmoor. On all the circumjacent eminences, beacons are discoverable; in some places several together. And these beacons are in the form of barrows, except that they are not conical: indeed, they have the cone, as it were, inverted, and are hollowed out in the middle. Some of them are of considerable magnitude, being, in diameter, no less than sixty feet. With respect to the use of these hollows, there may be some reason in the conjecture, that, as intelligence was conveyed from beacon to beacon, during the darkness of the night, by means of fires, such excavations may have been formed to prevent the extinction of those fires through the violence of the winds—since, in the hollow, the fuel would be undisturbed, and the flame would ascend above the summit of the beacon, sufficient to answer the purpose. On Berry-down, are several tumuli, and a beacon. And at High-Bickington were ancient beacons—whence, indeed, its name: And this is one of the highest spots in the whole county of Devon. The mount of Torrington-castle was, probably, a British beacon. And a beacon on the hills above Stratton, would communicate with all the heights along the northern coast of Cornwall. To connect the southern and the northern hills of Devon and Cornwall, there would be a line of beacons, also, along the Jugum Ocrinum. *Carwson*, one of the principal heights of Dartmoor, seems to have been formerly a beacon. That it was used as such, indeed, is confirmed by the tradition of the country. But it would be tedious to enumerate the beacons on the Dartmoor hills. It is already sufficiently clear, that the intelligence of any invasion of Danmonium from the east, or on the south or north coasts, might be communicated through Devonshire and Cornwall, by a rapid succession of beacon-fires. And we find beacons familiarly in use among the primitive Britons, and the Highlanders. The besieged capital of one of our northern isles, in the third century, actually lighted up a fire upon a tower; and Fingal instantly knew “the green flame edged with smoke,” to be a token of attack and distress. And there are, to this day, several karnes or heaps of stones, upon the heights, along the coast of the Harries, on which the inhabitants used to burn heath, as a signal of an approaching enemy. (a)

(a) Ofsian, vol. 1, p. 198, and Martin's Western Islands, p. 35, edit. 2. Signals, by means of lighted torches, called *ἑρμύλαι*, or by smoke, on the approach of friends or enemies, were in use among the Greeks: But their use is more particularly described in the Agamemnon of *Æschylus*; where, by means of these beacons, communicating from Mount Ida, to the Promontory in Lemnos, thence to Mount Athos, and so on, Clytemnestra receives immediate notice of the taking of Troy. Here,

Here, according to the common ideas of the towns of the Britons, at the invasion of Cæsar, we should close our views of the civil and military structures of Danmonium. Yet there are some, who maintaining a higher opinion of the ancient Britons, would represent them in possession of towns and cities, laid out with architectural skill on a far more extensive scale. And this opinion merits our consideration.

The idea of the British fortrefs in the woods is, undoubtedly, just: But, amidst the numerous clanfhips, there were, probably, a few fuperior towns. And, from the skill of the Britons, in various arts, we may presume that they were not unacquainted with architecture. That the Britons were excellent fculptors, feveral figures in their coins and their war-chariots unquestionably prove. Can we hesitate, then, in allowing them fome credit, as architects? Architecture is furely more obvious than fculpture. In the progrefs of the arts, a convenient houfe muft be anterior to an elegant engraving: In many countries, the former is frequent, where the latter is unknown. And, indeed, the ufe-ful arts invariably precede the ornamental. The British chariot was, doubtlefs, of Afatic invention: It was introduced into this ifland by its firft colonifts, the Danmonians. Here, therefore, we fhould naturally look for architecture of a higher defcription; though we leave the Gaulifh colonies in quiet poffeffion of their villages embofomed in the woods. As our firft colony is fuppofed to have come from the eaft, not long after the difperfon, the facred volume may, perhaps, fuggelt to us fome hints of the British architecture. Thofe who journeyed from the eaft, “found a plain in the land of Shinar, and they dwelt there. And they faid, one to another, go to—let us make *brick*, and burn them thoroughly. And they had brick for ftone, and flime had they for mortar. And they faid, go to—let us build us a *city* and a *tower*, whole top may reach unto heaven.” We may naturally fuppofe, then, that the art of making (*a*) bricks, fo well known to the builders of Babel, was carried away at the difperfon by the firft colonifts of Danmonium. And Devonfhire would readily fupply them with brick-clay. But, whatever were the materials of their edifices, it is certain that the difperfed Afatics had conceived the moft magnificent ideas of architecture. They had planned a city, and a tower that might reach the heavens. And the eaftern nations have always difplayed a greatnefs of ftyle in their buildings. It is very improbable, therefore, that the firft inhabitants of Danmonium, abandoning all their notions of former grandeur, fhould have been fatisfied with a little fortrefs in the woods. That they difplayed, indeed, this tafte in their religious ftructures, will foon appear: The monuments of Druidifm, though rude, are yet magnificent. With thefe impreffions, let us vifit a few British towns in the feveral cantreds. Firft, for the city of Exeter, in the cantred of Ifca. What time the city of Exeter was built, or who was its founder, it is impoffible to determine; fince probability is all we have to expect in thefe obfcure difcuffions. Izacke, therefore, very ignorantly fays, that “Exeter, he finds, was built before London, even at Brute’s firft landing here, by his nephew Corinaeus, on whom Brute beftowed this weftern county, A. M. 2855—the fame being before Chrift’s incarnation one thoufand one hundred years and upwards—and prefently, thereafter, Brute built London, calling it Troynovant.” There was, affuredly, a British town, of very high antiquity, on the banks of the Exe; if not exactly on the fite of the prefent Exeter, yet at no great diftance from it. In attempting to fix the fite of the British Exeter, there are many difficulties. Some name, or fome record, or both, fhould afcertain the point; and tradition fhould, alfo, come in: But we have neither records nor tradition to affift our enquiries. (*b*) We are left to the uncertain guidance of mere names. Exeter had various British appellations. That it was fituated in the midft of woods, is evident from its British name *Penbulgoile*, or *the prosperous chief town in the wood*. Not that thefe woods immediately overfhadowed the town. They muft have covered the hills at diftance; where nature purfued “her horizontal march, with fweeping train of foreft.” But the appellation of *Penbulgoile* is vague: Nothing can be deduced from it. One of the names of the British Exeter, however, points out the

(*a*) The name itfelf is British—*Brike*—plur. *Bricion* in Irish. *Whitaker*.

(*b*) The people of Holcombe-Burnell, indeed, have an idle tale on this fubject. On a common in Holcombe-Burnell, is an old military work, which the village-hiftorians afcribe to the ancient Britons. They have a tradition, handed down from generation to generation, that the Britons had fixed on this fpot for the fite of their capital, and that in this ditch we trace the foundations of the original Exeter; which, however, for the convenience of water, was fhortly removed to its prefent fituation.



nature of the soil on which it stood : And the word is *Caerath*, which signifies, *the city of the red soil*. This the Britons applied to Exeter. And *Rougemont*, or the *Red-Mount*, corresponding with this name, would lead us to fix the original Exeter at Rougemont-Castle, where the color of the whole mound is *deep red*. In the mean time, the name of *Iſca*, derived from its river, and *Caerisk*, the *water-city*, or the *city on the river*, would bring the original town, perhaps, more to the west. Mr. Whitaker was inclined, on a very cursory view of Exeter, some years since, to place the British town upon the old ford. "The old ford (says Mr. Whitaker) (*a*) was and is, I think, slanting over the river below the old bridge. The high ground, then, at the city-end of this ford, or the island itself there, if not too much overflowed in winter, must be the site." But I suspect, that the island was overflowed in winter, and even under water in the summer season. The island, indeed, could scarcely have existed at this early period, when the river, probably, strayed at liberty over the adjacent valley, confined by no artificial barriers. There is reason to suppose, that the Exe overflowed all the low grounds from the town to the fields under Cowick. It seems, then, that the British names of Exeter, tend to embarrass the subject, rather than to clear it from its difficulties, whilst *Caerath* directs us to the north, and *Caerisk* to the south-west of the city. But, perhaps, these appellations may be brought to reflect light on each other, if we conceive the British city to have occupied the whole intermediate space between Rougemont and the Island. And indeed, all the British names of Exeter, ambiguous as they are with regard to its situation, very plainly mark its superiority over the Danmonian towns ; a distinction, doubtless, owing to the extent of its buildings. In *Penbulgoile* (*the prosperous chief town in the wood*) in *Caerath* (*the city of the red soil*) and *Caerisk* (*the city on the waters*) we cannot but see its eminence. And *Penucaer*, or the *chief city* (another name of Exeter) more peculiarly points out its greatness. The ground-plot of the British Exeter, was certainly not so contracted as is generally imagined. Among the *British* gold coins found at *Karn-bre* (*b*) in 1749, there is one remarkable coin, on which is engraved *the plan of a city*. Borlase has given us a view of those coins ; (*c*) and he thus describes the coin in question. No. XII. has, on the head, several parallel lines, fashioned into squares, looking like the *plan of a town* ; of which the streets cross nearly at right angles, and the whole is cut by one straight and wider street than the rest." The Doctor afterwards adds : "The figure in the head of number XII. has been before observed to resemble the ichnography of a city, and was, probably, inserted in the coin by the founder, to record the erection of some city ; for that the Britons had such cities is very plain from the noble ruins (a circuit about three or four miles) near Wrottesley, in the county of Stafford, where the parallel partitions, within the outwall, whose foundations are still visible, and represent streets running different ways, put it out of doubt that it must have been a city, and that of the Britons." I am rather surprized, that Dr. Borlase should have thus remarked upon the ground-plot of his city, without venturing to conjecture what city it was. The gold-coin, on which this plan is exhibited, is evidently a coin of the Britons. It represents a British city : And it was found in Danmonium. Is it not natural to suppose then, that this was a city of Danmonium—and, probably, the metropolis ? This plan of the Danmonian city must immediately suggest the idea of the *original* Exeter, even to those who have never seen the *modern*. But, whoever has visited the modern Exeter, must instantly recognize it in the *Karn-bre* coin. It exhibits a very good ground-plot of Exeter. We have here the fore-street, from east to west, running through the city in straight lines. And there is a wonderful accuracy in the plan. The fore-street does not pass through the centre of it ; but the larger part of the plot lies to the south, and the smaller segment to the north ; which is precisely true of the city of Exeter. Surely this was not a random plot of some British town. Though, possibly, the other streets that intersect it may not bear examination, as compared with the present Exeter, yet it sufficiently resembles the modern city, to be received as an engraving of the ancient. What should rather excite our admiration is, that this engraving should be so similar to the present Exeter, allowing for the alterations in the streets and buildings, in

(a) In a letter to the author. Had this excellent Antiquary leisure to inspect the city, I doubt not but he would soon fix the site of the original town, to the satisfaction of the learned.

(b) See *Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 242.

(c) Plate 19.



such a course of time. (a) That this is the ichnography of the British Exeter, is certainly a new discovery, and, on account of its novelty, will be regarded at least with a suspicious eye. But if the coin on which it is found be British, which Borlase has clearly proved, it is, assuredly, the ichnography of a British city. And, if it represent a British city, has not Exeter, for the reasons I have stated, the best claim to be considered as its archetype? At all events, it corroborates our argument in favor of the British architecture. It not only corroborates our argument, but it decides upon the point with the most happy precision. It dissipates from our minds every doubt of the British skill in building; whilst it exhibits a large city, with one grand street stretching through the length of it, and a variety of inferior streets passing in different directions through the whole. After all this disquisition, we may safely, I think, conclude, that the *Isca Danmoniorum* was no mean fortress in the woods, but a metropolis of the western kingdom, well worthy the oriental genius. But, though the metropolis was thus magnificent, we are not to look for an extensive display of architecture in the other Danmonian towns. *Isca* had become the royal residence: Here, therefore, the most numerous as well as the most stately buildings, would naturally be erected. The Danmonian genius, however, was versatile and capricious: Its exertions were not long confined to any single spot. In the mean time, I think it highly probable, that there were towns, in each of the cantreds, more respectable than are generally attributed to the Britons. Richard mentions the *ostium Iscæ fluvii*: And, from the mercantile character of the Danmonians, I should conceive a town of some consequence to have been built at the mouth of the Exe. In this commercial light, *Okehampton*, also, rises to view; situated on the *Ocrinum Jugum*, by the rivers *Ockment*, and preserving the communication between the metropolis of Danmonium, and the country to the north of this chain of mountains: And *Okehampton*, in a line with Exeter, might have been included in the cantred of *Isca*. But *Drewsteington*, the town of *the Druids upon the Teign*, was exceeded, perhaps, only by the metropolis in extent or magnificence of building. Its name announces it to have been *the chief town of the Druids, upon the Teign*. (b) As Exeter was probably supported by its manufacturers and merchants, so *Drewsteington* might have been supported by its priests. That it was their favourite residence, is clearly proved by the many Druidical vestiges around it. It has not flourished, indeed, as a town for ages: But this is no objection to my supposition. As Druidism declined, its chief mansion sunk: And with its Druids, *Drewsteington* perished. Nor is it likely, that the Romans would attempt to raze up the mouldering ruin. The Romans would rather have razed it to the ground. They were the inveterate enemies of Druidism: And its chief seat was, probably, the first object of their vengeance. And *Totnes*, from its high antiquity, has, doubtless, some claim to distinction among the British towns. *Totnes* is situated on the ascent of a (c) rocky hill. It may be described, at present, as one good street about a mile in length, from

(a) The 6th coin in the 19th plate, in *Borlase*, seems to be a duplicate of the 12th coin, though greatly defaced.

(b) *Drewston* in the parish of *Drewsteington*, and *Drewston* in *Chagford*, were also Druid towns. (c) *Leland* thinks its original name was *Dedeneffe*, signifying "a rocky town." *Nesse* is a promontory. *Westcote*, speaking of *Totnes*, says: "It prescribes for antiquity before any great *Bryttanie* yeildes; I speak upon the good warrant of *Geffry of Monmouth*, who resolutely affirmeth, that the famous Roman Trojan landed in this country, first at this place, when hee conquered this land: which is confirmed alsoe by the strength of the *Post Havillan* (if hee presume not a little too boldly) when hee sayth.

*Inde dato Cursu Brutus Comitatus Achate  
Gallorum spoliis cumulus navibus æquet  
Exarat, et superis, auraque faventibus ævis  
Littora salices intrat Totnesia portus.*

This granted (for who will question the long believed history of *Brutus*) wee may boldly & clearly prescribe before all the townes and cities in Great *Bryttaine*, for if there were any in *Albion* before his arrivall wee finde noe mention of them. Now let vs make a brife computation. (to aver our tenet and to pass the time withall while wee are in this good towne) *Brute* arrived here in the time (as *Grafton* saith) that *Hely* was high Priest of *Israel* Anno mundi 2856: before our redemption 1108 yeares, who after hee had conquered many famous Gyants, and his Cousen *Corineus* had in fayr play at a pull of wrestling throwne their Chief Leader *Cogmagog* over the *Ilaw* of *Plymouth* (though the *Kentish* men will have it to bee at *Dover*) hee tooke a Survey of all this island, and coming by the *ryver Thames* for the great pleasure hee tooke in the fayr meadowes, pleasant pastures, amenitie of the

from east to west. It was once walled, and had four gates. Nor ought we to forget Armenton. Baxter in his glossary maintains, that Armenton or Arminton, was the *Ardua* of Anonymous Ravennas, and that this was an erroneous transcript of Armina—*Ar-min-au*, *ad labium unde*—so called by the Britons. According to this writer, therefore, it was an ancient British town. And where could the first Britons (a) have more commodiously fixed their habitations, than on the banks of the river *Arme*? The town of Plymton seems to be marked as British by its conspicuous mound. The *Tamara* of Ptolemy and of Richard, which is still echoed by *Tamerton*, was, assuredly, a town of the Danmonians; and placed on the banks of such a fine river as the Tamar, it was, probably, a town of high commercial character. And the Voluba and Uxella of Ptolemy and Richard, as well as the Cenia of Richard, in the more western parts of Danmonium, must be placed among the ancient towns of the Britons. In the mean time, *Termolus* (b) and *Artavia*, (c) which Richard attributes to the Cimbri, and (d) *Musidum* and (e) *Halangium*, which the same writer places among the Carnabii, are to be considered as flourishing towns before the Roman arrival: And, though not noticed by the ancient geographers, *Redruth* or the *Druid's-town*, is peculiarly distinguished by the castle of Kembre in its vicinity. Thus, then, have I placed the *civil* architecture of Danmonium in a more respectable light than it is generally considered. And, according to this theory, the *military* architecture of the Britons must proportionably rise in our esteem. Cæsar informs us, that the whole study of the nobles was war. That they should have made, therefore, a very great proficiency in the science of fortification might naturally be expected. The notion of the simple fortress in the woods, seems to be chiefly taken from Cæsar's description of a British town. But this description has not been sufficiently regarded. It is a picture of Britons skilled in war: It conveys to us an exalted idea of their military architecture. The fortress of Cassivellaunus, was *oppidum silvis paludibusque munitum*. And the Britons, says Cæsar, *silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt*.

the ayre, and bucksome soyle, bordering her bankes (I doe but exemplifie the history) hee there began to build a citye, which in remembrance of the ancient razed Troy hee called Troye-novant which some 1041 yeares after by King Ludd named Luddstowne, now breisly London: See suppose Brute posited through the country, yet could hee not make such hast with his armye, in a strange countreye, in mountaneous woodye, unmanured land, but it would require time; and hee could hardly conquer the whole Island which had such strong inhabitants, and especially build such a citye in less then 20 yeares, soe beeing 20 yeares before London it must be 376 yeares antienter then Rome, which was after London 356. And Chayr Ebrauck (now called Yorke) as built by Ebrauck king Mempricius sonn, 140 yeares after Anno mundi 2972. soe wee are clear for antiquitie. Now let vs see what other matter it yieldees worthy our observation, we finde that Aurelius Ambros with his brother Vter Pendragon sonnes to Constantius (of the mixed blood of the Bryttaines and Romanes) who fled very young from hence into Little Bryttaine (vpon the death of their elder brother king Constantius the younger trayterously slayn by Vortigern termed the scourge of the countrey and king-killer) returned hither in their riper yeares, and besieged the Traytor in his Castle in Wales and consumed him with fire, about the yeare of our Lord 450. yet whence it should take name, or of the Etymologie not a word is spoken: some take it from the french word *Tout aleffe* which by interpretation is *all at ease*; as if Brute at his arrivall in such a pleasant and fruitfull soyle, & healthy ayre, after soe painfull a navigation should assure himselfe & his fellowe travellers of ease and rest, and soe say vnto them, *tout aleffe* & the L in soe long time changed into N. (which is noe great alteration) we call it *Toutaneffe*; this I could easily and willingly applaud, could I think of Brute being a Roman Trojan spake soe good french, or that the french tongue was then spoken at all; therefore I shall rather joyne in opinion with those which will have it called *Dodoneffe* which signifyeth the rockie towne, or towne on stones, which is very probable (and agreeable to the mind of Leland that ancient Antiquarie) for it standes on the declining of a hill verie stonie and rockie: others shall have leave to make conjectures & hunt further for the derivation of the name; I have done." Westcote's View of Devonshire (Portledge M.S.) p. 205, 206.

(a) "It was with these Armenians (says Vallancey, on the authority of Sir George Yonge) that the Phenicians traded for tin: And we have, at this day, many places of Phenician origin in their names, both in Devon and Cornwall. And in the S.W. of Devonshire, there is still a river, called *Armine*; and the town and hundred are called *Armine-ton* to this day. So, likewise, there was the *Scotium Mons* in Armenia." This is an odd coincidence!

(b) Molland.

(c) Camden speaks of "two towns, called *Herten* and *Hertland*, on the promontory of *Hercules*, called, at this day, *Herty-point*."

(d) *St. Marves*—qu.

(e) *Helfens*—qu.



And the fort in question was *locum egregiè natura atque opere munimum*. (a) The British fortrefs, we fee, was planted in the centre of the woods, defended by the advantages of its pofition, and fecured by a regular rampart and foffe. And Cæfar fpeaks in the higheft terms of its ftrength and contrivance. But this fafnefs in the woods, was no other than fuch a clanfhip as I at firft defcribed, agreeably to the vulgar idea of the British town. It was here, that the chief refided at intervals, together with his vaffals and his cattle. Fond of changing the fcene, he frequently removed from one fortrefs to another: And the number of his fortrefles muft have been determined by the extent of his property. If, then, the Britons could difplay fuch admirable workmanfhip in thefe occasional habitations, they muft have exerted their ingenuity much more confpicuoufly in fortifying thofe cities or towns, where commerce or other caufes had fixed their refidence. Here, the fortrefs of the chief would be built on a more enlarged plan: And a caftle would rife, in the bofom of the wood, perhaps in a turret-like form, and fortified with more extenfive outworks. Of this fort of ftructure, perhaps the caftle of Karnbre is the only one remaining, which we fhould venture to afcribe to the Britons. Karnbre-caftle (b) ftands on a rocky knoll at the eastern end of Karnbre-hill. "The building is footed on an irregular ledge of vaft rocks, whofe fufaces are very uneven, fome high, fome low; and, confequently, the floors of the rooms on the ground-floor muft be fo too. The rocks were not contiguous; for which reafon the architect has contrived fo many arches from rock to rock, as would carry the wall above. The ledge of rocks was narrow; and the rooms purchafed by fo much labor, neither capacious nor handfome." There were fome buildings, at the N. W. end, which were the outworks to this caftle: But its greateft fecurity was the difficult approach to it; the hill being ftrewed with large rocks on every fide. But in the more improved clanfhip, the fortrefs where the chief refided, was by no means fufficient for its defence. Some building muft have been neceffary, perhaps, on a more elevated fcite, capacious enough for a large garrifon, and for the refidence, alfo, of the chief and his domeftics. I have already obferved, that a mount was, probably, erected on the higheft grounds, in the neighbourhood of every clanfhip—that it was, at firft, the mark of a new fettlement, agreeably to the Afatic cuftom, but that, very fhortly, it was ufed as a beacon. In procefs of time, however, thefe mounts prefented themfelves to the Britons, as the moft convenient fituations for their cafellated ftructures: And, for the defence of the more populous and flourishing clanfhips, which had been enlarged into confiderable towns, and in which the inhabitants, at length, were ftationary, the *beacon* became the (c) *keep* of a caftle. Thus, in Ireland, are a great number of round hills, for the moft part artificial, on which turrets or caftles are erected. (d) The caftle of Rougemont ftands on the higheft part of the hill on which Exeter is built, and on the N. E. extremity. The mount, was, probably, volcanic; and the masonry on the top of it, raifed by the labor of the ancient Britons: But the outworks muft be attributed to fubfequent times. Okehampton-caftle, which ftands a little weft of the centre of the county, and near the town of Okehampton, is faid to have been built by Baldwin *de Brioniis*, who, as it appears from Domefday-book, was in poffeffion of it, when that furvey was taken. But, I think, this caftle has the appearance of much higher antiquity. Its fcite near *Ockinton* (the town on the *Ock*) and juft on the *Ocrinum Jugum*, which carries with it the name of the river, fuggelts to us the idea of a British fortrefs; whilft its artificial mount, thrown up on fo commanding a fpot, feems equally calculated for the purpofes of a colonial landmark, a beacon, or a keep. At prefent, Okehampton-caftle is in ruins; though there remains a part of the keep, and fome fragments of high walls, the folidity of which, together with their advantageous fituation, and the fpace they occupy, clearly evince, that when entire, this caftle was both ftrong and extenfive. The caftle of Totnes ftands on the N. W. fide of the town, not far from the ruins of the north-gate. Its keep, of great acclivity, rifes to a towering height, and commands the circumjacent country to a vaft extent. The mount of earth at Plymton, was, doubtlefs, thrown up by the Britons. This mount of a pyramidical form, is about two hundred feet in circumference, and feventy in height: On the top,

(a) Cæfar, lib. v. feft. xx.

(b) Borlase's Antiquities, p. 319, 320.

(c) A Keep is a building elevated above the reft, by a mount or tumulus, for the moft part artificially raifed. Borlase's Antiquities, p. 318.

(d) See Wright's Louthiana.



it has a circular wall. Trematon-castle, near Saltash, from its keep and other particulars, I conceive to have been British. That it existed before the Norman Conquest, will be proved hereafter. And it was certainly neither Danish, Saxon, nor Roman. But whether it was raised by the Britons in this or a subsequent period, we cannot determine. Reftormel-castle was, likewise, anterior to the conquest: But when it was built by the Britons, is uncertain. It stands about a mile north of the town of Loftwithiel, not on a factitious hill, but on a rocky knoll on the edge of a hill, overlooking a deep valley. The rock is planed into a level, and shaped round by a ditch: And the keep erected upon the rock, has sufficient elevation. At Trematon, the keep is raised on an artificial hill. As Launceston, or Dunheved-castle was, undoubtedly, the strongest and the most spacious of all the Danmonian castles, I shall give a more particular description of it. Leland, who had seen the most remarkable buildings in England, observes: “The(*a*) hill, on which the keep stands, is large, and of a very terrible height, and the arx of it—the keep—having three several wards, is the strongest, but not the biggest that ever I saw in any ancient work in England.” The principal entrance (*says Borlase*) (*b*) is on the N.E. the gateway, one hundred and twenty feet long. The whole keep is ninety-three feet diameter. It consisted of three wards. The wall of the first ward was not quite three feet thick, and therefore, I think, could only be a parapet to defend the brow of the hill. The wall of the second ward is twelve feet thick, and has a stair-case three feet wide, at the left hand of the entrance, running up to the top of the rampart: The entrance of this stair-case has a round arch of stone over it. On the left of the entrance into the third ward, a stair-case leads to the top of the innermost rampart, the wall of which is ten feet thick, and thirty-two feet high from the floor. The room is eighteen feet six inches diameter. The lofty taper hill on which this strong keep is built, is partly natural and partly artificial. It spread farther into the town anciently than it does at present; and by the *radius* of it was three hundred and twenty feet diameter, and very high. Norden gives us a wall at the bottom of this hill: And, though there is no stress to be laid on his drawings, yet it is not unlikely that it had a wall or parapet, round the bottom of it, towards the town; as the principal rampart of the bas-cour breaks off very abruptly, fronting the town. More than half the bas-cour is now covered with houses.” Mr. King’s remarks on this castle are ingenious. “*Launceston-castle* (*c*) (*says Mr. King*) must be placed among castles of very great antiquity; both on account of the manner in which the stair-cases are constructed, and on account of the small dimensions of the area of the inner tower. Perhaps, it was erected in the first ages, by the Danmonii, who had acquired a degree of art beyond the rest of the Britons, from their commercial intercourse with the eastern nations.” But my conjectures relating to the eastern origin of the Danmonii, will best answer to the subsequent description. “We cannot but remark (continues Mr. King) the similarity between this Castle of Launceston, and that of Ecbatana, the capital of Media, as described by Herodotus. The keep of our magnificent fortress, which was built in the first ages of the world, greatly resembles the keep of Ecbatana. At Launceston we find three great and elevated circular walls, towering *over and behind* each other; namely, the wall of the first ward; that of the second ward; and that of the innermost ward or central tower. Besides which, there is, on one part, the outward wall of the bas-cour of the castle—which would appear in many directions at a distance, as a fourth wall beneath the rest. Herodotus(*d*) tells us, that Dejoces compelled the Medes to come under one polity, and to build a city, surrounded with fortifications; and that seven strong and magnificent walls (known by the name of Ecbatana) were then built. They were, he says, of a circular form, one within the other; and each gradually raised just so much above the other as the battlements are high; the situation of the ground, which rose by an easy ascent, being favourable to the design. The king’s palace and treasury were built within the innermost circle of the seven which composed the city. The first and most spacious of those walls, was equal, in circumference, to the city of Athens; and white from the foot of the battlements; the second black; the third of a purple color; the fourth blue; and the fifth of a deep orange—all being coloured with different compositions. And of the two innermost walls, one was

(*a*) Vol. 2, p. 79.

(*b*) Antiquities, p. 326.

(*c*) Arch. vol. 6. p. 291.

(*d*) Book 1st.

painted on the battlements, of a silver color; and the other gilded with gold. Having thus provided for his own security, he ordered the people to fix their habitations without the walls of this city. This is very nearly a description of Launceston-castle, and the adjacent town—almost the only difference being, that the scale in one instance, is larger than in the other, and that the battlements of the walls of the one were painted with different colors, and those of the other left plain. As to the affinity of these buildings, or the derivation of the plan of Dunheved, from the east, every one must be left to form his own conclusions: But when I read in the 9th chapter of the 2d book of Kings, that on Jehu's being anointed King over Israel, at Ramoth-Gilead, the captains of the host, who were then sitting in council, as soon as they heard thereof, took every man his garment, and put it under him, *on the top of the stairs*; and blew with trumpets, proclaiming—“Jehu is King!” and when I consider the historian's account of Ecbatana, which was at no great distance from Syria, and in a country much connected with it, and reflect also, upon the appearance of the top of the staircase, at Launceston, I am apt to conclude, that at Launceston, is still to be beheld nearly the same kind of architectural scenery, as was exhibited on the inauguration of Jehu at Ramoth-Gilead.”

Thus I have described two sorts of British castles; the first fort turretwise; the second with a keep. And I have described the British architecture, both *civil* and *military*, in a more advanced state than is generally conceived. In the mean time, there were roads, which not only passed from town to town, but formed extensive communications through Danmonium and the neighbouring kingdoms. That Belinus made a high road through the whole length of the island, is asserted by our chronicles: But this, surely, is apocryphal. (a) The existence of British roads may be maintained on better authority. The trading spirit of the Danmonians could not have rested for a moment without such communications. Before the Romans (says Mr. Whitaker) there were, probably, several ways in the southern parts of the island; which had been previously laid out, though rudely, for the public use, and adapted, though indifferently, to the conveyance of its natural commodities to the ports, and to the introduction of foreign from them. (b) Mr. Whitaker plainly proves, that the two great roads of the *Watling* and *Ikening* streets (the first leading to the *Guetheli* or *Gatheli* of Ireland—the second, to the *Icenii* of the eastern coast) were originally undertaken and executed before the invasion of the Romans. “Both must have been begun, he says, by the Belgæ of the south countries: And, what is very extraordinary, both plainly appear to have commenced from the south.” According to my theory, the first British roads would have been framed by the Danmonii, in whose country the British trade originated: And, in the progress of commerce from the west, these roads would have been gradually extended, and new communications opened through the island.

Such

(a) Sammes tells us, in his *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata*, that “*Belyn* set himself to the finishing of that great work begun by his father *Dunwalllo*, the making and paving of four great high-ways through his kingdom of *Loegria*, now called *England*. The first is named *Foss*, and beginneth at the corner of *Tonels* in *Cornwall*, and passeth through *Devonshire* and *Somersetshire*, and so to *Coventry*, *Leicester*, and from thence (as *Raxulph*, a monk of *Chester*, recordeth) through the *wastes* to *Newark*, and ended at *Lincoln*.” P. 173. “Att this town held the most south or southmost part of this kingdome began the *Fosse-street* which with *Watling-street* & *Ikneid-street* & *Exming-street* were the 4 high-ways that traversed over *England*, first began by that sapient Lawguier *Mulmutius* kinee of this Realme, and finished & paved by his martial sonne *Belynus* vpon the credit of the *Bruteys* storie 500 yeares before the incarnation of *Christ*. thes 4 wayes crossed over the whole *Land*, being very needfull & necessary both in warrs as peace, and preuiledged as well by *Mulmutius* his own edicts as the *Roman* Lawes, and should bee in like respect with vs, the name intimating as much; the *Kings High way*. and *Bracton* saith they are *Res sacræ, et qui aliquid occupauerit, excedendum fines et terminus terræ suæ, dicitur fecisse præpresuram super ipsum regem*: They are privileged places, and hee that makes trespass there committs prepraflure vpon the King himselfe. This *Fosse-street*ooke beginning here (1) at this town & runneth through the whole shire & *Somerset* (& in some places to bee perceived) and soe (as an Author saith) to *Tutburye* & by *Chester-ton*, by *Coventra*, vnto *Leicester*, and soe from thence by *wildes* and playnes to *Newark* and thence to *Lyncoln*.” *Wetmore View* (Portledge M.S.) p. 206.

(b) Col. Simcoe is of opinion, that the British commerce must have required public roads before the Roman arrival. In a letter to the author, the Colonel says: “The mountainous region of



Such are the two different representations of the *civil* and *military* architecture of the Britons; which, I think, may be brought to harmonize, by considering the little towns in the woods or the caverns in the rocks, as the immediate resource of the settlers, and the larger towns or cities as the product of an advanced colonization. Nor is it at all improbable, that a great number of such fastnesses in the woods, which were by no means contemptible, should have remained in their original state, the temporary residence of their respective chiefs; whilst a few from their advantageous site, or other circumstances, might have been surrounded with buildings to a great extent, the seats of manufacture and the marts of commerce. If, however, these different representations cannot be reconciled, I do not scruple to attribute the meaner architecture to the Belgic tribes; whilst the more splendid and magnificent, undoubtedly, belongs to our colonists from Asia.

From the *civil* and *military* buildings of the Danmonii, let us pass to the *religious*. The vestiges of Druidism that are to be traced in Danmonium, must be our chief guide, on the present subject. I shall describe our Druidical monuments in the following order—the *Rock-Idol*—the *Logan-Stone*—the *Rock-Bason*—the *single Stone-Pillar*—two, three, or more *Stone-Pillars*—*Circular Stone-Pillars*—*Inscribed Stone-Pillars*—and the *Cromlech*.—In the Druid ages, stones of various shapes were consecrated to religion. The Arabians, the Syrians, and the Phenicians worshipped conical or quadrangular stones, the images of their Gods. But the eastern people confined not their homage to rocks of a particular shape: They prostrated themselves before the rudest. In Danmonium, the Druids, as I have already observed, professed to believe, that rocky places were the favourite abodes of their divinities. And, wherever we find stones, which are at the same time massy and mishapen, there we look for the druidical gods. Vastness, in short, and rudeness, were the characteristics of the Druid *Rock-Idols*. In Cornwall, Borlase has noticed a great number of these stone deities; though he seems to have indulged his fancy in attempting to give exact and discriminating delineations of idols that mock description. In Devonshire, we have an ample field for such investigation. But, the misfortune is, that nature has exhibited her wild scenery in so many places, that we know not whither to direct our first attention. She has scattered the rocks around us so profusely, that we are afraid to fix on a Druid-Idol, lest the neighbouring mass should have the same pretensions to adoration; and all the stones upon the hills and in the vallies, should start up into divinities. If Bowerman's-Nose, for instance, in the vicinity of Dartmoor, be considered as a rock-idol of the Druids, there is scarcely a torr on the forest, or its environs, but may claim the same distinction. Yet this enormous mass of stone upon Heighendown, in Manaton, has been marked as druidical. Placed on a most elevated spot, it rises to the height of more than fifty feet. Viewed at a distance, it has the appearance of a human figure: and its gigantic form has given rise to a variety of fables. On approaching it, we find that it consists of several ledges of granite, piled one upon another, in the rudest manner. If, however, we bow down to this granitical god, we shall meet deities at every step; whilst (a) Heytorr, a hundred feet in height, the tors of Believer and of Hestary—whilst Mistorr, and the torr of Ham, (b) Steeperton-torr, and Miltorr and Row-torr, frown on us with new majesty. Thus Dartmoor would be one wide Druid(c) temple;

Dartmoor (part of the Ocrinum Jugum of the ancients) separates Devonshire into two districts, each of which must have had its *distinct road*; while a third must have penetrated the mountains, to afford a ready conveyance for the tin, which abounded in those regions. These roads, from the nature of the country, must have passed the Exe at the same ford, in their progress towards the isle of Wight: and this ford I take to have been that above Cowley Bridge, between Pynes and the camp on the heights of Stoke, above *Duryard, the ancient wood*, as its name signifies. This road, upon the same principles, may be traced over the Clyst, the Otter, and the Axe, till it leaves Devonshire; and must have been prior to Vespasian. Sir R. Worley, in his History of the Isle of Wight, to the best of my recollection, mentions the ford, and where it is probable (according to Diodorus) that it passed to that island." This far Colonel Simcoe. That passage of Diodorus Siculus, which relates to the Danmonian commerce, will be examined in the eighth section of this chapter.

(a) Certainly a rock-idol: Its *bason*, added to its *enormity* and *unshapeliness*, determines the point.

(b) Hamstorr on Dartmoor.

(c) Figuratively speaking. The principal rocks on Dartmoor, however, might have been British idols. And in the vicinity of each idol, was, probably, a British town. Blackstone and Whitstone, we may conclude, were rock-idols, from the terms of wonder with which they are noticed both by

Rifden



temple; and its dark waste, now consecrated ground, would breathe a browner horror. In the parish of Drewsteignton, which seems to have been singled out by the Druids, as the peculiar seat of their religion, there is, at the end of a down, at no great distance from the Cromlech, an awful precipice; where the rocks are divulged into gloomy chasms, and terminate abruptly in a perpendicular manner. Than this spot, none could be more adapted to religious worship *sub dio*, or to the accommodation of a numerous assembly. One rock in particular, about sixteen feet high, detached from other masses and plane on the superficies, the quoit of which hanging over the stratum below projects three or four feet, appeared well suited for an orator to address the multitude. Adjoining to this spot is another detached body, most singular in its appearance—having two ledges approaching towards each other, yet not touching, being separated by a perpendicular hollow about a foot wide, through which may be discerned other rocks lying behind. Over these, in the manner of a Cromlech, a transverse enormous impost superintends, decorated with old fantastic ivy, and tufted with a moss peculiar to the moorstone. At a little distance from Grimspound, on Hameldown, in Manaton, is *Grimstorr*; to the south of which, on Withecombe-common, is Broad-burrow, and still further south, Three-burrows. About four miles from Ashburton, in the parish of Dean-Prior, the vale of Dean-Burn unites the terrible and the graceful in so striking a manner, that to enter this recess hath the effect of enchantment; whilst enormous rocks seem to close around us, amidst the deep foliage of venerable trees, and the roar of torrents. And Dean-Burn would yield a noble machinery for working on superstitious minds under the direction of the Druids. In the mean time, shapeless piles of stone, on Exmoor or the adjacent country, might be approached as rock-idols of the Britons. The Valley of Stones, indeed, in the vicinity of Exmoor, is so awfully magnificent, that we need not hesitate in pronouncing it to have been the favourite residence of Druidism. And the country around it, is peculiarly wild and romantic. (a) This valley is about half a mile in length, and, in general, about three hundred feet in breadth, situated between two hills, covered with an immense quantity of stones, and terminated by rocks which rise to a great height, and present a prospect uncommonly grotesque. At an opening between the rocks, towards the close of the valley, there is a noble view of the British channel and the Welsh coast. The scenery of the whole country in the neighbourhood of this curious valley is wonderfully striking. (b) The Valley of Stones has a close resemblance

Rifdon and Westcote. The latter thus expresses himself: "I recall myself to Moreton, vpon sight of those two workes which shew themselves so great and huge. they are distant one from the other three miles. and are distinguished by severall names of White. one and Blackstone. the last seemeth somewhat strange to all beholders. to other some a fearefull wonder. for it is a very great worke set vpon another of much lesse quantity. which it overlayeth far on each syde. And embosshed with so great a bellye that many men and beasts may be sheltered vnder the coverture thereof yet so equally peaced that there is noe feare of falling though it seeme at first doubtfull." Westcote's View (Portledge M.S.) p. 220.

(a) The Valley of Stones is, in some measure, indebted, for the distinction to which it hath lately been raised, to Dr. Pococke, Bishop of Upper-Ossory, who visited it some years since, with Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter.

(b) A Gentleman, who lately visited this valley, was so kind as to communicate the following description of it to the Author: "At the lower end, where the valley of stones was the widest, about four hundred feet, in the middle (as it were stopping up the valley) arose a vast bulwark of rocks, tier upon tier, like some gigantic building in part demolished; and the stones that composed it flung across each other in the wildest confusion—a mass more rude and enormous than any I had yet observed. More than half of the valley was shut from the sea by its broad base, which tapering by degrees, closed at its apex in a conical form. The imagination would be at a loss to figure a ruder congeries than was here beheld. Rocks piled upon rocks at one time in unequal and rough layers; at another, transverse, and diagonally inclined against each other; in short, in every form possible to be conceived; threatening, however, every moment to be released from their contiguity to one another, and to precipitate themselves into the valley or the depth of waters. On the left side, one only rock attracted my notice. This projected boldly from the inclining steep, and thrusting itself forward, braved the cold blasts of the Severn sea with its broad perpendicular front chequered with creeping ivy, and tinted with variegated moss. The valley lost itself rapidly, on either side the conical mountain in the sea. Beyond it, the cliffs rose higher and higher, upright from the waters—towards the interior country clothed with wood, which (though at a distance) formed a pleasing and striking contrast with the scenery on this side, which had nothing of the picturesque in it; but comprized every thing that was wild, grand, and terrific."

to several of those spots in Cornwall, which tradition has sanctified with the venerable names of rock-idols, Logan-stones, or rock-basons : And the north of Devon, though it may furnish us with no tradition of the Druids, must yet be examined with an eye to druidical antiquities. If the hills or the vallies which have been long consecrated to the genius of the Druids of Cornwall, deserve so high an honor, I have little doubt but that the same distinction is due to those romantic scenes in Devonshire, which hitherto we have been led to view with an incurious eye ; or to admire, perhaps, for their rude magnificence, whilst we carried our ideas no farther than the objects themselves. Not that the Druids formed these scenes : No—they only availed themselves of such recesses ; to which they annexed sanctity, by commemorating there, the rites of religion. The rock-idols are *purely natural*—as natural as the groves of Mona : But as they suited the superstition of the times, and served to add a solemnity to the druidical institutions, the policy of those who governed the devotions of the multitude, turned this fantastic scenery to the best account ; and secured the public reverence by impressing every imagination with the wild and the terrible. But this was not all. Whilst the fancy was awed with such rude grandeur, an attempt was made to attract admiration by something that bore the appearance of art : And the Druids endeavoured to gain credit among the vulgar, for the extent of their mechanical powers, by pointing to objects which to a careless eye might appear an artificial structure more than a natural mass, the effect of design and not of chance. But those rocks are, undoubtedly, natural ; though some labor was employed, in a few instances, to make them look artificial. Nature, or some great convulsion in nature, left those rocks in their present fantastic state : Or, if any art were applied to rock-idols, it was only to remove some earth, or some surrounding stones from the larger or more curious mass : And, then, the whole would put on the tremendous appearance which it now bears. The whole army of Xerxes could not have raised, by force or skill, such ledges of rock, piled up in the Valley of Stones, as if by human industry. The most remarkable rock-idol in this valley is the Cheefewring. Lyttelton<sup>(a)</sup> observes, that it greatly resembles the cheefewring near Altonon. Between Combmartin and Linton (says the Dean)<sup>(b)</sup> and opposite to what you apprehend to be a Druid gorfeddau, is a karn of rocks, which they call the Cheefewring. It is much like that at Altonon." Dr. Borlase has taken no notice of the cheefewring at Altonon ; but he describes a wringcheefe in the parish of St. Clere—" a groupe of rocks that attracts the admiration of all travellers." The whole heap of stone (he says) is thirty-two feet high : and the great weight of the stones above, and the slenderness of those below, makes every one wonder how so ill-grounded a pile could resist for so many ages the storms of such an exposed situation. It may seem to some, that this is an artificial building of flat stones laid carefully on one another, and raised to this height by human skill and labor : But, as there are several heaps of stones on the same hill, and also on a hill about a mile distant, called *Hell-marr*, of like fabrick to this, though not near so high, I should think it a natural cragg, and that what stones surrounded it and hid its grandeur, were removed by the Druids. From the well-poised structure, and the great elevation of the groupe (as well as other circumstances) I think we may truly reckon it among the rock-deities ; and that its tallness and nice ballance might probably be intended to express the stateliness and justice of the supreme Being.<sup>(c)</sup> Borlase discovers the traces of Saturn, Mars, and Mercury, in the names of several places, where his rock-idols are situated. Thus in *Bellever-Torr* upon Dartmoor, we have the rock of *Bel* or *Belus*—in *Belfton*, at its northern extremity, the town of *Belus*—in *Misfor* the rock of *Misfor*—in *Hessary-torr* the

(a) Afterwards, Bishop of Carlisle.

(b) In a letter to Milles.

(c) Borlase's Antiquities, p. 165. Perhaps the most curious stone-deity in Cornwall, is that " vast oval pebble in the parish of Constantine, which is placed on the points of two natural rocks. The longest diameter of this stone is thirty-three feet, pointing due north and south : And it is fourteen feet six inches deep. See Borlase's Antiquities, (1) plate XI. p. 166. A very ingenious friend lately informed me, that he had long considered this *Tolmen* as "*Cutbirt*, and as a representation of the ARK resting on Mount *Ararat*." He once suggested this idea to Mr. BRYANT, who, on looking at the plate in Borlase, was struck at the conjecture, and thought it extremely probable. The *Tolmen* is, undoubtedly, an exact figure of the *Ark*.

(1) Inscribed " to the Rev. Charles Lyttelton, L. L. D. Dean of Exeter,"



rock of *Hefus*. Thus *Hamsferr*, also, was the rock of *Ham* or *Anmon*: And the numerous (*a*) *Hams* in Devonshire, all carry us to the same original. This much for the Rock-Idol.

The *Logan* or *Rocking-Stone* must, also, be noticed among the rude stone-monuments of the Druids. Pliny hath, evidently, the *Logan-stone* in view, when he tells us, that at *Harpasa*, a town of *Asia*, was a rock of a wonderful nature. "Lay one finger on it and it will stir; but thrust at it with your whole body, and it will not move." (*b*) There is another passage in Pliny's *Natural History*, extremely apposite to the present subject: Yet I have never seen it quoted in any account of these natural or artificial wonders. "*Talis* (Colossus) *et Tarenti factus a Lyfippo XL cubitorum. Mirum in eo, quod manu, ut ferunt, mobilis, ea ratione libramenti est, ut nullis convellatur procellis: Id quod providisse et artifex dicitur, magno intervallo, unde maxime statum opus erat frangi, opposita columna. Itaque propter magnitudinem difficultatemque movendi non attigit eum Fabius Verrucosus, cum Herculem qui est in capitolio inde transferret.*" (*c*) In Wales, this stone is called *Y Maen Sigl*, that is, the *Shaking-stone*. But, "in Cornwall, we call this stone *Logan* (says Borlase) the meaning of which I do not understand." This is singular. In the language of the vulgar, to *logg* is to move to and fro (*d*) It is a frequent word both in Cornwall and Devon, at the present day: And it always implies this kind of vibratory motion. (*e*) Toland seems to be of opinion, that the *Logan-stone* was placed in its present position by human art. But, in general, it is thus nicely balanced by the hand of nature. In the parish of Drewsteignton, under Piddledown, and in the channel of the Teign, is a druidical monument of this description. The *Moving-rock* is thus poised upon another mass of stone, which is deep-grounded in the bed of the river: It is unequally sided, of great size, at some parts fix, at others seven feet in height, and at the west end, ten. From its west to east points, it may be in length about eighteen feet. It is flattish on the top. It seems to touch the stone below in no less than three or four places; but, probably, it is the gravel which the floods have left between, that causes this appearance. I easily rock'd it with one hand; but its quantity of motion did not exceed one inch, if so much. The equipoise, however, was more perceptible a few years since: And it was, probably, balanced with such nicety in former times, as to move with the slightest touch. It is remarkable, that the surface of the lower stone is somewhat sloping, so that it should seem easy to shove off the upper stone; but the united efforts of a number of men, who endeavoured to displace it, had not the smallest effect. Both the stones are granite, which is thick strewn in the channel of the river, and over all the adjacent country. It seems to have been the work of nature. Shall we suppose that it has subsisted from the beginning; or that the upper stone fell from the rocks of the adjoining steep; or was left here by the deluge? On the brow of a hill, near the same river, at Holy-street, in the parish of Chagford, is another *Logan-stone*. It is not so large as that at Drewsteignton; is more easily moved, and rocks more. I thought I discovered a cavity in the centre of the surface of the lower stone, seeming to receive a corresponding part of the upper. That this *Logan-stone* is the work of art, copied by the Druids from similar ones in nature, would not admit of a doubt, if the circumstance of the mortice were (*f*) ascertained. The scenery around the  
Drewsteignton

(*a*) Places consecrated to the god *Han*, or colonized by *Han* the son of *Neah*, afterwards worshipped as a god under various forms.

(*b*) Pliny—Lib. II. c. 69. (*c*) L. 34, c. 7.

(*d*) So a Cornish tinner explained the word to me: And, on Ashburton-Downs, a common labourer, on my mentioning a rocking-stone, instantly called it a *Logan-rock*. On my asking him the meaning of *logan*, he said: "*Why, be loggs* (moves) *to and fro.*"

(*e*) Hist. Druid. p. 103.

(*f*) Before I had paid a visit to the *Logan-stones*, I received the following remarks on the druidical scenery of Drewsteignton and the neighbourhood, from a gentleman, whose keen insight into antiquities excites my admiration, whilst his good-nature and unaffected manner of communicating his discoveries, no less awaken my gratitude. "On the very edge of the river Teign, is a most enormous stone, or piece of rock, supported on the sharp points of two others, in such a manner, that this stone which hangs over them, may be set in motion by a man, and will vibrate backwards and forwards with an appearance as if it would fall into the river: Yet no power or force can displace it. This hanging-stone is nearly the size of that which covers the three pillars at Drewsteignton. On each side of the banks of the Teign, and throughout the parish of Chagford, the fields and roads were covered with huge stones, not quite so large as those at Drewsteignton or at Sticklepath, but which have, also, the appearance of *ruks*. Large clusters of them are seen in some grounds



Drewsteignton Logan-stone has an uncommon grandeur. The path that leads to it by the margin of the river Teign, winds along, beneath the precipitous hill of Piddle-down. This hill rises majestically high, to the north: And, at the greatest distance, is seen a channel, like a streamwork, evidently formed by the floods, which have washed down, in many places, the natural soil into the river, and left it bare and rocky, or sandy. On the other side of the Teign, and opposite to this hill, the richness of Whiddon-park forms a beautiful contrast with these craggy declivities. Such is this druidical scenery, which inspires even the cultivated mind with a sort of religious terror. We need not wonder, then, that the ignorant multitude were struck with astonishment at the fearful magnificence of every object, whether they turned their eyes up the steep where the rocks frowned over them, or whether they looked onward through the valley, where foamed the waters of the Teign; since, to the vulgar, every rock was a god, or the residence of some spiritual intelligence, and even the gloom it shed was sacred—since the river was the habitation of genii, by whose agency its waters were restrained within its banks, or burst forth to deluge the country. Amidst such a scene, therefore, the Logan-stone, which, doubtless, acquired a more than common degree of sanctity from its position in the very channel of the river, must have been an admirable engine of priestcraft, and have operated on the multitude precisely as the Druids wished. In the parish of Withecombe, between Withecombe-church and Rippen Torr, there is a Logan-stone, of a roundish form, measuring eleven feet in diameter. It is called the Nutcrackers; having been the resort of the common people, during the nut season, for the purpose of cracking their nuts. But in consequence of its being thus frequented, the owner of the estate where it stood (if I was rightly informed) got it removed from its ancient position: So that it is, at present, motionless; though, before it was displaced, it was made to vibrate by a very little force. On East-down, in the parish of Manaton, is a Logan-stone, called in the neighbourhood the (a) *Whooping-rock*, from the noise which it used to make, when set in motion by the winds. In stormy weather, it might be heard at the distance of at least three miles, with the wind. A few years ago, several persons moved it by main force, off its balance: So that it *loggs* no more. It is evidently a druidical Logan-stone—and has been venerated by the superstitious neighbourhood as an enchanted rock, from the time of the Druids to the present day: And the hands that wantonly displaced it from its primitive position, are execrated by the villagers around, as having profanely violated the spirit of the rock. Two ledges of stone run parallel to each other, with a considerable opening between them; or rather one large rock, displaced by some violent convulsion. A stone was placed at the west end of the south ledge, on one little point. This, then, was the Logan-stone, that moved at the slightest touch, whilst it preserved its equipoise. Near the Valley of Stones, there is a Logan-stone on the top of a very high cliff. The upper stone is of a different quality from that on which it rests. It is more solid and gritty: A large piece of rock is fallen on it. (b)—The use of the Logan-stone is uncertain. According to Toland, “the Druids made the people believe, that

grounds adjoining to Whiddon-park: And on a high hill, just above the house of a Mr. Southmead, there is a huge mass, supported at one end by an enormous pillar, and the other end leaning against the hill.” I can only add, that in consequence of these remarks, I have narrowly inspected all this scenery—with a strong prepossession on my mind, that it was, in a great measure, artificial. I was almost determined to convert every cluster of stones into a ruin: But I was much disappointed on viewing these phenomena. They are certainly natural. If they are ruins, they are the ruins only of nature, deluged by torrents or convulsed by earthquakes.

(a) Giraldus Cambrensis mentions a large flat stone, ten feet long, six wide, and one foot thick, which in his time served as a bridge over the river Alun, in Pembroke-shire. It was called in British, *Lech Lawar*, that is, the *Speaking-stone*: And the vulgar tradition was, that when a dead body happened to be carried over, this stone spoke, and with the struggle of the voice cracked in the middle; and the chink, from which the voice issued, was then to be seen. Possibly, this tradition might be owing to its having been once in a situation to make a *whooping* sound; like the *Whooping-rock* or Logan-stone of Manaton.

(b) Mr. Badcock says, “that he cannot be certain that it ever moved.” But his correspondent informs him, that “some years ago, there was a rock in the Valley of Stones that was balanced and moved, but that one of the fragments near it having fallen through decay, the end rested and still rests on this stone, so that it can no longer be moved. From the whole of what I have heard of it, says this gentleman, I have no doubt but these rocky fragments are the ruins of a Druid temple.”

they alone could move these stones, and by a miracle only; by which pretended miracle, they condemned or acquitted the accused, and often brought criminals to confess, what could in no other way be extorted from them.”(a) And, surely, it is not improbable, that the Druids discovering this uncommon property in the natural Logan-stones, soon learned to make use of it as an occasional miracle, and that they consecrated artificial Logan-rocks, where nature had not already prepared them. Spirits were then reported to inhabit these rocks; the vibratory motion I have described, was adduced in proof of this; and, to complete the whole, the Logan-stone became an idol.

The two Druidical monuments which I have now represented, are both so rude, and of such different sizes, that to convey a just notion of their form, is impossible. They are, indeed, in a great measure, natural. But it is their enormity, the singularity of their position, the curiousness of their combination, and the grotesque appearance of surrounding objects, that suggest the idea of their druidical sanctity. Yet the Rock-idol and the Logan-stone have frequently less dubious marks of Druidism. The *Rock-basins*, which is often found on both, is a vestige of the Druids, less equivocal. The *hollows* or *artificial basins*, sunk into the surface of the rocks, are monuments of a very singular kind. They are generally found on the highest hills, and on the tops of the most conspicuous karns. They are never seen on the side of rocks, but always on the top; their openings horizontally facing the heavens. These basins are not uniform in their shape: some are quite irregular, some oval, and some are exactly circular. Their size is from six feet to a few inches in diameter. Some have lips or outlets: Others have none. The smaller basins have often little falls into a larger basin, which receives their tribute, and detains it, having no outlet. Other large basins, intermixed with little ones, have passages from one to another, and by successive falls uniting, transmit what they receive into one common basin, which has a drain, that serves itself, and all the basins above it. Dr. Borlase's remarks on Rock-basins, are to this purpose: And my own observations have confirmed the truth of them. Of the basins on the Rock-idols, the following have fallen under my notice. On a rock, at no great distance from the cataract in Christow, is a basin of this description: And there are several Rock-basins on the top of that vast pile of stone, at the end of the Druidical down in Drewsteignton. On *Willingstone-rock*, in Moretonhampstead, are two *Rock-basins*. *Kestor-rock*, on the east side of Dartmoor, and *Heytorr* on the S. E. border of the forest, on Ashburton downs, are natural rocks, rising out of the earth: But they have *small basins* hollowed out on their tops; of which some will hold four or five gallons, being two feet or more in diameter, and from six to ten inches deep. There is a slight of steps, regularly cut out, in Heytorr-rock, by which the Druids might ascend to the basin on the top, and perform the accustomed ceremonies, whilst the multitudes were assembled below. In Withecombe parish, *Miltorr* must have been a rock in high estimation with the Druid priesthood. On the top ledge of stone (which is twelve feet by eight) there are four *basins*. The largest basin is two feet three quarters; the second, one foot three quarters; the third, one foot and one quarter; the fourth, one foot. The first and fourth, are placed south; the second, due east; the third, north. These Rock-basins have, each of them, a lip: But they do not communicate as is the case in some monuments of this kind. To one of these basins there are little ducts, designed to lead the water from the inclined plane into the cavity. From this eminence of *Miltorr*, a wild collection of karns are seen, at various distances, consisting of different species of granite, unmixed with any other stone—such as Belt-torr—Benjie-torr—Yarter-torr—Quarnell-torr—Sharper-torr.—On Bel-torr, are two very large Rock-basins, on one detached fragment of rock; and one Rock-basin on another fragment of rock. They are all without lips; and on the very verge of the rocks—which is always, indeed, the case. The fragment (for such I call it from its appearance) on which the two basins appear, is at some distance from the other enormous masses of stone. Benjie-torr is a bare stone hill—Yarter-torr consists of large ledges of rock, irregularly piled—Quarnell-torr will occur among the barrows—On Sharper-torr there is a basin, on the edge of the rock, with one lip. On Dartmoor, within the limits of the parish of Holn, there are various grotesque rocks, with basins. On *Pentorr*, in Dartmoor, are *four basins*, cut on the top stone, each about two feet in diameter. On the Logan-rock which I have described, in the channel of the Teign, is a basin of an elliptical

(a) Hist. of the Druids, p. 203.

form. The above are the Rock-basons which I have had an opportunity of noticing in Devon. And they correspond with Borlase's description of the Rock-basons in Cornwall. But many of these basons are mere natural hollows. And their formation is to be attributed to the water. The surface of the rocks was, at first, rugged: And rain-water, repeatedly falling, and naturally resting in the little hollows, would wear them into deep hollows. Yet there are, surely, Rock-basons that are not owing to such attrition; particularly those which have lips: Most of the lip-hollows are, confessedly, artificial. With respect to the use of these basons, I think we may easily conjecture, that they were contrived by the Druids, as receptacles of water, for the purpose of external purifications by washing and sprinkling. The rites of water-lustration and ablution, were too frequent among the Asiatics, not to be known to the Druids, who resembled the eastern nations in all their religious ceremonies, fashions and customs. In the channelled basons, the lips are generally pointing to that part of the stone, whence the water collected, might be most conveniently discharged into some vessel placed below. Of those which have no lips, the larger cavity hath often a number of little basons in its circumference, to supply it with their tributary water. From such basons, the officiating Druid might sanctify the congregation with a more sacred lustration than usual. In this water he might mix his mistletoe, or infuse his oak leaves, for a medicinal or incantatorial position. But on the Logan-stone (whether channelled or otherwise) the motion of the stone might so agitate the water, as to delude the multitude by a pretended miracle; whilst it extorted confession of crimes from the guilty or accused, satisfied the credulous, and reconciled, in short, the minds of the people to the druidical decisions which it sanctified.

Hitherto, I have noticed only huge masses of mishapen rock. I shall now proceed to mark the monuments of Druidism, which assume a less irregular appearance: Such are the stones of a columnar form, which, though sufficiently rough, shew, in their position at least, the hand of man. First, for the *Single Stone erect*.—The Single Stone erect was frequent among the earliest inhabitants of the world. The patriarch Jacob raised several of these pillars, as religious monuments: And Joshua set up a great stone under an oak, that was by the sanctuary of the Lord. The Gentiles erected pillars of the same kind, in every country, for the purposes of superstition. They worshipped, indeed, the pillar: And it hath been conjectured, not without reason, that the appearance of "God in a pillar of fire by night," might have given rise to this species of idolatry. That the Canaanites worshipped these pillars as gods, we learn from several texts in scripture. "Neither shalt thou rear up a standing pillar; nor set up any image of stone in your land to bow down unto it." Yet the Jews, though thus expressly forbidden to imitate the people of Canaan, set up pillars on every high hill, and beneath every green tree. To this we may add, that the Brachmans professed to worship the deity under the figure of a little column of stone. Those countries, which had any communication with Syria, Ægypt, or Greece, very soon adopted this idolatrous practice. In this country, there are a great number of high stones, still standing in many places. The *Single Stone erect*, was sometimes a sepulchral monument. To mark the spot where she was buried, Jacob set a pillar upon the grave of Rachel. Thus, also, the burial-place of Bohan, the son of Reuben, was distinguished. Ilus was buried in this manner, on the plain before the city of Troy: And the barrow and the pillar are mentioned in Homer, as "the meed of the dead." The monuments of this kind, which Borlase hath described as druidical, are plain columns of stone, without the least inscription. Longstone, in the parish of East Worlington, is, perhaps, a druidical pillar. It is situated in a farm, called *Stone*, about a mile to the north of Drayford, at a little distance on the left hand from the turnpike road leading from Drayford to Southmolton. The farm, doubtless, derived its name from this monument. It is perfectly rough, as if cut out of the rock. Its elevation is about six feet; and it is thirteen inches square. Though it inclines, at present, a little to the south, yet at first it was erected perpendicularly. This inclination is said to have been occasioned by a man's digging under it, in hopes of hidden treasure. But its depth below the surface of the ground, is nearly equal, we are told, to its elevation. Stanborough-Rock may be seen from the road between Morleigh and Harberton-Ford. It has been called a druidical pillar: But it appears more like a natural rock. In this manner were pillars erected, *singly*: And *two, three, or more* columns, were, also, assembled for various purposes.—With respect to the *two* stone monuments, it is thought that they originated among the oriental nations, in honor of their two divi-



nities, the *sun* and the *moon*. (a) And the graves of considerable persons were often distinguished by an erected stone at each end of the body interred. Of the *two stone* monuments, the most famous were the pillars of Hercules, erected at the ancient Gades, as terminations of his western travels. They are called *αμφοτεροι πειραι*. In the same manner, two pillars are said to have been erected in honor of *Hercules*, at (b) *Hertland-point*, or the Promontory of Hercules, in Devonshire: And at *Start-point*, there are still the remains of columns, it is supposed, in memory of the Phenician *Asarte*. Westcote has described *two* stone pillars near the village of Kenneford. (c) *Of three stones*

(a) In places of ancient sepulture, we sometimes find three stones, placed in such a manner as to constitute one monument; where three persons were, perhaps, interred. A number of stones were frequently erected, as memorials of particular circumstances or incidents. Elijah built an altar, composed of twelve stones, according to the number of the twelve tribes of Israel.

(b) At *Hertland*, according to Richard of Cirencester (than whom no better authority can be cited) were pillars commemorative of *Hercules*. At *Artavia* "*visuntur HERCULIS COLUMNÆ*." Ricard. p. 20.

(c) "Then this Ryveret nameth a village Ken-ford, throughe which yt fleeteth. And here is a fytt opportunitie offred to tell you of a wonder, or old fable, or what you please to think yt. I could well forbear to relate yt, but I intend not to stem the tyde, but swymme with the stream and current of the world: for I think (let me well remember) I have seen fewe men in my tyme, which were free from speakinge som folish (at least ydle vayn commentitious fancye) at one tyme or other. But his fortune is worst that speaks them in earnest and with affectation; curiously and ambitiously seekinge to procure credyt and belief, when little or none is due. It shall not rightly be sayd of me: yf yt be, I reckon not.

Ne iste magno conatu magnas nugas dixerit.

This fellow (sure) with much a-doe,

Will tell strange tales and trifles too.

It shall not byte me. You shall have yt frely at the same price it cost me, and in the same measure as near as I can.

Somewhat above this village as you descend from the great hill of Haldowne toward Exeter, at the foote whereof stood along tyme (I cannot say now stand) two stones, pitched on the ends, which to strang travayllers seemed to be ther placed for passengers with the more ease (especially woemen, which then perchance were not used to be lyfted upp, and in that age went not in coaches) to take ther horse; for commonly all men walk down that steep descent. But from the neighbours, and thoes that anciently dwelled neer yt, you have another and stranger relation.

They first name them the gyants stones. And they say by an ancient tradition, that a gyant (so men of an extraordinary stature are called, and some such men are seen in every agge,) was there buried, who not only for his large bulke, and length, but for his strength and valour surpassed (by farr) all men of his tyme. And that I spinne not out the thread of this tale at a farder length, how he fell here sodenly down dead, and the cause of his death worth (I can tell you by a good fyre syde in a winters cold night,) the hearinge, that he was buried in this place. And thes two stones were placed one at his head and the other at his feete; which expressed him to be no pigmye, but of the longest size; yet not peradventure so large as he whom the noble poet (by a hyperbolical licence) describeth thus:

His legges two pillars, and to see him goe

He seem'd some steeple reeyling to and fro.

But the wonder was, that albeit the placinge of thes two stones, shewed wher his head and feet lay, yet the true length of his stature, could never be dyrectly knownen. For measure the distanc betweene them as often as you would, yet should you not take yt twice together alyke equall: but at everye severall tyme, ther would be som difference, longer or shorter. What fallacye ther was I cannot conceive, but that report was generall, yea and by such whoes credit was not to be questioned, that eyther themselves had found yt so by tryall, or heard yt by thoes affirmed, of the truth of whoes relation no doubt or mistrust was to be made. But to call them now to witnesse is needlesse. Yet would I not perswade you to believe more of this, then of other of lyke nature. As mayn Amber stone in Cornwall, yet to be perceived, a huge rock fencibly moving to and fro (as tis verified) by power of a finger: but not to be removed by the strength of many shoulders, as thes verses say.

Be thou thy mother natures worke

Or proof of gyants might,

Worthlesse and ragged, though thou shew,

Yet art thou worth the sight.

stones so placed as to constitute one monument, I know no instances in Devonshire; though Wormius tells us, that Speed, in his description of Devon, hath mentioned some stones on Exmoor, triangularly disposed. "J. Speed in *descriptione Devon. ad Exmore Saxa in Triangulum, alia in orbem erecta (trophæa certe victoriarum quas Romani Saxones, vel Dani obtinuerunt) ac Danicis literis unum inscribi refert.*" (a) All this is desultory. These stones erect are Roman, Saxon, or Danish: And why not British?—Of an indefinite number of pillars, not in a circular direction, the down in Drewsteignton, near the Cromlech, furnishes us with a striking specimen. Towards the west of the Cromlech, I remarked several conical pillars, about four feet high. On the south side, there are three, standing in a direct line from east to west. The distance from the more western to the middle, was two hundred and twelve paces—from the middle to that on the east, one hundred and six—just one half of the former; by which it should seem, that an intermediate pillar, at least, had been removed. In a parallel line to the north, are two others remaining erect—the one from the other distant about fifty-two paces, nearly one-fourth of the greatest space on the opposite line. The area between, is ninety-three paces; in the midway of which, at the eastern extremity, stands the *Cromlech*. And I do not scruple to assert, that this *Druid way*, beginning on the environs of the Cromlech, was intended to inspire those who were approaching the monument, from Dartmoor, with greater awe and reverence; where, probably, on a solemn anniversary, the Druid priests might have met the attendant people, and commenced the procession.—With respect to columns erected on a circular plan, the number of stones erect are various. The distance of the pillars from each other, is different in different circles, but is the same, or nearly so, in one and the same circle. The figure of these monuments, is either exactly circular, elliptical, or semicircular. The columnar circles which have occurred to observation in this county, are the following; which I have distinguished either by their situation, or their connexion with other druidical monuments—simple and detached circles on downs or plains—simple circles on artificial mounts—circles contiguous to each other—circles including kistvaens—circles enclosed by amphitheatrical heaps or walls of stone. On several parts both of Dartmoor and of Exmoor, there are small circles of stone erect; simple in their construction, and detached from each other: They are too trivial

This huger rock on fingers force

Apparently will move,

But to remove yt many strengths

Shall all too feeble prove.

Some years since, these stones secretly in the night were undermined and taken up: but by whom, and for what cause is not vulgarly known, neither is it discovered what was found under them. Som suppose they made search for treasure conceived there to be hidden; others again imagine to seek out the certainty, whether there were any bones there to be seen as the remainder of that large corps, yf so thereby to confirm the belief (of divers incredulous persons) that there were such tall men in fore-passed ages. As Virgil in the first of his *Georgicks* says touching the plowing of Emonian and Emathian fields.

Scilicet tempus veniet cum finibus illis

Agricola incurvo terram molitur aratro

Grandiaque effosis mirabitur ossa sepulcris.

The tyme will come one day, when in that bound

The paynfull husband plowing of the ground

Shall wonder at the huge bones therein found."<sup>(1)</sup>

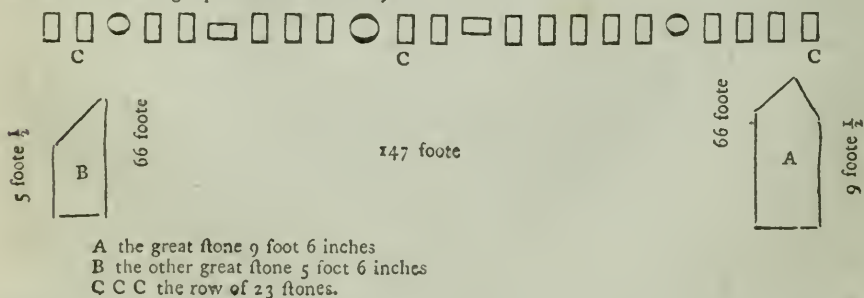
(a) Worm. p. 67.

(1) This extract is taken from Westcote's M.S. in the British Museum. To enable my readers to judge of the great difference between the two M.S.S. I shall subjoin the passage that corresponds with the above, from the Portledge M.S.

"Then this ryer nameth a Village Kenforde through which it passeth. some what about this village as you descend from the great Hill called Halldowne, stood a long time 2 stones pitched vp at the eods, the neighbours name them Gyants stones, from an ancient tradition that a Gyant was there buried, who not only for largeness of body but for valour & strength surpassed (by far) all men living in that age. & how hee fell here suddainly down dead, & the cause of his death: that one of the stones was placed at his interment at his head & the other at his feet, which declared him to bee of a large size, but the thing to be wondered at was. That albeit the placing of these 2 stones showed where his head & feet lay, yet his true stature could never be directly known, for measure the distance betwixt them soe often as you would, yet should you neuer take it twice alike equall. some yeares since these stones were secretly in a night digged vp and soe the wonder ceased." Westcote's View, p. 117.

for particular description. In the central part of the Valley of Stones, there are several plain circles, in diameter about forty feet. Risdon says, that on Maddock's Down, in the parish of Eastdown, there "stand certain stones circularwise, of more than the height of a man." And Westcote notices the curious stones on Exmoor and Maddock's Down. (a) There

(a) "Now you expect & hope for more pleasing objects, & more comfort after these uneven, rockye, tying, stumbling melancholy wayes: but I cannot promise you presently: I see a spacious course barren & wild object, yielding little comfort by his rough complexion. have but a little patience your stay shall not bee long, I will shorten the way by guiding you by a direct lyne without ambages, you shall not have a bow of a tree to strike off your hatt, or drop in your neck. It is Exe-moore we are come vnto: the greatest part whereof lyeth in Somersethshire & yeldeth noe mettle, as yet known, onely good fummering for sheep & cattle, & that in good qualitey and quantity, and therefore wee should soon pass it over, were I not to shew you certain stones, supposed as I am informed to bee there erected, some in tryanglewise, other in circle, as Trophees of victories, gotten of (or by) the Romanes, Saxons or Danes, on which are engraven certen Danish or Saxon characters. of some thought to bee there fixed in memory of the great slaughter, at the ouerthrow & death of Hubba the Dane, who hauing with Hungar his Associat hurried over all the country from Eghisdon (now St. Edmondsburye) to this Countrey, was here with many other slain Anno 879. And their Banner (which was wrought by the Daughters of King Lothbrooke (in english Letherbrech) whereon they reposed noe little confidence for good successe, hauing been soe often displayed fortunately in the Danes partye) taken: And the place euer since called Hubblestow; but for that place wee shall finde it perchance elsewhere near the mouth of Towridge. Others again suppose them to bee set as markes and guides to direct Passengers: But let vs leaue the cause and find those stones, which I could neuer as yet, neither can they, that I haue purposely employed in quest of them find any such, either in the North-moore, between Horeoke-Rydge and Snabhill; nor southward, from Exa-borough to Exridge, or in the Middle-Moore westward, betweene the Long Chayne to Rexable and Settacomb, or in the south from Dryslade to Vermeyball, neither from Wester Emmott to Lydden-moore, & all the other noted Hills & Combes therein, to name all which, would bee I think somewhat wearisome to you as the Journey to my selfe. for I was vext with a jelous care, to a particular & serious inquisition of what occurs in reading, taken vp of the writers vpon credit of the Reporters. for I find onely neare Porlock Commons a stone not pitched but lying, which they call Long-stone, but that may breed another question, why it should be soe named being not about 4 foote in length & less in crassitude. Alsoe in the west from Woodborough towards Rodely-hedd vpon Chollocomb Commons is a plain stone erected, in heyth near 6 foote, and 2 in thicknesse, yet without any antique engraving. But somewhat nearer to our purpose doe I find in the parish of East-Downe in the farm of Northcott (the seat sometime of a gentleman of that name John Northcott who was Sheriff of this County the 29th yeare of Edw. 3d. and though it bee out now of the name, we shall finde one of his posteritie & of his name his equal in the 2d yeare of King Charles) in a large spacious field inclosed, by the name of Maddock or Maddocks-downe, 4 or 5 miles from the Forrest; certain stones erected in this manner: first there stand two great stones in nature or fashion (though not curiously cutt) of Pyramydes, distant the one from the other 147 foote: the greatest is in height about the ground nine foote and halfe. every square bearing fowr foote: The height of the other stone is five foote and a halfe, but in square well nigh equals, the other being somewhat about three foote. These two stones or as may bee said Pillars, stand in a right lyne, one opposite to the other. sixtie six foote on the side of these, are layd a row or banck of 23 great vnformed stones alsoe, but not equalling the other two by much, & reaching from one of these stones to the other in direct lyne and making a reciprocal figure as hauing the sides equally proportioned but double as long, or more then square (which as I am told is called a Parallelogram) but for your better vnderstanding I present them this to your view.



But



There is a small columnar circle, as I have been informed, on *Buckland Beacon*, in the parish of Buckland in the Moor. Somewhat south of the Druid way or *via sacra*, at Drewsteignton, are two curious *circles*, contiguous to each other, on the descent of the hill. The first circle is marked by a vallum, which on the outer part declines, and is about four feet high. Though the greater part of the stones which were erected on the top of the mound, are gone, and the stones that remain are deep sunk in the ground;

But on neither of these are there any Characters to be perceived neither are they capable of any such, being impossible (as I suppose) or very difficult to engrave in them; that these stones should grow soe here by nature I cannot be persuaded, neither can I as yet by any reading or reason or by any mans else understand or by tradition ghesse, why they should be here erected, but for some victorie there gotten; and the monument of the interment of some famous or eminent persons: but to conjecture by the name of Maddock or Mattock I cannot allude to any authentical historie or person; to thinke vpon Madock who in the 23d yeare of Edw. 1st 1294, raised an Uproar or Rebellion in Wales, from whence the King won the Isle of Anglesey, and after in the 25th yeare of the said King was taken, drawn and hanged, his rebellion being in Wales and his death in London, were without any congruities, to fetch it as far as Madock the 4th sonne of Owen Guineith Prince of Wales, who seeing his 3 Brothers contending for the Gouernment rigged certaine ships & sought Adventures by sea and was the first (as is supposed with great likelihood) that discovered the West Indies, & inhabited itt, giuing Bryttish names to diuers things Anno 1170. of whom Meredith the sonne of Rhesi (als Ap-hes) who liued sometime after him leaveth this remembrance

Madoc myf mwyleda wedd

Jawn genan, Owen Guenedd

Ni finnum dir fyenaid oedd

Na da Mawr ondy morodd

Madoc I am the sonne of Owen Guinedd

With stature tall, & comely grace adorned

Noe store of Landes at home or welth mee please

My minde was whole to ferch the Ocean Seas.

I finde noe likelihood therein, & therefore will leave itt to the scrutiny of him that is better read then my selfe, and soe may leave *Ex-moore*." Westcote's View (Portledge M.S.) p. 45, 46, 47, 48.

On this down and its environs, are a great number of rocks and columnar stones, of various sizes and in various figures. They are thus noticed by a correspondent of Dean Milles: "On *Maddoc-common*, one stone is of a remarkable size, and one only. It is of a conic figure, not so large at the base, as near its center, occasioned by the sheep rubbing against it. At the center, it measures fifteen feet four inches. The height, about which I could not be so exact, I take to be eleven feet, if not more. In a line parallel to this great stone, from south to north, and at the distance of twenty-four paces, lies a trunk of stone, above a foot from the ground, whose diameter is two feet eight inches. About twelve paces distant from this, in a line from west to east, is a stone not a foot above the ground, and about a foot in diameter. Were there another to correspond to the large one, these four would include a space of ground, whose opposite sides would be equal. I counted more than an hundred clusters of stone in different parts. In some places, six, eight, or more are to be seen together, but not remarkable for their height. At one groupe of six, the eye is particularly engaged. These stand circular-wise, and are the only ones in which the circular figure can be discovered. At the distance of four paces from this circle, is the trunk of a stone, nearly three feet above the surface, whose diameter measures about three feet. The opinion of the country is, that the first stone I have described being one entire solid stone, was erected by human hands. Concerning these stones, we have two traditions. One is, that there was a battle fought between Biry, or Berry, and Maddoc, two potent lords; and that Maddoc erected these monuments to perpetuate his victory. The other tradition is, that two Lords had a battle on this spot of ground, and that, though the conqueror is forgotten, the name of the vanquished was Maddoc, and that the slain were all buried in a common adjoining to this, hence called *Deadbury common*: Yet I could perceive no *tumuli* there." Thus writes a Gentleman from Barnstaple, in 1751. Mr. Badcock informs Sir George Yonge, that "of the stones that bear the name of Maddoc, the larger ones still remain; and that the smaller ones may be traced out, though they are almost buried beneath the turf. They are (says he) undoubtedly, sepulchral: And, I think, they are commemorative of a distinguished personage, who was killed on the spot, in some great battle. On the Welch coast, opposite to that part of the country, where these stones are erected, there is a stone called *Maen Madock*. It is particularly mentioned in a paper written by Mr. Strange, in the *Archæologia*, concerning some hitherto unnoticed curiosities in Brechnochshire. Perhaps, on a careful examination, the one might throw light on the other." And a late correspondent, (1) also, writes: "On the north-side of the parish of *East-Down*, is an estate which, though now inclosed, still bears the name of *Maddoc's-Down*. On this place stands a remarkably large stone of the spar kind—in the midst of a plain, about twelve feet above ground, and of a size too large ever to have been fixed there by art. At the distance of some yards, are several other stones, lying flat—which they call the *Gyants' Quoits*."

(1) Whose satisfactory communications the author hopes, ere long, to have an opportunity of acknowledging, in the larger work.

yet from these relics we can clearly trace out the whole round of the circle. The stones, composing its circumference, were placed at equal distances. The area is quite clear: And the diameter of this circle is ninety-three feet. Contiguous to this, is another circle, nearly of the same size. One vallum, in the point of approximation, serves for both. On Quarnell Down (between Quarnell Torr and Sharper Torr) there are a number of druidical circles. One of these circles encloses a *kistvaen*, or a stone sepulchral chest. It originally consisted of eleven stones erect; nine of which are standing, and two are fallen. It is of an elliptical figure: And the area of it measures ten feet by eight. In the centre of it, is this *kistvaen*; which is a cavity, enclosed by side-stones pitched on end, measuring in the clear four feet by three, and covered by a capstone. These side-stones are placed at right angles, and have plane surfaces: And the covering-stone is five feet long, four feet wide, and three feet deep.—Within that curious amphitheatre, in the parish of Manaton, called Grimspound, are no less than twenty circles; not one of which exceeds a land-yard in diameter. They all seem to have been formed by stones erect: But in each circle where the pillars are fallen or have disappeared, the circumference is distinctly marked by heaps of small stones. Some of the pillars which lie on the ground, plainly point out their original station, and might easily be replaced. At present, there are only two perfect circles; one of which consists of thirty-five pillars—the other of twenty-seven. In both circles the pillars are placed at equal distances. And there are six circles (each about twelve feet in diameter) in contact with each other. The wall that encloses these twenty circles, is ninety-six land-yards round. It was built with rough moorstone, without cement. In several places where it is entire, it is about six feet in height, and of the same thickness. But it is, in general, in ruins, and a mere heap of stones. From the east part of this circular mound, to the west, are twenty-two land-yards; and from the north to the south, twenty-eight. There is an entrance on the east side of this amphitheatre, and another on the south-west side of it: And at each entrance, there is an appearance of a flat pavement. The north side of this wall, which is washed by Grimslake, is the boundary between North-Bovey and Manaton.—As to the uses of the circle, there is no doubt but these monuments, in general, were of religious institution; and designed originally for the rites of worship. The Persians grasped the whole compass of the heavens in the idea of their Jupiter: The Druids worshipped the same deity in the manner of the Persians: And what could be more expressive of his unconfined essence, than the circular figure? Where could they perform with so much propriety, their adoration to every region of the heavens, as in the midst of the circle? (a) Though these circles are of different sizes, yet they might all have been places of worship: The larger circles might have been designed for general assemblies; the smaller, for private uses; the large, for sacrifices and festal solemnities; the small, for particular intercessions and predictions. (b) And priests and worthies were often interred in the midst of the sacred circle. Bones have been frequently found in the *kistvaen*. The circles within the stone enclosure of Grimspound, are the most remarkable in Devonshire. It is probable, that this spot was one of the principal temples of the Druids. (c) I have, hitherto, noticed *plain* pillars only: But the Druids had also *inscribed* pillars. Dr. Borlase is of opinion, that all our inscribed pillars are posterior to the British Period; “because the Druids were averse from committing any thing to writing.” But the Doctor is here mistaken: And the error originates in his misapprehension of the following passage in Cæsar: “*Nonnulli annos vicenos in disciplina permanent: neque fas esse existimant ea literis mandare; quum in reliquis fere publicis privatique rationibus*” (e) (*Græcis*) *literis utantur*. Cæsar here plainly intimates, that though the Druids forbade their scholars to commit what they learnt to writing, yet that letters were used both on public and private occasions. Cæsar remarks, that this prohibition was, probably, for two reasons—*quod neque in vulgus disciplina efferri velint; neque eos qui discunt, literis confisos, minus memoria studere*.” Borlase’s inference, therefore, from the passage, is absurd. Many of

(a) The Phenician Hercules, or the Sun, was worshipped in an open temple.

(b) It has appeared, indeed, that circles were often applied to other uses.

(c) Of an amphitheatrical mound, similar to that at Piran or St. Just, in Cornwall (which I have described in the second section) Grimspound is the only specimen in Devonshire. Tradition says, that Grimspound was used to enclose cattle, “when the people lived upon the hills, before the valleys were cleansed, and when wild beasts infested the country.”

(d) Cæsar, Lib. 6. Sect. XIII.

(e) *Craffis*.



the pillars, which the Druids erected, were, I doubt not, inscribed with their sacred characters. The monuments of the Irish Druids are a sufficient evidence of this fact. In Danmonium, however, we have no inscribed pillars, which we can with any degree of confidence attribute to the Druids. The few Danmonian columns with inscriptions, are of a very doubtful nature. But there is a probability that they are very ancient. Several of these monuments, supposed to have been erected in the British Period, are ascribed to the Greeks. Badcock, in his notes on Chapple, mentions a *stone* near *Holywell*, on the borders of *Exmoor*, on which some large characters were engraved. "I have searched for this stone, says he, and employed others in the same pursuit. At last I was informed, to my great mortification, that about ten or twelve years since, it was made the foundation of a little bridge, on the rivulet where it originally stood. The man who erected this bridge, said, 'there were nearly twenty letters on it—that they had an indenting between them, and were not of the common figure; for many persons, who examined them, pronounced them to be *Greek*.'" A rough moorstone in the parish of Colebrook, is inscribed with unknown characters. Prince tells us, "that this column, which is called *Coplestone*, is about twelve feet high from the surface of the earth, and twenty inches broad, each square, and that it is an entire stone, roughly carved with various flourishes, which some have taken for old Saxon characters;" And a correspondent writes: "There seems to have been an inscription on this stone: But, at present, the characters are illegible." There is a threshold-stone at Lustleigh church, with an inscription boldly cut. And there is an upright stone, by a smith's shop, near the churchyard of Buckland Monachorum, which is, also, inscribed. It is a large unpolished granite. The inscription runs lengthways. From the top of the stone to the beginning of the inscription, are two feet. From the end of the inscription the stone is fixed in the ground, about fifteen inches broad where the inscription is, and eleven deep.<sup>(a)</sup> There is now lying in the parish of Yalmton, in the church-yard, a long stone, which grows gradually less towards the upper part; and the bottom part, for near a foot, is left in a very rough state—as if it were intended to be set upright in the earth. This stone measures, in length, nine feet. It lies east and west; and, being somewhat sunk in the earth by its weight, its thickness does not appear; but it must be from eight inches to a foot thick. On the side that is uppermost, about the middle of the stone, and lengthways, are some letters strongly cut, which make the word *Toreus*. One of my correspondents says: "I should guess the inscription on this stone to be Greek; and I take the word *Toreus* to be an epithet of Hercules the navigator, from whom is named Hertland Point, or Herculis Promon. near Hertland Abbey. Not that there ever was such a Hercules: But ancient navigators emigrated under the patronage or function of that name, as a tutelary saint." There is certainly such a word as *Toreus* in the Greek; but I cannot discover its connexion with the navigator Hercules: Nor does it appear that the epithet of *Toreus* was ever applied to Hercules. Another gentleman fancies that this word has some connexion with *Torini*—a people of ancient Scythia. But these are mere conjectures. There is no doubt but the word *Toreus* is on the stone: It is so boldly cut, that he who runs may read it. But I should refer this monument to a later period;<sup>(b)</sup> as well as the stones, perhaps, at Lustleigh and Buckland-Monachorum. They have the same kind of characters, and are placed in similar situations. With regard to the *Exmoor* and *Colebrook* pillars, we have no *πυλῶν* for conjecture; since the inscription on the first is inaccessible, and that on the second illegible.

Having concluded my account of the ruder and less shapely stones of the Druids, I proceed to a description of the *Cromlech*, which has something in its appearance more artificial than even the columnar circle; though consisting, indeed, of rough stones, and sufficiently simple in its construction. According to Borlase, "a *Cromlech* is a large gibbous stone, nearly in an horizontal position, supported by other flat stones, fixed on their edges and fastened in the ground. The number of the supporters is seldom more than three. The supporters commonly mark out an area about six feet long and four feet wide, in the form of a stone-chest or cell. The *Cromlech* is either placed on the common level of the ground, or mounted on a barrow, or raised amidst a circle of

(a) Dean Milles's M.S.S.

(b) The latter end of the *Roman-British* Period.



pillars. Its situation is generally on the summit of a hill." (a) The Cromlech would often assume, perhaps, its proper form, by the mere removal of earth and loose stones from

(a) On Dr. Borlase's definition of a Cromlech, Chapple comments as follows: "A Cromlech, as the Doctor defines it, (1) is "a large flat stone, in a horizontal position (or near it) supported by other flat stones fix'd on their edges, and fasten'd in the ground, on purpose to bear the weight of that stone, which rests upon, and overhangs them, and by reason of its extended surface, and its elevation of six or eight feet, or more, from the ground, makes the principal figure in this kind of monument." I have already taken notice of the Doctor's observation that the situation generally chosen for them is the very summit of a hill; which however true of those in *Cornwall*, and perhaps judg'd most convenient in others, yet being not so in ours, (but on a gentle descent from the north) could not be always deem'd absolutely necessary. The Doctor further observes, that "sometimes this flat stone, and its supporters, stand upon the plain natural soil, and common level of the ground" (of which ours, at *Shilston in Devonshire*, is an instance); "but at other times it is mounted on a barrow, made either of stone or earth. It is sometimes placed in the middle of a circle of stones-erect, and when it has a place of that dignity" he thinks it "must be supposed to be erected on some extraordinary occasion;" but that when a circle has a tall stone in the middle, it seems to have been unlawful to remove that middle stone, and therefore we find this monument of which we are speaking sometimes placed in the edge of such a circle." Of this, in a note subjoin'd, the Doctor gives an instance in *Boscawen-in*, referring to an Icon of it, and thence deducing this consequence, "that the Cromlech was posterior in date to the circle, and the former erected there (or the sake of the latter." But we shall hereafter suggest some reasons for supposing them coeval; and possibly such as may induce the reader to believe their real uses were very different from those the Doctor assigns for their erection. Not that I imagine *all Cromlechs* to have had such circles of stones, around them or join'd with them, as he there speaks of; for, as he proceeds to observe, some have been found "erected on such rocky situations, and so distant from houses, (where no stones-erect do stand, or appear to have stood,) that we may conclude, they were often erected in places where there are no such circles." Of this he gives instances; and perhaps other reasons might be given for their being so, were this a proper place to enter upon the subject.

The Doctor next proceeds to some account of their construction and name; and says, he finds the number of supporters in *all* the monuments of this kind which he has seen to be no more than *three*: And yet in his plan of *Lanyon Cromlech* (which seems the most carefully drawn of all the five he has given, and is the only one that has an arrow to indicate its position in respect to the points of the compass), it is shewn to have *four*: A peculiarity, of which he takes no notice in his verbal description of it, p. 217; where he however remarks its particular position, and informs us of its dimensions as to length, breadth, and girth; as also of his having caused a pit to be dug under its quoit, in search for a supposed grave there. To reconcile him to himself in respect to its number of supporters, I should have imagin'd that which is most to the north-west (and which is hidden in the view of it engraved over the plan), did not rise quite so high as the under-surface of the table-stone, so as to give it any support; and indeed, if it be, as he there says, "so high that a man or horseback can stand under it," this in respect to some part of it may not be quite improbable; for it may possibly appear hereafter, that the height of its inner edge need not be above 5 feet 4 inches or a very trifle more, for the purpose for which I guess it was design'd: But then, what follows in the Doctor's description, shews, that the outer edge at least must be at its full height; for this I take to be one of those two principal supporters which he refers us to, as marked A and B in his plan, but these letters are omitted by the engraver in the edition of 1754 which I use. He thinks these two, because they "do not stand at right angles with the front line," as he supposes them to be in other *Cromlechs* (which I much doubt, and am sure they do not in *all*), but in an oblique position, must therefore have been forced from its original one, and, as he imagines, by the weight of the table-stone, or quoit, as the Cornish call it: But for some reasons, needless to be here assign'd, I rather think they still retain their original position; and particularly that the western point of that nearest the center of the plan, is very accurately fix'd to answer the purposes for which it was principally design'd, but for which, a fourth *fulcrum* in ours at *Dreux Teignen* would have obstructed its application to another use, for which it appears to have been also intended; and there is little reason to think otherwise of the other supporters in that of *Lanyon*."

"Dr. Borlase's reasons for having (generally at least, for I at present take that of *Lanyon* to be an exception) no more than three supporters to a *Cromlech*, as being on several accounts the most convenient; and for preferring unequal to equal ones in respect to their heights and level; tho' just in themselves, in case the general design admitted of an indifference in the choice of either, yet will not here appear to have induced the fabricators either to fix on that number exclusive of all others, or to have them of unequal heights. For though, as he says, such supporters were easier to be found than those of one and the same height; and tho' it be indeed "much easier to place and fix

(1) *Antiq. of Cornw.*

from the natural rocks. The supporting stones were found in their present position; or, if not, were moved into it, with very little exertion: And the top stone, superimpending from

securely any incumbent weight on *three* supporters than on four or more," as not requiring the nicety of levelling and planning, which he mentions as requisite in the latter case; yet the difficulties attending such nicety, had it been necessary for their purposes, would not have deterr'd the same persons from attempting and carrying it into execution, who, as we shall see, were no less nice and exact in fixing those unequal heights, than in the other dimensions of this structure; the inequality of those heights being not the result of chance, nor wholly of choice; but found necessary to the due adjustment of the whole fabrick, and fitting it to answer its end and design.

The Doctor proceeds to take notice of the usual dimensions of *Cromlechs*, their firmness, and their permanency. "The supporters," he says, "mark out and inclose an area, generally, six feet long, or somewhat more, and about four feet wide," and adds, "*in the form of a stone chest or cell*:" But perhaps 'tis very rarely that they can be reduced to that form, even by the aid of fancy; and that they are not *always* so form'd, is undeniably evident, there being more than one instance of the contrary; notwithstanding what *Wormius*, whom he quotes, has said concerning them, and conjectured to have been their original use and design, viz. to receive the blood of the victims there sacrificed; in which last he is certainly mistaken, and Dr. *Borlase* himself has afterwards shewn that it could not have been applied to that use.—"On these supporters rests a very large flat or gibbous stone;" and this indeed is what chiefly distinguishes a *Cromlech* from other monuments of druidical design. "In what manner they proceeded to erect these monuments, whether by heaping occasional mounds, or hillocks of earth round the supporters, in order to get the covering stone the easier into its place, or by what engines," the Doctor thinks it in vain to enquire; but what he looks upon as most surprizing is, "that this rude monument of four or five stones" (so he expresses it, and consequently here admits of some with *four* supporters, the fifth being the covering stone,) "is so artfully made, and the huge incumbent stone, so geometrically placed, that though these monuments greatly exceed the christian æra (in all probability), yet 'tis very rare to find them give way to time, storm, or weight; nay, we find the covering stone often gone, that is, taken down for building, and yet the supporters still keeping their proper station."—But we cannot suppose those thrifty wife-acres, who sometimes capriciously choose rather to demolish an old structure to supply materials for a new one, than to be at perhaps a less expence in procuring them elsewhere; would—after having been at the labour and charges of removing so great a weight as the covering stone of a *Cromlech* generally is,—leave its supporters behind, if not more difficult to be got up than the roof to be taken down: Wherefore the preservation of these from such dilapidators, can only be accounted for, by the great depth to which they were probably sunk in the earth to prevent such removal. For 'tis observable of some other stones erected by the ancients for unknown purposes, and attempted to be taken up to be applied by the moderns to their own uses, that they have frequently been found sunk so deep under-ground as their heights were rais'd above-ground; which has sometimes induced these underminers to desist from their enterprize, and leave them fix'd in their places. Of this divers instances might be given where no pressure required so much firmness; and much more might be expected where the stability of an excessive incumbent weight depended on the strength and immobility of its supporters.

I would not be understood, by these, or any future animadversions on Dr. *Borlase's* account of those druidical monuments, to depreciate his work; or derogate from the veneration and respect due to the memory of an author, to whose researches we are indebted for many curious particulars concerning them, which have contributed more to elucidate the subject than those of any preceding writer. His learned observations and happy conjectures on these and other remains of remote antiquity, doubtless deserv'd the thanks of all persons conversant in such studies; and common candor will acquiesce in the apology he makes in his preface for such imperfections as might appear in his work. "Great perfection (as he there says) cannot be expected, where the subject is so obscure, the age so remote, and the materials so dispers'd, few, and rude; where we must range into such distant countries for history and examples, and into so many languages for quotations."—And a little lower;—"In treating of the superstition, and *Rock-monuments* of the *Druids*, I may seem too conjectural to those, who will make no allowances for the deficiencies of history, nor be satisfied with any thing but evident truths; but where there is no certainty to be obtain'd, probabilities must suffice, and conjectures are no faults, but when they are either advanc'd as real truths, or too copiously pursued, or preposterously insisted upon as decisive.—In subjects of such distant ages, where history will so often withdraw her taper, conjecture may sometimes strike a new light, and the truths of antiquity be more effectually pursued, than where people will not venture to guess at all. One conjecture may move the veil, another partly remove it, and a third, happier still, borrowing light and strength from what went before, may wholly disclose what we want to know."—From hence we may conclude, that were he now living, he would, on a nearer view of those truths, of which he was in quest but had only an obscure and distant prospect,



from the rocks, was brought down upon those supporters with as little labor or contrivance. There are large masses of rock near Sticklepath, and, indeed, in several parts of the county, which are so grouped as very easily to admit of their being formed into a Cromlech, without calling in the aid of the mechanical powers. (a) With respect to the name

be well pleased to have them duly distinguish'd from those extraneous objects with which he had supposed them connected, but to which they on further examination prove to have little or no relation;—to have his well-founded judgement in other matters confirm'd,—and his conjectures corroborated by new proofs, or perhaps fully establish'd as indisputable certainties.—With such views he professedly writ; and accordingly he tells in p. 216, he has exhibited elevations and plans of *Cromlechs* in *Cornwall*, that, as there are some peculiarities in each, they might not only afford some light and confirmation to what he had before advanc'd, but might also “possibly contribute, when in the hands of others, towards a much happier explanation of monuments of this sort, than had as yet appear'd.” *Chapple's Description and Exegesis of the Drevseignton Cromlech*, p. 33 to 38, 39 to 46.

(a) “By what contrivances (says Mr. Chapple) such an enormous weight was raised to the above-mention'd height, and, what is more astonishing, so exactly fix'd, and so nicely accommodated to the purposes for which it was originally design'd, and moreover, with such firmness as to continue for so many ages in the same position, (for had it been but half an inch out of its proper place, we shall hereafter find, the error would be even now discoverable;)—is, in Dr. Borlase's opinion, in vain to enquire. and indeed can now be only guess'd at.—Monsieur Mallet, who, in his *Northern Antiquities* (1), plainly enough describes the monuments of this sort (tho' not by the British name of *Cromlechs*) still to be met with in *Denmark*, &c.; and who mistakes them to be altars for sacrifice; expresses his surprize at their stupendous magnitude, and the powers and strength required to erect them. His previous account of these, and the stone circles that sometimes surround them, as translated in the *English* edition, may not improperly be recited here, as it introduces his remarks on their bulk and difficulty of erecting them. “We find (says he) at this day here and there in *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, in the middle of a plain, or upon some little hill, altars” (for such he will have them to be), “around which they assembled to offer sacrifices, and to assist at other religious ceremonies. The greatest part of these altars are raised upon a little hill, either natural or artificial. Three long pieces of rock set upright” (not strictly so, I presume, in these northern latitudes; nor is their perpendicularity, perhaps, more necessary, whatever equality of their heights might be expected, in such parts of *Germany* or *Hungary* as are in Lat. 45°.) “serve for bases to a great flat stone, which forms the table of the altar. There is commonly a pretty large cavity under this altar, which might be intended to receive the blood of the victims.” So says this author, adopting the conjecture of *Wormius*, and drawing inferences from thence relative to the *Danish* superstitions, as if that conjecture were to be regarded as an undeniable truth; and as if they could be design'd for no other use but that of altars, and therefore their appendages in all respects subservient to the purposes of sacrifice: An opinion, for good reasons rejected by Dr. *Borlase*, as has been before observ'd. And if the author is mistaken in this, he is probably so also in what follows (and which I take to be only a conjecture grounded on the sandy foundation of the former), viz. that as “they never fail to find stones for striking fire scatter'd around it,” so he thinks no other fire but such as was struck out with a flint “was pure enough for so holy a purpose.”—“Sometimes (adds he) these rural altars are constructed in a more magnificent manner; a double range of enormous stones surround the altar and the little hill on which it is erected. In *Zealand* we see one of this kind (2) which is formed of stones of a prodigious magnitude. Men would even now be afraid to undertake such a work, notwithstanding all the assistance of the mechanic powers which in these times they wanted.”—One may here ask, How does this author know they wanted such assistance? Bp. *Wilkins* indeed in his *Mathematical Magic*, chap. 11. is much of the same opinion; but it may be question'd whether the other advantages he tells us they then had over the moderns, will alone satisfactorily account for their stupendous works. For, as our author proceeds to remark, “What redoubles the astonishment is, that stones of that size are rarely to be seen throughout the island (viz. of *Zealand*), and they must have been brought from a very great distance. What labour, time, and sweat then, must have been bestowed upon these vast rude monuments, which are unhappily more durable than the fine arts?” The author then suggests what he takes to have been the inducement to such great works, taking it for granted they must have been for religious purposes: “Men in all ages (3) (says he) have been persuaded that they could not pay greater honour

(1) Vol. 1, p. 125, &c.

(2) P. 126. For this he quotes Ol. Worm. Monum. Danic.

(3) It must be remember'd, that the Author is here speaking of past ages only, not of modern times; otherwise he, or his Translator, should have excepted those of the present age. at least among Us, the descendants of his northern religionists, of whom those who conceal themselves the wisest, are withal so frugally disposed, as to grudge every shilling bestow'd on persons or places dedicat'd to the service, even of that God, whom alone they pretend to acknowledge as such,—but this only on condition that he claims no share of their gold. Chapple.



name of this monument, Dr. Borlase intimates, that *Cromlech* means "the crooked stone; the upper stone being generally of a convex or swelling surface, and resting in an inclined plane or crooked position." (a) The *Cromlech* was not peculiar to the Druids. The *Cromlechs*

to the deity, than by making for him (if I may so express it) a kind of strong bulwarks; in executing prodigies of labour; in consecrating to him immense riches."—In another part of his work, (1) M. Meller, who, as we have seen, supposes (but perhaps without sufficient grounds for such a supposition) that the ancients were unacquainted with those mechanical engines by which the moderns are assisted in raising huge weights, and overcoming the greatest resistance by a very small force;—after speaking of the advantages in respect to their health and bodily force, which the northern nations derived from their hardy way of living, and inuring their children thereto, alleges their stupendous works as so many standing evidences of it.—"The greatest proof (says he) of their prodigious strength, arises from the rude enormous monuments of architecture which were raised by these northern people. We have all heard of that monument on *Salisbury Plain* in *England*, where we see a multitude of vast stones set up endwise, and serving as bases to other stones, many of which are in length sixteen feet. Nor are the monuments of this kind less astonishing which we meet with in *Iceland*, in *Westphalia*, and particularly in *East Friesland*, *Brunswick*, *Mecklenburg*, and many parts of the north. The dark ignorance of succeeding ages, not being able to comprehend how such stupendous edifices could be constructed by common mortals, have attributed them to *dæmons* and *giants*." But altho' the founders of these had not, in our Author's opinion, all the assistance we derive from the mechanic powers, yet he thinks "great things might be accomplish'd by men of such mighty force co-operating together. The *Americans* unaided by the engines we apply to these purposes, have raised up such vast stones in building their temples, as we do not undertake to remove (2). One may however conceive, that patience united with strength, might by taking time be able to move such vast bodies from one place to another, and afterwards to set them up—an-end, by means of artificial banks, down the slope of which they were made to slide;"—and why might not a very ponderous body be as easily drawn up the slope of such an artificial bank? which would allow those ancient architects the knowledge of at least one of our mechanic powers, for as such, the inclined plane (tho' not one of the six) is not improperly esteem'd; and this seems to me, to be most probably the method taken to raise the table-stone of our *Cromlech* high enough to be properly fix'd on its supporters. These being first firmly fix'd, and the flat heavy stone to be sustain'd by them, being, by means of such bank or otherwise, rais'd so high as to be somewhat elevated above them; and there by the help of some proper machine (for I cannot suppose, with this author, they were utterly destitute of any), suspended directly over them; might then,—by the previous suspension of a plumb-line to each of its angles, and observing where, or how near, those plumbies dropt on points before mark'd out on the ground for that purpose, agreeable to the general plan,—be easily so guided as to be let down to its proper position, and so exactly to cover that very spot of ground, and that only, for which it was intended.—Thus it seems we need not, with our author, wholly ascribe it to the natural tho' united strength of numbers of those hardy northern-men; nor can we conclusively infer from such works of theirs, the superior size and strength of the first inhabitants of the earth, compared with that of our debilitated moderns; tho' he thinks it without dispute, that it is from such proofs of it "that ancient history has generally painted them as giants." There may be indeed some difference in these respects between the ancients and moderns; but how far this author's attempt to account for it, by the greater cold of the atmosphere in *Europe* formerly than now; the continual exercises of our many ancestors; their avoiding a too early commerce with females, their simple diet, &c. may be deem'd satisfactory, it is not our business here to enquire; having already cited from him, perhaps more than sufficient, as to their management of enormous weights, in the erection of permanent monuments, whether of their skill or their strength, or both." Chapple's Descript. p. 54 to 63.

(a) Name of the *Cromlech*.—"Before we proceed to any disquisitions concerning its primary use, or more particularly recite the opinions of others concerning it, it was proposed to make some enquiry into the origin of its most usual name; tho' this perhaps will not, like the ancient *British* and *Saxon* names of most places, appear either to express any material circumstance relative to it, or afford any light into its original design. For its *British* name, *Cromlech*,—which the Cornish somewhat vary in its spelling and pronunciation, by only accenting the latter syllable and adding the aspirate *b* instead of *ch*; but for which the *Irish*, perhaps more agreeably to the old *Celtic*, have *Cromliach*,—signifies

(1) P. 337, &c. of the same Volume.

(2) The Translator here quotes Acoffa's History of the Indians, for an instance of "a stone in a fortress of the Inca's at Cusco, 38 feet long, 18 feet broad, and 6 feet thick."—On which we may here remark, that this stone, enormous as it is, little, if at all, exceeds the bulk of some stones in the Egyptian Pyramids: And yet Herodotus informs us of a simple method, by which they were raised to great heights, "with machines constructed of short timbers;" a method well explained by Governor Pownall in the Postscript to his Description of a sepulchral Monument at New Grange in Ireland. *Archæologia*, vol. 2, p. 272.—275.

in these languages, as well as in their *Armoric* dialect, nothing more than a *carved* or *crooked stone*; doubtless from the gibbosity of the upper surface of its table stone, unless we would derive it, with Mr. o'Halloran,<sup>(1)</sup> from the old *Irish* deity, *Crom*, by whom he says was meant *Jupiter*; of which more farther on.—This, says Dr. Borlase<sup>(2)</sup> (but with its *Cornish* orthography), is the general name by which these structures are commonly known among the learned; but observes, that “from its oblate and spreading form (resembling a *Discus*)” it is also, both in *Wales* and *Cornwall*, called a *quoit*; and “in the Isle of *Jersey* (where there are many) they are call'd *Pouqueleys*,” perhaps rather *Ponts-levees* and so call'd as if they were *raised bridges*, but *Q?*—All these appellations being only expressive of their general form, and having no relation to their use, were probably not adopted till after the original purpose, for which those structures will hereafter appear to have been erected, was forgotten; when they were look'd upon, either as the ordinary productions of nature, tho' with a somewhat romantic appearance, or the rude efforts of ancient art, for purposes unknown, and not easily to be guess'd at.—It should here be further noted concerning this its modern *British* name, that the *ch* with which it terminates is to be pronounc'd like the Greek  $\chi$ ; not like our *ch* in the word *such*, but as in the words *character*, *chronicle*, &c. like an asperated *c*, as if it were written *Cromlekb*; for which reason Dr. Borlase, with the *Cornish*, omits the *c*, and, to denote the want of it, circumflexes the *e*; and so, having given directions how to pronounce it, every-where spells it *Cromlekb*: But with this previous caution concerning its pronunciation, it is here thought more eligible to retain the *British* orthography.—Were we to suppose *Cromlekb*, or *Cromliack* the most ancient name, and that, according to the opinion of some writers, it was meant for a temple of the *Druids*, or used for the purposes of that ancient idolatry which might be supposed to be introduced by the *Phœnicians* when they traded here for tin, we might indulge ourselves in conjectures, in fetching its etymology from the Hebrew, or its *Phœnician* dialect: In which case, I should have imagined it might be derived from *Ckir rabbam lach*, the table of the tripod of thunder<sup>(3)</sup>; or rather from *Ckir rebhem melech*, the tripod of the thundering king. For, that *Jupiter* was worshipped by the *Phœnicians*, and by them, as well as other nations, imagined to have the command and direction of the thunder-bolts, with which they supposed him arm'd, cannot be doubted. We find *Jupiter* the son of *Neptune* taken notice of by ancient writers as a god of the *Sidonians*; (and if so, doubtless of their colonists the *Tyrians*, and the other *Phœnicians* connected with, or descended from them;) distinguish'd, indeed, by the adjunct or surname of *Maritimus*, because they were wholly addicted to navigation: And even their god *Bal*, *Belus*, or the sun, (who seems to have been their principal deity,) was, according to *Eusebius*, call'd *Jupiter* by the *Greeks*; as was also *Dagon* the god of *Azotus* or *Aspendo* by the husbandmen.<sup>(4)</sup>—But whatever worship the *Phœnicians* gave this thundering King of the Gods, we are assured by *Cæsar*<sup>(5)</sup> that he was adored by the *Druids* of *Gaul*, and of course by those of *Britain*, and the people who in matters of religion were under their government and direction. But tho' these, like other nations, esteem'd him (*Imperium celsissimum tenere*) to be the supreme or chief among the gods themselves, yet they paid the greatest honours to *Mercury*. To him, says *Cæsar*, they erected many images; esteem'd him the inventor of arts, the conductor of travellers, and the principal protector of merchants and mercantile acquisitions. But next to *Mercury* (whom they seem to have peculiarly regarded as their tutelar deity), they had a more particular veneration for *Apoll*, or the *Sun*, the original object of idolatry; (perhaps because he was the principal deity of the *Phœnicians*, with whom they traded;) ascribing to him the cure of their diseases; and even preferring him to *Mars*, who otherwise, as the god of war, stood higher in their esteem than either *Jupiter* or *Minerva*. From this their veneration for *Apoll*, I had at first imagin'd, that the position of the *Cromlekb* we are here to examine, might have some respect to the sun rising; and the worship of the rising sun having been by some of his votaries deem'd a mark of the highest reverence to him: And to be satisfied of this, I was very desirous to ascertain its bearing, with respect to the points of the compass; which after I had carefully observ'd and determin'd, was soon convinc'd that its position no otherwise respect'd either the rising or setting sun, than as subservient to gnomonical or astronomical purposes. And being, from this and other observations to be mention'd hereafter, well assured, that the *Cromlekb* itself at least, could not have been design'd as a temple either of the *sun*, or of *Jupiter*; or indeed of any other of the heathen gods; I presumed we might as well acquiesce in the *British* derivation beforementioned, which supposes its name given it from its form and composition, not from its use; and that therefore little or no regard could be due to an etymology, which supposed it the original name, and to have been introduced by the *Phœnicians* or others who spoke a dialect of the *Hebrew*; and this too, expressive of a use, for which it was now manifest it could not have been primarily intended.—It may however be alledg'd, that tho' the *Cromlekb* itself were not intended either as a temple or an altar, yet if it were erected near a college of the *Druids*, or any *Druidical* Court of judicature, as this at *Dreux Teignton* has been (in p. 7 of

<sup>(1)</sup> Intro. to Irish Antiq. p. 24.

<sup>(2)</sup> See his Antiq. of Cornw. p. 211, 212, and the Note on the latter.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ckir* might signify a tripod or tridenton to let a pot or cauldron on, as well as that for the laver or washing basin of the sacred fire; *rabbam*—And *Lach* a smooth table, whether a plank or slab of stone, for any purpose, particularly to write or engrave on.

<sup>(4)</sup> Vide Zancan in J. p. 27.

<sup>(5)</sup> De Bello Gallico lib. 6.



this tract) conjectur'd to have been, which would occasion at least an annual concourse of people near this spot; it might then be customary to have altars, and to offer sacrifices, near to, or in view of the *Cromlechs*: And as the sun and planets were objects of their idolatrous worship, at least as name-fakes or representatives of their gods, its astronomical use might induce them to choose such a place for it, rather than another; and then the *Cromlechs* near which such religious worship was wont to be perform'd (tho' not used as altars or temples for that purpose) might take their denomination, amongst the vulgar at least, from the god or gods there principally adored; in which case, the presumed etymology beforemention'd may not be wholly inadmissible.—'Tis granted, this might possibly have been the case; but even then the etymology will require some farther explanation, to render it consistent with the notions of others on this subject, or to correct them where inconsistent therewith. On this supposition indeed (for it is only here to be regarded as such), we might partly admit of the conjecture of Mr. *ô Halloran*(1); who, taking *Crom* to mean *Jupiter*, as derived from *Cruim* the obsolete *Irish* for thunder, would have *Crom-lia* to mean the altar of *Jupiter*. However, tho' we should allow the pretensions of *Jupiter* to it, we can by no means admit of its being an altar, as he takes for granted it was, and that, without producing any reason for its being so; all he alleges, tending only to prove, that the stones, which he calls altars, and supposes the *Druids* to have sacrificed on them, had some relation to *Crom*; who, he says, was the same as *Cean-Croithi*, the chief deity of the *Irish*. But as to the signification of *Crom*, as he would have Druidism to be an *Irish* institution, and of course takes the word to be of *Irish* derivation; and finding this *Cean-Croithi* by the *Irish* writers sometimes call'd *Crom-Cruadb*, he from thence, and the *Irish*-word for thunder abovemention'd, forms the word *Crom-lia*; by which name, he says, the *Lia-sail* or stone of destiny, on which their ancient monarchs were crown'd, was also call'd; and which he interprets, the altar of *Crom*, but which seems only to imply the stone of *Crom*, or the Thunder-stone, without indicating its use; and might as well be taken for a whetstone, for the use of the *Crum-thear* or *Flamen* in sharpening the edge of his *Secespita*. Had it occur'd to Mr. *ô Halloran*, that *Crom* might be, as above supposed, only an abbreviation of *Chir rabbam*, the *Tripod of Thunder*, and consequently not *Irish*, but Hebrew or Phœnician, he needed only to have added to it the *Irish* word *Lia*, which was probably derived from *Luch*, a table or slab of stone, to compose the word *Crom-lia*, which might be render'd, the Table Stone of the *Tripod of Thunder*, or, by metonymy, of the *Thunderer*: And this supposition, that the word *Crom* is here a compound of two others, which have no relation to curvature or bending down, would not have needed his derivation of the Celtic word *Cruim* or *Crom*, which has that signification, from any supposed custom of bowing at the name of *Crom*, in the worship of the *Irish Jupiter*.(2) — Perhaps also, he and *Harris*, against whom he alleges that the sun was not understood by that name as he had supposed, but was in Ireland, worshipp'd under another, viz. that of *Beal*,—might also be partly reconciled by examining into the origin of the latter; on which it would appear, that there is not always so great a difference between the significations of the names given to *Jupiter* and the sun as objects of heathen worship, as some may imagine. For, we can scarce doubt but that *Beal* came from *Baal* or *Ball*, a lord or powerful ruler; which the *Chaldeans* contracted to *Bel*, and the *Phœnicians* to *Bal*: And tho' the *Affyrians* are said to have worshipp'd the sun by the name of *Bel*, the sun being in their language so call'd, but was also probably meant to represent *Belus* the son of *Nimrod*; yet, that *Jupiter* was more generally worshipp'd by that name than the sun, is sufficiently evident from what *Selden* and others have collected, from the sacred scriptures and the writings of the ancients, on that subject.(3) That learned author doubts not but that *Jupiter* originally meant the true God, and that the name was derived, not à *juvando*, as *Cicero*, *Aulus Gellius*, *Laëtantius* and others have supposed, but from the sacred *Tetragrammaton* whence the Greeks had their *Ize Ize Izeu*, *Jova*; and thence (as the principal gods had the common title of *Pater* annex'd to their names, in the solemn prayers and sacrifices to them) *Jovis* became *Jovispater*, *Jovispiter*,

(1) *Introd. to the Antiq. of Ireland*, p. 34 & 35.

(2) On communicating this to an intelligent Jewish Rabbi (who happen'd to call on me whilst writing it), and mentioning to him, inter alia, the human sacrifices of the *Druids*, he imagin'd the word *Cromlach* might mean a place for the worship of *Moloch*, and might therefore be rather form'd from *Choreh Moloch* (from the root *Charah*, to bend, bow or kneel down, and the word *Malok* *Idol*, understood), a place for the bending to, or worship of *Moloch*: A god of the *Ammonites*, &c. who, 'tis well known, was supposed to have required such horrid offerings; and to whom children were sacrificed much in the same manner as *Cæsar* describes the sacrifices of men by the *Druids* of *Gaul* to their gods, viz. by putting them into large hollow images, and setting fire to them: But *Tertullian* (in his *Apologetic*, c. 9.) having mention'd the sacrifices of children to *Saturn*, adds, *Major ætas apud Gallos Mercurio proferatur*: With the *Gauls* a grown man is cut to pieces as a sacrifice to *Mercury*. *Cicero* also (in *Orat. pro M. Fonteio*) takes notice of the cruel and barbarous human sacrifices of the *Gauls*, but mentions not in what manner they were offer'd: *Quis enim ignorat eos [scil. Gallos] uque ad hanc diem retinere illam immanem ac barbarem consuetudinem hominum immolatorum?* The *Carthaginians* also offer'd the like sacrifices to *Saturn*. See *Selden de Diis Syris*, *Syntagma* 1. c. 6.—*Moloch* signifies a king, (being only distinguish'd from it by the points) and has been generally taken to mean the sun, as the prince or chief of the heavenly luminaries, but sometimes for *Jupiter*, &c. If the *Druids* offer'd such sacrifices here, it was most probably to *Mercury*, but it may be question'd whether they ever gave him the name of *Moloch*, and if not, the last-mentioned etymology can have little probability. Chapple.

(3) *V. Selden de Diis Syris*, *Syntagma* 2. c. 1.



and at length *Jupiter*. Hence in like manner, the *Marspater* or *Marspiter* of *Cato*, for *Mars*; and so of the rest. That *Baal*, *Beil*, or *Bel*, tho' at first meant as one almighty ruler, whose perfections the heathens attributed to their *Jupiter*, yet these being afterwards transferr'd to a multiplicity of idols (however still regarding *Jupiter* as the principal and all-powerful God), the same author tells us, became a collective name for them all. But this perhaps most properly in its plural *Baalim*: (1) And that this sometimes meant *all the host of heaven*, i. e. the sun, moon and stars, to which *Magnuses* is said to have built altars in the courts of the temple, (2) his worship of *Baalim* being just before mention'd, seems very probable; but it is sometimes taken for the heavens themselves, and *Selden* supposes it should be so understood here. The *Phœnicians* indeed appear to have worship'd the sun by this name in the singular, with the addition of *Samen*, calling him *Baal Samen*, the lord, or ruler of the heavens: So *St. Augustine*, (who understood *Punic*) interprets it *Samen*, being the same as the *Sbammim* of the Hebrews. And this is expressly asserted by *Sanchoniathon* (as translated by *Philo Biblius* and preserv'd by *Eusebius*); speaking of ("Ἡλιος") the sun, "This god, says he, they esteem'd to be the only lord of heaven, calling him *Beel-samen*, which in the Phœnician language is lord of heaven, and to the same purport with the Greek *Zeús* (3)." So also the *Bal*, *Bel*, or *Belus* of the *Tyrians* or *Phœnicians*, as render'd into Greek by *Menander* (in *Josephus*) from the Phœnician annals, is taken for *Zeús* the well-known name of *Jupiter*: For speaking of a golden column preserv'd in his temple at *Tyre*, he mentions it as *εὐ τοῖς τὰ διός*. (4) But *Hesychius* distinguishes them by their genders, and says, *Belus* meant the heavens, or *Jupiter*; and that the sun was called *Bela* (a feminine name). (5) And we find in *Herodian*, that the people of *Aquileia* gave *Apollo*, or the sun, the name of *Beles*. (6) In short, the name seems not to have been strictly confined to any one of the gods; for tho' the *Assyrians*, as above observ'd, meant the sun by their *Bel*, and tho' this name is thought to be first introduced by them, yet even they also worship'd *Mars*, the god of war, by the name of *Belus*. — From all this, we learn, that both *Jupiter* and the Sun (and not only these, but other of the heathen gods,) have been worship'd under the name of *Baal* or *Beel*, *Bel* and *Belus*; and in like manner *Beal*, by which Mr. *Halloran* says (7) the old Irish ador'd the sun, might have the like collective signification, and their *Crom* included with the rest; and tho' more properly, perhaps, taken for *Jupiter*, to whom the superior power was ascribed, might be sometimes confounded with them. Or perhaps, both he and the sun, consider'd as distinct deities, might have sacrifices offer'd them, as well as *Mercury* or any of the rest, at or near the same *Cromlech*; I will not say upon it, as an altar; for, were we not otherwise assur'd it was not design'd for such a purpose, its being manifestly inconvenient for the sacrificing either men or beasts upon it, would forbid us to suppose it. The general height of such *Cromlechs* (of which some will admit the tallest man to walk under them without rubbing his head against the ceiling, and others, a man on horseback to shelter himself from a shower under their coverture, of which an instance has been already mentioned) would not allow the priest to officiate at one of them standing by its side, nor could any large beast be easily lifted up upon it without some machine for that purpose; so that we must rather suppose men, if any victims at all were offered upon it, and the whole business perform'd on the top of it. Among the wretches set apart for this immolation, thieves, robbers, and other offenders (according to *Cæsar*) (8) were deem'd the most acceptable to the gods; but in case rogues were wanting, the innocent were obliged to supply their places: And being the offerings of the public, and mostly in times of public danger, may be suppos'd to have been offer'd in the most public and conspicuous places, and on such an elevated altar as a *Cromlech* (if it were such) rather than another: That they were mounted on its table-stone like a condemn'd nobleman in our times on a scaffold; but ascending to it by a ladder, like common criminals to a gibbet, together with the flamen or priest, who was to do the double duty of confessor and executioner. But tho' the difficulty of getting upon it might be thus overcome, yet, as *Dr. Borslæve* observes, (9) it would be much less easy to kindle a fire there, sufficient to consume the victim. This, with the gibbosity and slope of the upper surfaces of most if not all *Cromlechs*, and the want of proper footing to stand easily and safely on them, or room to

(1) See *Jerem.* 2. 23, 28.—*Hosea* 2. 13. and 11. 2. &c.

(2) 2 *Kings* 21. 5.—2 *Chron.* 33. 3—5.

(3) His words are, "Τῶτον—Θεὸν ἐνόμιζον μόνον ἑξαπὸ κύριον Βεελσαμην καλῶντες, ὃ ἐστὶ παρὰ φοινίκι κύριος ἑξαπὸ, Ζεὺς παρ' Ἑλλήσι." *Philo* apud *Euseb.* *Præp. Evang.* Lib. 1. c. 10. Chapple.

(4) *Judeph. contra Apionem* Lib. 1.

(5) See *Danet* on *Belus*.

(6) Βέλιον δὲ καλεοῖσι τῶτον, εἰρησεῖ τε ἱερεῖς, Ἀπὸλλωνα ἱναὶ ἰδέλοντες. *Belem* vocant indigenæ, magnæque eum religione colunt, Apollinem interpretantes. *Herodian*, Lib. 8. p. 376, 377. Edit. *Sartorii* Ingol. 1693. Chapple.

(7) Mr. *Halloran* (whose disquisitions on this subject I am far from being inclinable to censure, but would rather endeavour to elucidate) will excuse the freedom here taken, in pointing out, what now appear to be his mistakes, but to some of which I should have readily subscribed, 'till I had the strongest conviction of their being such. Such mistakes are unavoidable, where the subject is so obscure; and as I cannot expect to keep wholly free from them (tho' the confusion of our *Cromlechs* may prevent many to which I might be otherwise liable,) I should be glad to be set right in any that may be discover'd in what is here submitted to public censure. Chapple.

(8) *De Bello Gallico*, Lib. 6.

(9) *Antiq. Cornw.* p. 212.

perform the requisite ceremonies, even supposing them quite plain, and also free from any hazard of that disruption to which some sorts of moor-stone (of which ours, and those in *Cornwall* consist) are liable, from the force of an intense fire<sup>(1)</sup>; and moreover the danger of the officiating flamen, in such a case, to be roasted himself, by the same fire he had prepared for the miserable victims, before he could compleat the horrid and diabolical sacrifice;—are so many irrefragable proofs of the absolute unfitness of a *Cromlech* for any such Use. But arguments, deduced from the unfitness of *Cromlechs* for altars, might be spared, as needless for the conviction of any who reflect on *Julius Cæsar's* positive testimony, that these human sacrifices were perform'd in a very different manner; *viz.* that the *Druids*, to whose care the persons devoted to this maceration were committed, put them alive into huge hollow images, bound about with osiers (or perhaps sometimes with twists of hay, as *Strabo* seems to hint), and then by setting fire to them, the men within were scorched to death by the surrounding flames. He doth not add, that they were cut into steaks, or laid upon altars after being thus buccaneer'd, as an improvement in priestly cookery for a yet unsatisfied deity; nor is it likely they were so: For *Strabo*(2), who describing the sacrifices in *Gaul*, at which the *Druids* were always present, who derived their customs and discipline from those in *Britain*, after mentioning their auguries, and their divers methods of previously preparing and securing the victims to be immolated, (*viz.* by thrusting darts through some, fastening others to crosses, others to blocks of wood, and inclosing others in such a colossal fabrick as beforementioned;) adds, that cattle and all sorts of beasts, and men, were then all burnt together.(3)—Before we dismiss this subject, it may be requisite to remark, that the etymology before given is liable to be objected to, as supposing all *Cromlechs* to be *Tripods*, whereas some have four supporters. But this objection (unstrengthened by others) is of no moment. 'Tis enough that the supporters are generally but three; and as the word *Chir* in itself has no affinity to the number three more than to any other, we cannot

(1) That the Moor-stone of which our Drews-Teignton *Cromlech* is composed, will not resist the force of a fervent fire, I had, since the above was written, the unexpected opportunity of an ocular and palpable demonstration. For the present tenant of Shilston having made it a receptacle for ferns and furze, intended to be burnt and the ashes to be applied in manuring the farm, had some time before my last visit to it (16 Feb. 1779), burnt the whole under the table-stone of the *Cromlech* itself; and (as I was inform'd) kept the hot ashes there for 2 or 3 days, till they could be conveniently carried off for his purposes. In consequence of this, so much of the under part of the stone as had been thus heated and smok'd, and which was easily distinguish'd by its blackness, would admit of my pulling off large scales from it with my fingers only (of which scales I brought home one, near a foot in length, 6 inches broad, and about an inch thick): Whereas the unburnt parts of the *Cromlech* retain'd their usual firmness. The effect of the fire on it, some intelligent people there, attributed to the black Tin-Spar, with which this, and the other Moor-stone in that neighbourhood, abounds; and which, they said, had from the force of the fire been expanded, and suffer'd some degree of fusion. This seems not improbable, but must be submitted to the judgment of those who are more conversant in such matters. They however assured me, that some kinds of Moor-stone, which are free from this black spar, will stand the fiercest fire unhurt.—The farmer, who meant not any hurt to the *Cromlech* by burning his ferns there, has been prohibited by his landlord from doing the like for the future; and he being now aware how liable it is to be damaged by such fires, and no less inclinable to preserve it, 'tis hoped it is now free from all further danger from his good husbandry. Chapple. (2) Lib. 4. prope finem.

(3) How happy! that the introduction of christianity into this island, freed us and our children from such horrible rites! and from all danger of their future re-establishment. For, at present, we have no cause to dread a relapse into ancient superstition, but rather the rejection of real religion as such. We still indeed call ourselves christians, yet many among us condemn the memory of those from whom we receiv'd christianity: Nay some, who will readily acknowledge the benefits derived to us from it, and the gratitude due to its divine author; and who are zealous in commemorating national deliverances, (tho' perhaps on a wrong day) yet, on pretence of abuses and uncertain chronology, neglect or refuse to celebrate even the nativity of him, whose benefits extended to the world at large, and who came to destroy (among others) those works of the devil above described: Who by the sacrifice of himself, superseeded and rendered all other bloody sacrifices superfluous; his most perfect law of true liberty (undepraved by licentiousness,) requiring none but that pure Mincha, or unbloody sacrifice which was offer'd by the primitive patriarchs; with an eucharistic commemoration of his dying love; a steadfast belief of his divine mission, and the truths he revealed; a renunciation of vice; and our best endeavours (with the assisting grace of the holy spirit) to perform the conditions on which he purchas'd our pardon. A dispensation, that regulates our selfish passions, improves our morals, and extends our social connections, by making the love of ourselves the measure of our duty to others; and intitling even our enemies to our forgiveness, our prayers, our charity, and our pity: Binding us by a baptismal covenant, not to any slavish subjection to insupportable burdens, but to such a reasonable service, as conduces to augment our happiness here, and to insure it hereafter: Inviting us by his own example, to a cheerful obedience, a firm trust, a reverential respect mix'd with filial love, and a ready resignation to the divine will: In short, engaging us in, and inciting us to, a religious observance of the duties comprized in the angelic hymn on his incarnation; *viz.* to give glory and divine honour to the most high GOD, to whom alone it is due; to cultivate and promote private friendship and public peace; and, to the best of our power, to enlarge our affections and extend our liberality, by a boundless beneficence, and universal benevolence.—Such are the out-lines of the christian scheme; and such the easy yoke and light burden which our Lord has imposed upon us, in lieu of the diabolical rites and abominable superstitions of our pagan ancestors. And as this occasional retrospect to their barbarous butcheries, and their shocking immolations, both of men and beasts, by roasting them alive, after the augurs had tortur'd them by the requisite flabbings or slashes to inspect their blood and their entrails,—naturally and almost unavoidably prompts us to reflections like these, on so happy a change; the candid reader will therefore excuse a few biblical phrases, which some may ridicule as the cant of a lay-man turn'd lecturer. But however deem'd impertinent in a treatise of this sort, as digressive from its main design, and tho' the writer hereof has no better opinion of theological than medical empiricism, yet an exhibition of the contrast between paganism and christianity, whenever either of them claims notice, whether profess'dly or incidentally, cannot be wholly unseasonable. Chapple.



Cromlechs of Danmonium, however, from their situation at least, may be safely admitted as druidical. (a) Though in the western part of Danmonium, there occur several Cromlechs

cannot be sure it was never applied to denote any quadrupedal stand, as well as the tripodal one for which we find it used. Mr. *o* Halloran makes the like objection to the derivation of *Cromlecb* from the crookedness of its table-stone; for we find, says he, "many of these covering-stones quite flat, which destroys the very principles of this derivation." He does not say *where* such are to be met with:—Indeed *Kir's Cot-House* in *Kent* is so represented (how truly I know not) in the plate facing page 116 of the 2d volume of the *Archæologia*; otherwise I should have thought it very doubtful whether there were any such in *England*, *Ireland*, or any where else but in the latitude of 45°. If such there really are in other latitudes, they must be, in one remarkable instance, of a different construction from ours at *Dreux-Teignton*, and from that of *Lanyon* in *Cornwall*. But supposing there be some quite flat, either in *Ireland* or *Kent*, yet if they are generally otherwise, in their upper surface, this is enough to justify the derivation. — After all, it seems unlikely that *Cromlecb* was the original name; it being much more probable that the ancient *Druids* gave it some name expressive of its use and design: And tho' tis possible this of *Cromlecb* might also be afterwards given it, in reference to the deity or deities to whom public sacrifices were offer'd near it (for it is not denied that such religious worship might be there perform'd, for the reasons before given); yet it seems to me the most probable conjecture of the two, that it took this subsequent name (for such I imagine it to be) from the form of its covering stone, as was at first supposed; without any regard to such sacrifices, and possibly after they were discontinued.—It may here be ask'd,—Why then this tedious comment on another etymology, which must be rejected at last, or at best represented as dubious? The answer is,—To prevent a more diffusive recital hereafter, of the opinions of others relative to the use of such monuments; which were proposed to be examin'd into, but which the foregoing references to them have partly precluded: And also to shew how little, etymologies are to be depended on, for the establishment of any hypothesis that wants other evidence to support it." Chapple's Description, p. 72 to 97.

(a) Having particularly examin'd the weight of the covering stone of our *Dreux-Teignton-Cromlecb*, and perhaps been rather too tedious in our enquiries by what strength or contrivances such structures were probably rais'd, it may not be impertinent to our subject to add a few words concerning the people to whose industry and art they are to be ascribed (for whatever purpose erected), and the permanency and preservation of such monuments in general; of which many yet remain, not only in the western parts of *England*, in *Ireland*, and the *British* isles, but also (as observ'd by Dr. *Borlase* (1), M. *Mallet* above quoted, and others) in *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Norway*, *France*, *Germany*, and in the isles of the Mediterranean sea adjacent to the coasts of *Spain* and *France*; as also in the Isle of *Jersey*, &c. Hence Dr. *Borlase* concludes, they were probably "Celtic monuments, and with that numerous people carried into all their settlements." Not peculiar to the *Druids*, tho' there can be no doubt that the *Druids* among others erected monuments of this kind: And that ours were of their erection (for the christians never erected any such, and the *Danes* never had footing in places where some of them are still to be met with), the Doctor seems to have undeniably proved.—The roughness and apparent deformity of their unpolish'd supporters; the gibbosity and seeming disproportion of their prominent unornamented chapters; the general simplicity of their construction; yet the grandeur, the firmness and strength of the fabrick; tho' at first view it may seem the production of a people just emerged from barbarity and beginning to cultivate the arts, yet on a closer inspection exhibits the strongest evidence, that they could design boldly, and execute effectually. Composed of few, but those the most solid and durable materials; sustain'd by strong pillars deeply and immovably fix'd in their foundations; and the *Abacus* that crowns the whole, by its magnitude and weight little less secured from subversion, either by accident or external force, than the *Fulcrum* that support it;—these structures, like the pyramids of *Ægypt*, have out-last'd the memory of their founders; and still remain objects of the admiration of common spectators, subjects of speculation for the curious, and silent witnesses of the hitherto disputable claims of hypothetic antiquarians. (2) Chapple's Description, p. 63 to 66.

(1) Antiq. of Cornw. p. 212.

(2) Nothing is here meant with a view to censure or ridicule the laudable researches of those who have heretofore labour'd on this subject; and endeavour'd, tho' perhaps unsuccessfully, to account for the origin of such structures, from the best lights that ancient history could afford them, in a matter which time had enveloped in so much obscurity; as if we would wholly reprobate every ingenious hypothesis that might be framed to elucidate it, and were disposed (whilst we avail ourselves of their labours) to blame them for every deviation from the rectitude of a path, where there remain'd scarce any visible tract to direct their footsteps. Even those hypotheses which have only mere fiction or surmise for their basis, may tend to the discovery of truth; if only by exciting some critical opponent to detect their errors, or point out their absurdities: much more so, those, which are partly founded on facts, observations and experiments, but not on a sufficient number of them to ascertain every thing they are produced to prove, as is the case with some alluded to here. The great Roger Bacon (that blazing comet which, in a very dark age, affrighted the ignorant, and fill'd them with the dread of his magic and enchantments,) was certainly in the right, when he affirm'd, that the moon's vicinity to the earth gave her a greater influence on the



Cromlechs (for a description of which I refer my readers to the Antiquities of Cornwall) yet, on this side of the Tamar, in a far more extensive tract of country, we have only to exhibit one solitary Cromlech. It is true, there are other places in Devonshire that have laid claim to this distinction: But the claim has been allowed only by those who, having an indistinct idea of druidical monuments, conceive *Cromlech* to be a general name for them all. On a down, in the parish of Shaugh, commonly called Shaugh-moor, there is, doubtless, some resemblance of a Cromlech. Many represented it as really a Cromlech: Others thought it nothing more than the rude natural rock. Curiosity, however, lately induced a gentleman to go to Shaugh-moor, purposely to look at this rock: And he returned, "perfectly convinced that it was a Cromlech; and of the most durable kind, the top-stone being supported on natural rocks. The covering-stone was about fifteen feet long, and twelve feet broad." And this monument, it seems, was "on the side of the hill." This account requires little or no comment. The gentleman who pronounces these rocks to be a Cromlech, discovers nothing that has the least appearance of art, excepting in the position of the top-stone. But the position of this stone, is surely accidental. It might easily have fallen from the hill above, on the rocks that support it. And, as to the situation of this imaginary Cromlech, *the side of a hill* is not the usual place for erecting such a monument. (a) The only *Cromlech* in this county (which is indisputably such) is situated in (b) *Dreweysington* (the town of the Druids upon the

(c) In the neighbourhood of these rocks, however, there are several druidical circles.

(\*) "*Dreweysington* has been by *Rijden*, *Wesker*, *Prince*, and others, imagined to derive the prefix to its name, by which it is distinguished from other *Teingtons* or towns on or near the river *Teign*, from *Drege de Teign*, who flourished in the reigns of Henry II, and Richard I, and from whom the *Dreweys*, a noted family in this county, have been supposed to be descended."

"But as we find it call'd *Teign-Dru* or *Druis-Teington* in some ancient records, it seems to me most probable it was thus distinguished, as having been, before the Roman conquest, the residence of a principal *Druid*: For, that some considerable one govern'd here, and had great numbers under his command, may fairly be infer'd from the stupendous monument of their labour and skill, of which we are here to give an account; and which having for ages resisted the ravages of devouring time, still remains a standing testimony of the industry and consummate ingenuity of those who erected it. From a tradition of such residence of a chief *Druid*, or perhaps some college or community of them here, the *Britons* of those times might denominate it *Dreweydden Caer-Tegn* or *tu Caer ar Tegn*, the town of the *Druids* on the *Teign*. That its present name was form'd from *Druids Teington*, with the omission of the second *d*, has been the opinion of most persons who have seen its *Cromlech*, and judg'd it to be a druidical structure, tho' uncertain for what purposes it was erected.—Hence also *Dreweyden*, the name of a farm there, had probably its origin; having been perhaps once the seat of some *Druid* or *Druids*. And the like may be observ'd of another *Dreweyden*, situated in the adjoining parish of *Cheagford*, but on the other side of the *Teign*. If it be objected against our supposed *Brit* name of *Drewey Teington*, that the word *Caer* or *Cair* was by the *Britons* applied only to fortified places, and old camps and intrenchments; for which reason the *Saxons* generally turned it into *Ceaster*, and whence our present terminations of *Ceaster* and *Chester* in the names of many such places, but being not so here, it may well be deem'd doubtful whether the *Britons* prefix'd their *Caer* to this name any more than the *Saxons* added to it their suffix of *Chester*: It is acknowledg'd that the *Saxons* most commonly turn'd the *British* *CAER* into *Ceaster* or *Chester*, but this not without some exceptions, and in the *Armenic* dialect it is used for any common town or village. But supposing it restricted to fortifications

the tides, and operated more strongly on the ocean, than the sun or stars, tho' much exceeding her in magnitude, but withal as much farther distant; and that her action on the sea was the greatest, when her rays most nearly approach'd to right angles with its surface. See his *Opus majus*, Distinct. 4. cap. 5. p. 83 and 86 of Jebb's Edit. 1733. For which reason he elsewhere (as I remember, tho' I cannot now turn to the place) modestly queries, whether there might not be something in the nature of light, which, according as the rays fall more or less obliquely on the ocean, occasions the varieties observ'd in its flux and reflux? But he was as certainly wrong, in the hypothesis by which he attempted to account for them; viz. the power of the lunar rays to extract and consume its vapors; as if they had the like force with the solar, or the heat of a fire on the broth in a pot (with which he compares it), to cause the like ebullition and evaporation! It was reserv'd for a Newton, to clear up those then mysterious phenomena; to detect the mistakes of his great predecessor; and to confirm what he had, with fewer helps but no less sagacity, observ'd and rightly asserted; but this now more strongly fortified, by more cogent and conclusive arguments, and on more certain and indisputable principles. Such a detection of the fallacy of Bacon's theory, is no reflection on, nor any-way tends to depreciate his judgment and penetration: We rather admire, that his lyncean eye could see so far into the Millstone, without farther improvements on those spectacles, of which he was most probably the first inventor.—In short, hypotheses founded partly on observation and partly on conjecture, only become ridiculous and contemptible, when magisterially proposed as indubitable truths; and when, tho' they have only the feeble support of fallacious conclusions from insufficient evidence, the proponent claims an exclusive right to their admission, in preference to all others, as if they were infallible certainties. Chapple.

the *Teign*) on a farm called *Shilston*: And the word *Shilston*, in ancient deeds *Shilfestan*, signifies the self-stone or shelving-stone. (a) With respect to the original name of this Cromlech,

fortifications and intrenchments, we are still justified in its supposed application here: For at *Preston* farm, within this parish, on the summit of a very steep rocky hill, now distinguish'd by the name of *Preston Berry* (1), close to that part of the *Teign*, where the road over *Fingle-Bridge* leads from *Dreux Teignton* to *Moretonbampstead* (to which parishes the *Teign* is a common boundary), are the remains of a *Roman* encampment; and that it was really such, and not a *Saxon* or *Danish* one, is evident from its form; of which a more particular account is intended to be given elsewhere. — But if our *Deryddon* *Caer-Teign* should after all be rejected as the result of an arbitrary and ill-grounded supposition, why might it not have been one of the 28 famous cities or towns of the ancient *Britons*? Among these the venerable *Bede* calls the 26th *Cair Droitban* or *Droitboi*, (2) which seems at least as likely, if not more so, to mean this place, as a then noted residence of the *Druids*, than *Draiton* in *Sbropshire*, as some have imagined it to be, from the orthography of *Henry of Huntingdon*, who calls it *Cair Daritbou vel Draiton*. (2) Chapple's Description, p. 1 and 2. 12 to 16. A correspondent commenting on Chapple's Description, observes, "I entirely agree with Mr. Chapple in opinion that it is called *Drue* or *Dreux*, not from *Drogo*, or the family of the *Dreux*, or any such trifling origin, but from the word *Dru*, of which I will say more presently; but I will first confirm the author's opinion, by just mentioning, that it so happens that there is a similar structure between Bath and Bristol, of which Governor Pownall has given a memoir to the Society of Antiquarians; and the name of the place is not, indeed, *Druifseignton*, but it is *Teignton-Druis*, which is the same thing, and both are of the same origin. (3) I must here make a remark on the name of the river, *Teign*, which word, as well as *Tein*, *Tin*, *Tanna*, signifies *fire*: and there seems some analogy between this and the structure itself: and I am assured there are ruins of similar structures in several places on the banks of this river, before it reaches the sea. I have now to remark on the word *Dru*, that it comes not from *Drus*, neither does it mean the *oak*, or the *wood* where the priest retired, but is of *Persian* or rather *oriental* origin, and signifies a *sage*, a *wise-man*, a *prophet*, a *priest*, whose office it was to preserve the rites of the *Cuthite* religion, and to observe the motions of *the host of heaven*, which they worshipped. This word has still the same signification in the ancient *Erse*, or *Irish* language; and a *Druid* temple, therefore, means a temple at which the *wise-men* presided: In this, then, the author and I pretty nearly agree.—I come next to his endeavours to explain the meaning of the word *Cromlech*, about which the author took a great deal of pains, but I think has left the matter very near where he found it: I will endeavour to clear it up. He has got part of the way by deciding that it is derived from *Cromleach*, or *Cromleagh*, or *Cromliach*, all of which mean the same thing—but I do not hesitate to say that it means the same thing as *Stonebenge*, concerning which much learning has been exerted, not to much purpose. *Cromlech*, then, is derived from *Cromleagh*, which is composed of *Crom* a stone, and *leagh* lying or leaning, poised or hanging. I saw one of these structures in Ireland, with a flat inclined stone supported by three upright ones, which the Irish called *Cromlech*, and I was assured that was the derivation of it: And so, in like manner, is *Stonebenge* derived from *Stein* a stone, and *benge* to hang, or poise, or lean—Nothing could be more natural than these names; for stones thus placed were the characteristics of these structures."

(a) "What renders this farm more remarkable is its *Cromlech*; which is situated in a small field or inclosure belonging thereto, the measure whereof is not quite 2 acres and half; which field, tho' on the ascent of a hill, and not above a furlong or two below its summit, is nearly plain and level. Indeed we might rather have expected to find it on the summit itself, as Dr. *Borlase* says structures of this sort are generally so situated; from whence, and from the exactness with which some of them are placed, he concludes, (4) "that those who erected them were very solicitous to place 'em as conspicuously as possible." But the above situation of our *Cromlech* perhaps was rather chosen, as being less exposed to the bleak northern winds, and yet sufficiently commodious for the uses to which it was appropriated. For tho' its northerly prospect be obstructed by the higher part of the hill call'd *Ckurch-Dorun*, which excludes almost every object within 2 or 3 points to the east or west from the north, yet the view from it every-way else is so extensive as to exhibit for the most part an open and fair horizon, from the sun-rising to sun-setting in the longest day; and gives the *Shilston* farmer, tho' he cannot from hence see his own parish church (which is hidden by another little hill), a distinct view of four others viz. those of *Moretonbampstead*, *Ckagford*, *Gidley*, and *Throbleigh*."

(1) Doubtless so call'd from the *Saxon* *Byrig*, which, signifies not only *Urbs*, but also *Arx*. *Propugnaculum*, *Castrum*, &c. And accordingly most old castles, fortifications, and encampments in *Devonshire*, still retain their *Saxon* appellation of *Berry*. Chapple.

(2) See Smith's *Bede* (Append.) p. 655 and 658; and Hen. Huntingd. Hist. Lib. 1. fol. 170 of Savile's Ed. of the *Scriptores post Bedam*.

(3) The remains of this monument near Bath, bear the name of the Wedding among the common people, from a tradition, that as a bride was going to be married, she and the rest of the company were charged into pillars of *Stone*.

(4) *Antiq. of Cornw.* Ch. IX. p. 210.



Cromlech, it would be absurd to conjecture. It is, at present, known in the neighbourhood, by the name of the *Spinster's-rock*. (a) This Cromlech is of moor-stone: And Mr.

*Tetzelgeb.*—The Cromlech stands within a mile and a quarter nearly west of the church of *Drews Teignton*, and directly north from that of *Cbagford*, at the distance of not quite 2 miles from it; which situation is nearly in the middle of the county of Devon, being within 2 miles and half of the center of its circumscribing circle: For this center, if Mr. *Dorn* has accurately delineated the sea coasts of *Devon* in his map,—which, whatever other faults it may have, or be supposed to have (for it has been charged with some unjustly), I think has never been questioned,—is about a mile and quarter to the south-west of the church of *Hittesleigb.* Chapple's Description, p. 28 to 30.

(a) "What name the *Druids* gave our *Drews-Teignton Cromlech* at its first erection, cannot now be certainly known; and can only be guess'd at, either from its present name, or its original use. With respect to the former, the name, by which the learned have distinguish'd it from other *Druidical* monuments, fails us; for we may infer from the latter, if this can be determined with more certainty, as 'tis presumed it may, that *Cromlech* could not, with any propriety, be its original name. Let us try then, what light its modern vulgar name may afford us, on a supposition it was derived from some appellation originally expressive of its use.—This *Cromlech* is vulgarly known to the inhabitants of *Drews Teignton* and its neighbourhood by no other name than that of *Spinster's* or *Spinner's Rock*; and their common saying is, that it was erected by three spinsters one morning before their breakfast. These *Spinsters*, tho' the appellation among lawyers is peculiar to maiden women, but seems to be originally derived from the common employment of young girls in former ages, the inhabitants represent as having been not only spinsters in the former sense, but also spinners by occupation. For according to their account, they did it after finishing their usual work, and going home with their pad, as the phrase here is; that is, carrying home their pad of yarn to the yarn-jobber, to be paid for spinning it: And on their return, observing such heavy materials unapplied to any use, and being strong wenches (gianteesses we may presume, such as *Gulliver's Glumdaleitch*, or the blouses of *Patagonia*), as an evidence of their strength and industry, and to shame the men, who either from weakness or laziness had desisted from the attempt, they jointly undertook this task, and rais'd the unwieldy stones to the height and position in which they still remain. This is the tale, which they say has been handed down from generation to generation; and thence they tell you, this romantic structure had its name.—It is usual with the vulgar, to ascribe almost every thing that they think beyond the reach of human power, to the devil, or diabolical arts: In the present case, however, they have not thought it necessary to call in his devilship's assistance; but having a notion that the people of former ages were of a gigantic stature and *Herculean* strength, they imagin'd this sufficient to account for the erection of such structures as these; taking for granted they could lift up, and properly place, such huge blocks of moor-stone, as the pigmies of the present time are unable to move. But granting their strength and their bulk were as supposed, still 'twas an odd undertaking for spinsters! Had a *Talmudic*, or a legendary romancer after the *Saxon* conversion, been author of the tale, he would rather have constituted them bed-makers to *Og* the king of *Bajan*, the dimensions of whose iron bedstead are recorded by *Moses* (1); it being in length nearly the same as our *Cromlech*, but this in its breadth would make room for his queen also (for the canopy would overshadow both): (2) And having this certain evidence of its dimensions, and the

(1) Deuteronomy 3. 11.

(2) The Writer hereof is far from intending any ridicule on the sacred scriptures: Uninstructed by the fashionable scepticism of the times, he would not even insinuate any thing derogatory to any part of the *Mosaic* history: A history, which those who deny its inspiration must allow to be the most ancient, and the best authenticated, of any that pretend to the highest antiquity. Nor would he charge every extraordinary incident there recorded, that might shock the belief of a *Bolingbroke* or a *Voltaire*, on a supposed corruption of the text. Such, 'tis acknowledg'd, there certainly are, in some parts of those writings, but none can be pretended in that here quoted; it appearing from the accurate collations of our very learned and indefatigable countryman, the Rev. Dr. Kennicott, that not only all the ancient printed copies collated by him, but also all the manuscript ones to the number of 119, agree with the present reading in the dimensions of the bedstead above-mention'd, save only one MS, wherein the words expressive of its breadth are omitted. Indeed there seems no reason to doubt of the gigantic stature of *Og*, or of the other descendants of *Anak*, as there attested; but tho' his bedstead were six cubits long, it doth not follow that he himself was of that height. We may allow him however full five cubits, which I take to be somewhat less than the stature of *Orulph* or *Eduiph* the son of *Ordgar* Duke of *Devonshire* must have been, even supposing the leg and thigh bones preserv'd, and shewn for his in *Tavysloke Church*, were really his, and taken out of his enormous sepulcher at the dissolution of the abbey there, where *Malmesbury* tells us it was to be seen; he being "giganteæ molis & immanis roboris:" But if these bones be admitted as evidences of his proportionable height; I imagine, (from what I remember of their size) it hardly exceeded 8 feet, or very little more than 5 cubits. Such a man might find room to stretch himself between two of the supporters of our *Cromlech*; but perhaps not to that length to which the same *Historian* stretches the legs of this *Orulph*, when, at a hunting in *Dorsetshire*, he makes him stride over a rivulet that was ten feet wide from bank to bank. He also represents him as having strength proportional to his stature; and gives an instance of his exertion of it when coming to *Exeter* with *King Edward the Confessor* (to whom he was related), and approaching that city he found the gate that against them; the people within being then, it seems, careful to preserve their right to shut the gates against all strangers, at least 'till they gave a satisfactory account of themselves: Or perhaps, as our

author



the gigantic stature of *Og*, a fanciful narrator, when geography and chronology, the two eyes of history, were both shut, might as cleverly bring him hither, in a voyage with some *Sidonian* trader, on a temporary visit to Britain, and perhaps with as much assurance of a ready reception by credulous and uninquisitive people, as *Jeffery* of *Monmouth* could introduce a *Trojan Brute* to settle here : And to make the story plausible, his *Basannic* Majesty had only to appoint a regent in *Argob* during his absence.—But leaving such fancies, to make room for others ; which, tho' not so far fetch'd, but of home-fabrication, may possibly, for that very reason, be the less esteem'd by some, and contemptuously rejected, as little better authenticated than the childish and fabulous story itself on which they are founded. Indeed nothing to our purpose can be deduced from it as simply told ; only from its texture, 'tis sufficiently evident, that the supposed erection of this *Cromlech* by 3 piisters (except as to their number, which might be from that of its supporters), must have had its origin from its common name ; not the name from them, as the *Dreusfeigntonians* would persuade us. Yet, as the wildest and most ridiculous traditions, generally retain some shadow of their original, whether founded on fable or fact ; so the most disguised and corrupted words and names may, after all, preserve so many of their radical letters as spelt, or so much resemblance of their original sounds as spoken, as, with the concurrence of other circumstances, may invite an etymologist to attempt an investigation of their meaning ; tho' not always with the desired success.—Permit me however, to offer a conjecture, after taking for granted that the original name of this *Cromlech* was expressive of the use for which it was design'd. And as it will hereafter appear, that its fabrication was not only for scia-cherical purposes, but also for such geographical as well as astronomical observations and conclusions as might be generally deducible from thence ; it being certain that the ancients were guided in such observations by the æquinoctial shadow of a perpendicular gnomon or style, and fitted their instruments to it : (1) Why then might not the astronomical *Druids* give it some *Celtic* appellation significant of that use ; such as *Lle Yspennwr rborgea* (in the *British* dialect of the *Celtic*), the Place of the open or hollow Observatory ? (2) Or possibly *Ypieddyn Ser rorgea*, the open Star-gazing Place. (2) This the *Britons* themselves, if we may suppose them to have discontinued its use and forgotten the meaning of its name, after the extirpation of the *Druids* by the *Romans*, might change for other words of a similar sound, but having regard only to the massive and ponderous stones that composed it, such as *Sawp pynnerog*, the twieghty Pile—*Sawp* signifying a pile, a heap, a lump, a hunch, &c. and *pynnerog* heavy ; from *pynner*, an old *British* word for a load, burden, or weight. But whether they had thus corrupted it or not, at the time of the *Saxon* conquest, the *Saxons* not understanding the *British* language, and mistaking their appellatives for proper names, as has been elsewhere observ'd in respect to our rivers, might do the like here ; and softening the rough and guttural pronunciation of the *Britons*, would naturally adopt instead of it some word or words, of a somewhat similar sound, in their own language ; by which it became easily exchanged into *Spinners Rock*. Where note, the word *Rock* meant not the same with the modern *English* word *Rock*, answering to the Latin *Saxum* or *Petra* ; but was the old *Teutonic* word for *Colus*, a *Dystaff* ; which is still called by the *Germans*, EIN SPINNROCKEN, in *Low-Dutch* SPINN-ROCK. *Rock* indeed, in the same languages as well as in the *Anglo-Saxon*, also signifies a *Coat* or *Gown* ; whence perhaps the *French* *Roquet* and *Requaleu* : And the *English* *Saxons* besides the word *Rock* likewise used the same word for *Dystaff* (*Dystaff*) which we have

author observes, the porter, not knowing of their coming, might be too far off to give them ready admission. Enraged at this, *Ordulph* (or *Eduolph* as he calls him) with both his hands, apparently without much difficulty, broke the bars and bolts, and using also the force of his feet, unhinged the valves of the gate, shatter'd them to pieces, and threw down a part of the wall adjoining : As if he meant to shew the king how far he could match *Sampson*, who forced open and carried off the gates of *Gaza* ; but the other courtiers present it seems, to diminish his applause, ascribed the whole to diabolical assistance rather than to any human power. Vide *Malmib. de gestis Pontif. Angl.* lib. 2. p. 146. Ed. *Savil. Script. post Bedam*. See also the Extracts from him in *Leland's Collectanea*, tom. 2. p. 286.

(1) *Claud. Salmastus* in *Solinum*, pag. 641. "Ad æquinoctialis diei partes duodenario numero æqualiter dividendas, Babylonit Græcique omnes Astrologi veteres et Gnomonici rationes suas accommodarunt. Nec sane aliter fieri potuit. Et hoc ita fiebat nondum publicato horarum nomine et usu. Post eas repertas et Horologia inventa, quomodo ipse variarent et pro dierum ratione modo breviores modo longiores ponerentur. Astronomi tamen Astrologi omnes, et Gnomonici, insuper habita horarum civili observatione, æquinoctiales solas ad usum ac rationes suas observabant. Et enim cum horologia omnia tum ad cursum Solis facta, horas exhiberent omnium anni mensium ex umbrarum momentis crescentes ac decrecentes, solius Gnomonis æquinoctialis umbras respiciebant, gnomonici et rationes omnes Mathematicas ad eum dirigebant."—He then refers to *Vitruvius*, lib. 1. c. vi. and adds,—"Etiam diversi regionum situs, quos varia facit inclinatio cæli, quique ex umbrarum incrementis ac mutationibus dependuntur, non aliter colligi solebant, nisi per umbræ æquinoctialis gnomonem." And after citing lib. ix. c. 8. of *Vitruvius*, to which this is inferred as a note under p. 197 of *Læet's* edition (*Leyd.* 1649), to shew that various places have various lengths of the equinoctial shadow (as indeed they must, if of different latitudes, varying according to the elevation of the pole and consequent depression of the equator), he concludes, "Ideo quibuscumque in locis horologia describerentur, eo loci funderent æquinoctialem umbram. Quin etiam ad dierum augmenta ac decrementsa per singulos menses indicanda non aliis horis quam æquinoctialibus utuntur veteres Calendariorum auctores."—*Annotat. in Vitruv.* edit. subtradit. p. 197.—Vide & *Strab.* lib. 2. sub finem, et alibi passim.

(2) Being not sufficiently acquainted with the requisite changes of letters and other distinctions which the various inflections in the composition and construction of the *British* or other *Celtic* dialects frequently require, to be answerable for the *British* propriety of these supposed appellations ; I must desire the excuse of the *Cambro British* reader, for any deviation from orthographic nicety in them ; since any little error of this kind cannot materially affect the general deduction from it, in respect to their subsequent changes for words of similar sound. Chapple.

Mr. Chapple informs us, "that like most others, it has only three supporters; flat, and irregular in their shape; their surfaces rough and unpolish'd; and their position not directly upright but more or less leaning, (two to the northward, and the other to the south and east), and yet so as firmly to sustain the very ponderous table-stone which covers them: The whole forming a kind of large irregular tripod, and of such a height as if designed for the seat to the queen of *Broddingnag's* dwarf, or the footstool of *Gulliver's* nurse; its upper surface being, where highest, near 9 feet and half from the ground, and the whole on an average at least 8 feet. The greatest length of its table-stone between its two most distant angles is about 15 feet, but taken parallel to its sides about 14, and at a medium not above 13 feet and half; its greatest breadth 10 feet, but this measurement at right angles in that part where its two opposite sides are nearly parallel, is at a medium but 9 feet 10 inches. Its form, on a superficial view, has been commonly considered as that of an irregular *Trapezium*, two of whose 4 sides are partly curv'd, another wholly so, and only one appears to be in a right line; but even this is not strictly so. This, some would have to be the shape in which it happen'd to be form'd in its quarry, with little or no alteration by the hand of a workman; but on a nicer examination it appears to form an hexagonal figure, three of whose sides are straight lines (saving a very small curvature at the extremity of one of them), and the other three, curves; and these described with the utmost regularity and exactness: Wherefore, tho' we may sometimes occasionally call it a *Trapezium*, it must not be so strictly understood as having that kind of figure to which geometers confine that name. The upper part of this trapezium or table-stone, is as usual in other *Cromlechs*, bulging and gibbous, or, as the country-people express it, *saddle-backed*; but its under surface, tho' not smoothly polish'd, is, or originally was, almost every-where a plane, and free from irregular knobs or bunches. This plane makes an angle with the plane of the horizon of about 3 degrees and 55 minutes: For it is to be observ'd, that its three supporters are of unequal heights, and consequently the plane they support cannot be horizontal, but inclines a little downward, as is the case in most other *Cromlechs* we have any account of, at least of those in the *British* isles that have been with any degree of precision described. Among other seeming irregularities, the inequality of the heights of the supporters, which occasions this inclination or declivity, and gives ours a dip towards the south-west, was not accidental, but designedly chosen as most expedient to answer the purposes for which the *Cromlech* was erected. The thickness of the table-stone is different in different parts of it. In the part over the middle supporter, which most bulges or swells upward, it has been found, on a late careful mensuration of it, to be not less than 3 feet and seven inches: From thence this thickness

have retain'd; but that they also (and perhaps more frequently) used the former in this sense is sufficiently evident.—The *Saxon* name of our *Cromlech* being thus establish'd, and the *Spinners'* employment at their rock implied in it, however understood at first, this ambiguous word, *Rock*, came at length to be taken in its most common sense, as referring to the rock from whence the materials of this structure were supplied; Distaffs being little used in *Devonshire*, and scarce known in this part of it, where no flax or hemp is grown. Hence the story of the three spinsters, and their labour in erecting the fabrick suppos'd to have its denomination from them, might easily have its rise; and, only changing the Distaff for a Spinning-wheel, and adding some embellishments, became the subject of a common tale among nurses, to please children, and amuse the ignorant. Let it however be remember'd, that this derivation of its vulgar name, (tho' perhaps not less probable than any hitherto given of the *British* word *Cromlech*,) is proposed as conjectural only; and its probability or improbability submitted to the discussion of the judicious reader." Chapple's Description, p. 97 to 108.

My commentator on Chapple further observes: "I must make one remark on the tradition which the author gives relative to this structure, concerning the *three ladies*—with regard to which, my accounts differ and go rather farther. My accounts say that the tradition varies—some times it is *three young men*, and sometimes *three young ladies*. But the tradition goes farther, and says, that not only the *three pillars* were erected in memory of the *three young ones*, but that the *flat* one which covers them was placed there in memory of *their father*, or *mother*, according as you supposed the young ones to be male and female, and that each of these, both young and old, fetched these stones down from the highest parts of the mountain of Dartmoor, where, for some reason or other, they had thought fit to take up their residence. Perhaps the expression *Lleŷ Spiennwr*, which the author seems to think implies a *spying* or *surveying* place, might give rise to the idea of *spinners*, and this turn them into *three ladies*. But you will perhaps guess why I incline to suppose these stones might be erected, among other reasons, in memory of an *old man* and his *three sons*, who descended from an exceeding high mountain, on a certain occasion."



thickness diminishes more or less every way towards the sides of the trapezoid respectively, where the thicknesses also vary. For, towards the north-west, it is from 20 inches to 2 feet thick: the arch'd part at the north-east is rounded off to a blunt edge, both above and below: the south-east side (where its thickness would otherwise be 17 inches) is under-cut inward, so as to form a reclining plane 22 inches in the slope back, or 14 inches horizontally; and this reclining continues for 7 feet and 7 inches in length, to that point where the curvilinear boundary begins. Between this point and that part which projects over the eastern edge of the lower prop, there has been an excavation of its upper surface, and a seeming abruption of some part of it; whether originally so design'd, or the effect of violence since, we may hereafter have occasion to enquire. On the whole, the average thickness of this covering stone may be estimated at one foot and 9 inches, or near half the greatest thickness of its bulging part. But more of this, and of the nature and length of the curves which form three on its sides, when we come to specify its dimensions and properties more minutely.—This may suffice at present, with regard to its general dimensions and form; of which latter however, the View of it prefix'd to this tract will give those who have not seen it a more perfect idea than any verbal description. (a) But as, among other dimensions, having repeatedly survey'd it, in order to have a perfect plan, I took care (by girthing and otherwise) to have sufficient to determine its *solidity* also; and from thence, and the known specific gravity of the moor stone of which it wholly consists, to be enabled to estimate its *weight*; it may be more proper here to give the result of those measures, than to interrupt our intended enquiries into its geometrical construction by introducing it there.—The areas of the several parts into which the plane of its under surface was to be divided, as the different thicknesses required, in order to obtain their respective solidities, being requisite to be first ascertain'd; I thence found the sum of those areas, or the whole superficial area of this undermost surface or plain part of the table-stone, to be 125 square feet; being not quite half of a square perch, tho' very little short as wanting not a 12th part of it. And this is the quantity of ground it covers, or rather overshadows, at about 6 feet and 3 or four inches, on an average, in height from the surface of the ground: which height is meant of the *under* part of the stone only; that of its *upper* (as may be gather'd from the above dimensions) being from 6 to at least 9 feet and half.—The different thicknesses being carefully distinguish'd as above, with the superficial areas under each, and the bulging upwards allow'd for; I thence found the whole solidity of the said stone (disregarding a very small fraction of a foot) to be 216 cubic feet very nearly. Now a cubic foot of water weighing 62lb.  $\frac{1}{2}$  *avoirdupois*, and the specific gravity of moorstone being found, by the experiments of Mr. *Labelye* the *Westminster* Bridge Engineer, to be to that of water, as 2.656 to 1; from the above solidity we have  $216 \times 62,5 \times 2.656 = 35856$ lb. *avoirdupois*, for the neat weight of the covering stone of this *Cromlech*: that is, in gross weight (reckoning as usual 112lb. to the hundred, and 20 such hundreds to make a tun), *sixteen* tun, with an addition of 16 pounds *avoirdupois*. (b) The use of the *Cromlech* has been a subject

(a) Mr. Chapple is perfectly right in this observation. The *View* intended for his tract, might have precluded this tedious description.

(b) A former computation made it not quite 12 tun; but on re-examining the dimensions, it appear'd, that the greatest thickness had been therein reckon'd a whole foot less than it really is: And even the present correction of that mistake, makes it still less than a person, from a rough guess at it on a view only, would have taken it to be. Our *Cromlech* at *Dreus Teignton* has, perhaps, suffered less, either from internal decay or external violence, than most others. This (like those in *Cornwall*) is of moor-stone, which is known to stand all weathers; and accordingly it has hitherto resisted the furious assaults of the most raging storms. No less firm in its fabrication than other structures of the like kind are said to be, it still continues free from all danger of removal by the utmost efforts of human force, unless assisted by artificial contrivances; and only obnoxious to be thrown down by the shock of an earthquake, the accidental direction of a thunder-bolt, or the modern imitation of thunder by the help of gunpowder. It is moreover secured, by the care of its present worthy owner, as it has hitherto been by the plenty of other stones at no great distance from it, from the avarice of such persons as have else-where blown up other structures of the like kind, for building or other uses: And tho' by some deem'd a monument of ancient idolatry, yet this being unsuspected by the depredators of the last century at least, has also happily escaped the wantonness of military



a subject of much conjecture. (a) An ingenious writer says, that the Cromlech is the *Bith be ram* of the Canaanites; (b) and that its name declares it to have been a temple dedicated

mischiefs, (1) and the fury of fanatic reformers. So that we still have its essential parts entire (tho' unattended by the satellites which probably once surrounded it), and can the better examine into, and judge of its original design, and the uses for which it was erected." Chapple's Description, p. 70 to 72. (b) *Josh. XIII. 27.*

(a) One would have the monument in question for the purposes of a heathen temple: For a regard for heathen temples is no less in the taste of the times, than prospects of the venerable ruins of dilapidated churches, defecated chapels, and suppressed religious houses: Nay, some (as if ashamed of the christian piety of their ancestors) choose rather to subvert and efface all remains of the latter, to make room or supply materials for the former.—Another demands it as an ancient altar for human sacrifices; and which, if restored to its original use, might make quicker dispatch in that business, than the modern mode of sending the victims on shipboard, or into the army, for the ease and benefit of the parish. (2)—A third lays claim to it as a family burying-place; and digs up the bones of his ancestors (who, to signify to posterity their own great importance, chose to take their long sleep under so grand a canopy), to be produced as unquestionable evidences of uninterrupted possession.—A fourth, with more appearance of reason, insists on its having been the place of a druidical court-leet; and pleads (unbribed by a fee) in behalf of the lord of the manor, that he, having not only the chancellorship of the court-baron incident thereto, but also the view of frankpledge, has consequently a legal right to hold that court in the anciently accustomed place. (3)—Some, who are not so immediately concern'd, are content to wait the issue of the dispute; whilst others, observing, and desirous to avail themselves of, the flaws in the pleas and proceedings of the disputants, are inclined to protract it, and to postpone any final decision by demurs and delays; hoping in the mean while to set up some claim of their own, to some share at least, of the premises contended for.—Thus stands the matter at present: How far any thing here to be alledg'd may conduce to put an end to the contest, must be left to the determination of the judges." Chapple's Description, p. 67 to 70.

"The different opinions of antiquarians concerning their primary use and design, may be reducible to these: viz. That they were either temples, or altars, or courts of judicature, or places of legislation, where new laws were proclaim'd, or the old enforced; or for public orations to the people, on these or other subjects; or lastly, for sepulchral monuments.—That sacrifices might be offer'd, courts of judicature held, or laws promulgated, in convenient places at or near them, is not altogether improbable: And that some of them have been occasionally applied to the purposes of sepulture and memorials of the dead, is pretty certain; there being one or more in *Cornwall* that have cairns, or (as the *Devonians*, from the Saxon, most properly call them (*stone-hurrows*) under their covering-stones: Some of the *Danish* Cromlechs are also said to be placed on the top of a barrow (4), and an urn is said to have been found under one of them in *Ireland*. But that they were originally design'd for neither of these purposes (at least that ours at *Dreux Teignton* was not), 'tis presumed will sufficiently appear from what follows. Mean while, let it be here observ'd, that as far as their uses have been guess'd at, from the stone circles by which some of them were surrounded, or to which they were annexed, so far the design of such circles has of course become the object of enquiry among the writers on this subject; as being deem'd prior to the *Cromlechs* with which they are frequently connected, and which have been supposed additional appendages to them: so that a discovery of the designs of the *Druids* in those, was thought the most likely to indicate the subservient uses of these. But it will perhaps appear, that the real uses of such circles may, with greater probability, be discovered from the construction and design of the *Cromlechs*, if this can from other evidence be more

(1) The soldiers during the civil wars, out of wantonness, and to try the conjunctive force of a number of men in removing the largest stones poss'd on each other in divers parts of *Cornwall*, are said to have thrown some of them down: And Dr. Borlase from Mr. Seawen's MS informs us (*Antiq. of Cornwall*, p. 171), that "in the time of Cromwell, "when all monumental things became despicable, one Shrubfall then Governor of Penzance, by much ado, caus'd" the Logging Stone call'd Men-amber in the parish of Siltancy in that county, "to be undermined and thrown down, to the great grief of the country."

(2) This practice is said to have been prevalent in Q. Anne's time: and some think it is, in some places, not yet wholly discontinued. — However this be, we know of no lock-up houses in *Devonshire*.

(3) It has been the opinion of some lawyers, that where a court-leet has been, time immemorial, held at one certain place within its precinct, it ought to be continued there and not elsewhere: And Jacob (in his *Court keeper* p. 3.) quotes *Magna Charta* as requiring it to be held in loco certo ac determinato: But that statute (cap. 35) only says, the Sheriff's *Torn* in the hundred shall be kept, non nisi in loco debito & consueto; and with respect to the leet (which indeed was derived from it), only limits the time when, but not the place where, it is to be annually held. So that the place for the leet seems to be left ad libitum, provided it be within the precinct; and accordingly Sir William Scroggs says, a court-leet may be held in any place within the hundred, parish, or manor, for which it is kept. See *Scroggs of Courts Leet*, p. 12.—This (which in a serious view is foreign to our subject) is only noted here, to prevent any mistake of the allusion to it above.

(4) Borlase's *Antiq. Cornwall*, p. 215.

dedicated to their god, *the heavens*, under the attribute of the *projector*, or mover of things projected. Mr. Chapple was of opinion, that the Cromlech was designed for the apparatus

more certainly known, as 'tis presumed it may: And therefore the examination of such circles will most regularly follow that of the *Cromlechs*; and only here require notice as commonly join'd with them in the disquisitions of the authors recited concerning the latter. They have been generally supposed upon temples of the *Druids*, and the *Cromlechs* as so many altars for their sacrifices. We have already taken notice of this, as being the opinion of M. Mallett and Mr. o Halloran; and indeed in this they agree with the generality of the latest writers on the subject, who have evinc'd these rock-monuments to be undoubtedly *Celtic*; and most of them, if not all, to be contriv'd by the *Druids*; who, besides their sacerdotal offices and pretend'd prophetic character, were not only the arbiters of all controversies in respect either to the religion or the laws of the Celtic nation and colonies, but were also the only professors of philosophy and science amongst them: So, that such stone cirques and entablatures were really productions of their art and ingenuity (for whatever purposes design'd) may be presumed on as indisputable, and now generally taken for granted. For the notions of their being erected by the *Romans* as some have supposed, or as trophies of victories obtained by them, or by the *Saxons* or *Danes*, as others would persuade us, have been deservedly reprobated, as utterly destitute of the least probability. But tho' we must admit them to be undeniably druidical, yet that they were *all* originally intended for religious purposes, is not so unquestionable, however consonant to the united suffrages of the best writers concerning them, not excepting Dr. Borlase; tho' indeed lie on good evidence differs from them all, in denying that the *Cromlechs*, with which they are frequently connected, could possibly be intended for altars; of which, after what has been already said on that subject in the preceding pages, we need not here adduce his proofs. Were it to be granted that all such monuments were (as he thinks) originally of religious institution, or even tho' not so primarily design'd, yet if afterwards thought proper to be connected with any such, and had altars and fit places near them dedicated to the worship of the gods, the supposed subsequent uses of these, as places of council, treaties, elections, and dispensations of law and justice, would all very naturally follow. For "next to religion," (as the same author observes)(1), "government must be supposed to have claim'd the attention, and employ'd the labour and arts of mankind; and in order to give weight to the most solemn acts of the society, where could assemblies be held more properly than in places consecrated to religion, already reverenc'd equally by the nobles and the commonality, and therefore likely to influence those who were to make laws and govern, as well as awe those who were to follow them and obey?"—Places distinguish'd by the rites of religious worship, and sanctified by the supposed presence of the Deity, would (as he further observes) be thought "most likely to inspire the rulers with justice and knowledge, and the people with submission," add a sanction to the laws there made, render oaths more obligatory, and double the impiety of any violations of compacts there made, or disturbance of friendships there contracted.—"Besides (adds he) the ancients took care that all civil treaties, laws and elections should be attended by sacrifices; that place must therefore serve most commodiously for ratifying such acts of the community, where they could so easily have all the means of the most sacred attestations, as priests, altars, and victims to confirm them."—Places thus dignified by religious rites there perform'd (as he proceeds to observe,(2) still speaking of the stone circles), would afterwards be naturally chosen as most proper for assemblies on any emergent or extraordinary occasions, and be accordingly used both as places of worship and council; and having altars near them (tho' he admits not their *Cromlechs* to be such) would of course become the *curia* and *fora* of the same community. But whether those circles of stones were originally intended for temples or not; or whether for the judges, counsellors, or nobles, to stand or sit by or upon, according to their dignity and rank, at their courts, treaties or elections, as the Doctor and many other writers have supposed; is (for the reason before given) not so properly the subject of our examination at present, tho' it has been commonly interwoven therewith, as a recital of the sentiments of those writers concerning the *Cromlechs* that have been erected in or near them. With respect to these, Dr. Borlase(3), after shewing their unsuitness for altars (tho' he thinks it not unlikely that the ancients might sacrifice *near them*, whence the great quantities of ashes found near those in *Jersey*), assigns his reason for supposing them *sepulchral* monuments. This he not only infers from the *tumuli*, to be met with under some of them, but *inner alia* alledges, in support of this opinion, their resemblance of the Cornish *Kist-vuens*, which, he says, "certainly inclosed the bones of the dead;" and asks, "what else is a *Cromlech* but a *Kist-vuen* consisting of larger side stones, cover'd with a still larger and flat one on the top?" Therefore the estimate he had just before given (in p. 214) of the dimensions of such a monument, to render this kind of evidence consistent, should mean those of a common *Kist-vuen*; not of a *Cromlech*; tho' it be there express'd as if spoken of the latter, and the supposed fitness of its size for a human body, but representing the area under its quit as only about 6 feet and half long by 4 feet wide, which gives no more than 26 square feet, agreeable to the dimensions of the ancient *Sarcophagi*; whereas those

(1) Ibid. p. 191, 192.

(2) P. 192, 199.

(3) P. 214, 215.



those of the *Cromlech* at *Molfra*, and others which he himself describes, as well as of ours at *Dreus Teington*, give near 5 times that area (some perhaps more), and consequently room for as many dead bodies, instead of the single ones inclosed in the common *Kiss-vans*. Accordingly *Wormius*, whom *Dr. Borlase* quotes in his next page, as mentioning a *Crypta* and a *Cromlech* together in one barrow, from the many human bones taken out of the first, might well conclude it "to have been the burying-place of some illustrious family;" but the Doctor's conclusions from these premises seem to limit even the *Cromlechs*, notwithstanding their superior magnitude, to the more confined contents of the *Kiss-vans*, and as appropriated to the sepulture of single persons only. For having before observ'd, after inferring from the suppos'd similarity of *Cromlechs* to *Kiss-vans*, that the former were for the same purposes, only constructed on a larger plan,—that "the supporters, as well as covering-stone, are no more than the suggestion of the common universal sense of mankind, which was, first, on every side to fence and surround the dead-body from the violences of weather, and from the rage of enemies; and in the next place, by the grandeur of its construction to do honour to the memory of the dead;—he here concludes thus (p. 215): "It is very probable therefore, that the use and intent of the *Cromlech* was primarily to distinguish, and to do honour to the dead, and also to inclose the dead body, by placing the supporters and covering-stone so as they should surround it on all sides." But then he thinks persons of eminence only were dignified with such a sepulchral monument; such as a Chief Priest or Druid, or some Prince, a favourite of that order; especially when it was erected in the middle of a sacred circus, or on the edge of such a circle, when its middle was already taken up by a single obelisk, which he supposes to have been always regarded as a symbol of something divine, and generally worship'd; and that the *Cromlech* so placed might perhaps respect a particular region of the heavens: And then adds (p. 216), "Princes and great commanders were not only interr'd in a barrow, but had their sepulchres farther dignified by a *Cromlech* erected for them."—Having thus epitomiz'd the observations and sentiments of *Dr. Borlase* in respect to the uses of *Cromlechs*, which he too hastily concludes to have been originally designed for sepulchral monuments, I would only here recommend to the reader a suspension of his judgment thereon, as he may probably hereafter be fully convinc'd, that they could not have been originally intended by the *Druids* as sepulchres for their Chiefs, or indeed for any-one else; at least that ours could not be so applied, 'till after its primary uses were probably forgotten. But that some of them were in after-times applied to such purposes, is sufficiently evident from the human bones found under one in *Ireland*, and from the cairns and barrows, or burrows, under some in *Cornwall* and elsewhere: After which, we may grant that as places of burial they might become "scenes of the *parentalia*, or where divine honours were paid, and sacrifices perform'd to the *manes* of the dead;" but we must agree with the Doctor in observing, that "these rites must have been transacted at some distance from the *Cromlech*, which (as has been evidently proved) could never serve for sacrifices."—*TOLAND'S* specimen of a proposed History of the *Druids*, in three letters to Lord Vi'count *Malesworth*, (1) contains many things relative to the remains of ancient Celtic and Druidical monuments, well worth notice, and on which, some of his conjectures seem not improbable: But his chief aim in this epitome of the history he promised to give more at large, of the *Druids*, or of their *priestcraft*, as he thinks it might most properly be styled (see his first letter, p. 8 and 9) being to parallelize it with, and to vilify the christian priesthood, which he appears to have held in superlative contempt; he with this view labours to warp and distort it into the most frightful form, and to disguise and disguise it in the most odious and disgusting dricks; catching at every conjecture, however groundless, that might afford him the least handle to expose and ridicule, not only the delusive objects of pagan superstition, but whatever had been at any time deservedly held sacred. Due allowance ought therefore to be given for his prejudices, whilst we avail ourselves of that intelligence which his acquaintance with *Ireland* and its ancient language (the least corrupted dialect of the old *Celtic*), and the many reliques of Druidical antiquity there to be met with, enabled him to give us. In this respect, as I can no more approve of his antichristianity than he could of that extreme superstition which he complains of (p. 112) in Mr. *Aubrey*, yet acknowledging him an honest man, and most accurate in his accounts of matters of fact; so I may here make the like use of his, as he himself

(1) For the opportunity of inspecting this,—and a Latin tract on the same subject, publish'd in 1664, and entitled *Synagoga de Druidum Moribus ac Institutis*: Auctore T. S. (i. e. T. Smith, S. T. P.)—as well as for many former favours of the like kind, I am indebted to the kindness and friendship of the Rev. William Hole, Archdeacon of Bathurst, in the Diocese of Exeter; whose judgment and erudition, which no less enable him to distinguish, than his benevolence prompts him to communicate, such intelligence as the best authors can afford, for the cultivation of useful literature, give him a higher claim than the private thanks only, of those on whom such favours are bestowed;—and whose obliging condescension to furnish, from his curious collection, whatever tracts might conduce to throw additional light on, or tend to the improvement of, even such uninteresting lucubrations as mine, cannot but merit my most grateful acknowledgments.—On perusing this of *Dr. Smith*, I had the satisfaction to find what has been herein before observ'd, concerning the human sacrifices of the *Druids* and the objects of their worship, more fully confirm'd; not only from the authorities already cited, but also from the additional testimonies of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Tacitus*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, &c. which need not here be enlarged on. But the letters of *Toland* on this subject, affording much information that may be subservient to our present purpose, may occasionally require larger extracts from, and remarks on them. Chapple.



self tells us he did of the numerous instances of Druidical monuments with which *Aubrey* supplied him. "The facts he knew (says he), not the reflections he made, were what I wanted:" So the facts Mr. *Toland* knew, or has on good authority given us accounts of, relative to the subject in hand, are all I want; without regarding those sneers at priests and their sacerdotal functions, for which he and *Tindal* were so notorious.<sup>(1)</sup> Not that I would equal his authority in other respects to that of *Aubrey* his informant, whose meaning he might possibly sometimes mistake or misrepresent; and with respect to what he (*Toland*) asserts of his own knowledge, Dr. *Borlase* (in his preface, p. vi.) doubts, "whether ever he copied or measured one monument;" and adds, that "the authorities upon which he asserts many extraordinary particulars, have never yet been produced:" For the Druidical history at large, wherein he promised to produce those authorities, if ever really intended to be written (as the editor of this and some other tracts of his in 1726 supposes it was), was not so much as begun before his death, which happened in March 1721-2 (as we learn from the same editor); and this is another reason for quoting him with caution. However, his accounts of the places in Ireland, &c. where Druidical monuments are yet to be seen, and of what kind of construction they respectively are, doubtless deserve all that credit which is due to any man of common prudence; who would be cautious of giving a false account of any such monuments, when he could not but know that every-one on the spot might in such a case easily detect it. In this specimen of his Druidical history, describing the *Kisfeu-waen* (for this he says is, in *British or Welsh*, the proper plural of *Kist-waen*,<sup>(2)</sup> i. e. a stone chest), of which he tells us many are to be seen yet entire in *Wales*, &c.<sup>(3)</sup>—he asserts them to be so many Druid ALTARS; and that tho' denominated stone chests, "they are things quite different from those real stone-chests or coffins (commonly of one block and the lid) that are in many places found under-ground."<sup>(4)</sup> In *Ireland*, which by his account seems to have abounded with these supposed altars, the vulgar Irish call them *Dermot* and *Grania's* beds, from a story, which he recites, of the elopement of the latter from her husband, with one *Dermot o Duwry*; who being every where pursued were said to have been secreted in those *Kisfeu-waen*. One of these, he thinks, was originally in every circle of obelisks or stones erect, tho' now frequently wanting; as he observes, such "altars (for so he calls them) are found where the circular obelisks are mostly or all taken away for other uses, or out of aversion to this superstition, or that time has consumed them." These stone circles he, with most other writers, takes to be undoubtedly Druidical temples, but disagrees with those "who from the bones which are often found near those altars and circles (tho' seldom within them) will needs infer that they were burying-places;" forgetting "what *Cæsar*, *Pliny*, *Tacitus*, and other authors write of the human sacrifices offer'd by the Druids; and, in mistaking the ashes found in the cars," he says, "they shew themselves ignorant of those several anniversary fires and sacrifices" for which he had before shewn they were rear'd. But of these and the stone-circles, more hereafter; let us now return to this author's further account of the *Kisfe u-waen*. He describes them as ordinarily consisting "of four stones; three being hard flags, or large tho' thin stones set up edgewise, two making the sides, and a shorter one the end, with a fourth stone of the same kind at the top: for the other end (adds he) was commonly left open, and the altars were all oblong. Many of them are not entire."<sup>(5)</sup> But in the next page he says many of them are so, as quoted above; tho' he adds here, that, "besides the alterations that men have caused in all these kinds of monuments, time itself has chang'd 'em much more." But perhaps he here ascribes to time and weather some of those seeming irregularities in their form, which a nicer examination and more accurate measures of their several parts than appear to have been hitherto taken, might possibly demonstrate to be really regular, and consistent with their original design. Not but that some diminution of their then dimensions must, in a long tract of time, result from their age and exposure: To this purpose *Toland*<sup>(6)</sup> quotes Mr. *Brand*, who, speaking of the obelisks in *Orkney*, says, "Many of them appear to be much worn, by the washing of the wind and rain;" from whence he infers they are of long standing: But perhaps he also mistakes their original form, and might think some parts worn away which were never included with them, nor otherwise existed than in his own imagination: Wherefore, we must not without due allowance for this, admit what *Toland* himself subjoins, viz. that "'tis naturally impossible, but that in the course of so many ages, several stones must have lost their figure" (or rather suffer'd a diminution in their magnitude; for their shape or figure might probably be not so much alter'd as he imagines; their proportions at least may be still preserv'd, tho' somewhat reduced in their size), "their angles being expos'd to all weathers, and no care taken to repair any disorder, nor to prevent any abuse of them."<sup>(7)</sup> Hence he supposes "some of them are become lower, or jagged, or otherwise irregular and diminished;" but I should rather imagine they were originally so, and that their supposed irregularities were, in these, as we shall find them to be in the structure we propose more particularly to examine, not the effects of accident, but of art and real regularity in their design.—"Many (he adds) are quite wasted" by which perhaps he means carried off or demolished; "and moss or scurf hides

(1) See Pope's *Dunciad*, B. ii. 399.

(2) These names, he tells us, with a small variation, are good Irish (*Hist. of the Druids*, p. 95); and of this, being himself an Irishman, and the ancient Irish his vernacular tongue, he must be allow'd to be a competent judge.

(3) P. 94.

(4) P. 95.

(5) P. 93.

(6) *Ibid*.

(7) P. 94.

hides the inscriptions or sculptures of others; for such sculptures (he says) there are, in several places, particularly in *Wales* and the Scottish Isle of *Aran*." He had before (p. 92) taken notice of characters and inscriptions observ'd on Druidical obelisks in *Scotland* and *Wales*, which, except the Roman and Christian inscriptions, were unintelligible to such as had hitherto seen them; but which as he justly observes, "ought to have been fairly represented for the use of such as might be able perhaps to explain them. They would at least exercise our antiquaries."—But his repeating this here in his account of the *Kiffieu-væn*, seems a digression from them to the obelisks; for if I rightly understand him, he meant not that any such inscriptions had been observ'd on the former; concerning which, perhaps more than enough has been cited from him to our purpose, but to which I was induced by the supposed similarity of those *Kiffieu-væns* to the *Cromlechs*. How far they were really similar, or design'd for similar purposes, can only be determin'd (as before-hinted) by more accurate examinations of their dimensions and proportions than appear to have been hitherto taken. Mean while, Dr. *Borlase* is not alone in his inference from their likeness, that they were intended for, and applied to, the like uses, whatever they were; but in these, authors are not yet agreed.—For *Toland* seems also to take a *Cromlech* to be only a larger sort of *Kiff-væn*, tho' he describes it, (1) not only as much bigger, but also as "consisting of a greater number of stones" (which I much question the truth of, in general, tho' there are some few instances of it), (2) "some of them serving to support the others, by reason of their enormous bulk." These structures, he says, "the Britons term *CROMLECH* in the singular, *Cromlechu* (rather *Cromlechiau*) in the plural number; and the Irish *CROMLEACH*, or *Cromleac*" (or, as others spell it, *Cromlach*) with the addition of the letter *a* to make it plural. These *Cromlechu*, as well as the *Kiffieu-væn*, he will have to be (not burying-places but) ALTARS: For, as he takes the word *Cromlech* to signify the Bowing-stone, he thence concludes they were all places of worship; and in short gives much the same account of *Crum-cruach* "the chiefest in all Ireland,"—which he takes to be an idol, and says it was overlaid with gold and silver, and that it stood in the midst of a circle of 12 obelisks (which had lesser figures on them, of brass only) on a hill in *Bresin*, a district of the county of *Cavan*, formerly belonging to *Leirim*; (3)—and has recourse to the like conjectures concerning its original designation and supposed derivation from *Cruim*, signifying thunder, as Mr. o *Halloran* has since adopted; whose sentiments having been already animadverted on, need not be here repeated.—Besides the *Cromlech* at *Poitiers*, mention'd in our note (d), this author tells us (4) of one in the parish of *Neuern* in *Pembroke-shire* "where the middle stone is still 18 feet high, and 9 broad towards the base, growing narrower upwards. There lies by it a piece broken off 10 feet long, which seems more than 20 oxen can draw; and therefore (adds he) they were not void of all skill in the mechanics that could set up the whole."—He mentions also "a noble *Cromlech* at *Bod-cuyr* in *Anglesey*;" and adds concerning *Cromlechs* in general, "Many of them, by a modest computation, are 30 tun weight; but they differ in bigness, as all pillars do" (meaning I suppose the supporters of such *Cromlechs*), "and their altars" (by which he seems here to mean the quoits or covering-stones only) "are ever bigger than the ordinary *Kiffieu-væn*. In some places of *Wales* these stones are called *Meinuguyr*, which is of the same import with *Cromlechu*. In *Caithefness* and other remote parts of *Scotland*, these *Cromlechs* are pretty numerous, some pretty entire; and others, not so much consumed by time or thrown down by storms, as disorder'd and demolish'd by the hands of men." (5) He goes on to shew, that no such altars were ever found by *Olaus Wormius* or others in the temples of the Gothic nations, by which he means all those "who speak the several dialects of Gothic original, from *Iceland* to *Switzerland*, and from the *Briel* in *Holland* to *Presburg* in *Hungary*, the *Bohemians* and *Poles* excepted." The *Druids*, he says, were only co-extended with the *Celtic* dialects; and then quotes *Cæsar* as saying expressly "there were no Druids among the *Germans*," they only worshipping the sun, moon, and *Fulcan* or fire, which they constantly saw, and by which they were manifestly benefited; rejecting all other deities, and sacrificing to none: Which of course, says our author, "made altars as useless there (tho' afterwards grown fashionable) as he thinks they were necessary in the Druids temples," meaning the stone circles; and that those altars (meaning the *Cromlechs*, &c. and taking for granted that they were design'd as such) shew them "more than probably to have been temples indeed;" (6) and so, he tells us, the Highlanders and their Irish Progenitors have always call'd and taken them to be.—But if by altars he here means *Cromlechs*, as indeed he does, and supposes them every-where druidical; and if his assertion, that no such were ever found within the limits he prescribes, be found false in fact; this renders all this reasoning inconclusive, and militates against all his favourite notions relative to these supposed altars and temples. And that they

(1) P. 96. (2) That *Cromlechs* have most commonly no more than three supporters, has been before observ'd; but some have four, and this author (p. 97) quotes *Chevreau* *Memoires d'Angleterre*, p. 380, as mentioning one remaining at *Poitiers* in France, supported by five lesser stones, and which he thinks exceeds all in the British islands, its covering stone being 60 feet in circumference: *La pierre levee de Poitiers a soixante pieds de tour, & elle est posee sur cinq autres pierres*.—But our author fancies this was a rocking-stone, tho' what induced him to that conjecture he doth not say. Possibly there may be *Cromlechs* in Britain as large as that at *Poitiers*, tho' unknown to him. Ours at *Dreus Teignton* indeed wants somewhat more than one third of the same circumference, supposing the above measure of it meant in French feet: for 60 Paris feet are nearly equal to 63 feet English.

(3) P. 100.

(4) P. 97.

(5) P. 98.

(6) P. 99.



apparatus of an astronomical observatory. (u) So numerous were the scientific properties which he ascribed to the Drewsteignton Cromlech, that he could have written (as

they are really thus founded on a mistaken negation of a known fact, may be collected from the testimony of M. Mallet and others, who, as before quoted in page 64, assure us such monuments are now to be found in Germany, as well as in other countries and places there mention'd: And then, if *Cæsar's* evidence be also admitted, that there were no Druids among the *Germans*, and that the *Germans* offer'd no sacrifices, and consequently had no altars till the *Romans* introduced theirs; it follows, that those more ancient monuments there, whether *Cromlechs* or *Kist-vauens*, could not have been intended for altars, but for some other, and possibly very different, purposes: Nor could they be the works of the *Druids*, but of a people within that Gothic pale which this author has here mark'd out. And hence it also follows, that those *Celtic* monuments, as we have already observ'd from *Borlase* in the above-mention'd page 64, were not peculiar to the *Druids*; tho' ours in the *British* islands, which only were meant in what we said of them p. 112, must be admitted to be, as there observ'd, undeniably druidical: But some monuments of this kind having been erected by the ancient *Germans*, who differ'd so essentially from the *Druids* in their religious customs, as to reject all altars and sacrifices, we might hence also conclude, had we no other proofs, that those monuments were not originally design'd for religious purposes.—We have now only to add to these extracts from, and remarks on the sentiments of *Toland*, that he, *inter alia*, (1) takes notice of the many altars (as he calls them) and *Cromlechs* in *Jersey*, as well as in the other neighbouring islands, formerly part of the Duchy of *Normandy*, where we have already observed they are call'd *Pouqueleys*; and quotes p. 115 of *Dr. Falle's* account of *Jersey*, who there says, "They are great flat stones of vast bigness and weight; some oval, some quadrangular, rais'd 3 or 4 foot from the ground, and supported by others of a less size;" and thinks them evidently altars, "both from their figure, and great quantities of ashes found in the ground thereabouts." He moreover infers, from their standing on eminences near the sea, that they might be "dedicated to the divinities of the ocean." This *Toland* disputes, and thinks "the culture of the inland parts is the reason why few of them are left, besides those on the barren rocks and hills on the sea-side:" But perhaps better reasons might be given for this their situation, than either he or the Doctor were aware of.—*Dr. Falle* adds, "At ten or twelve feet distance there is a smaller stone set up an end, in manner of a desk; where 'tis suppos'd the priest kneel'd, and perform'd some ceremonies, while the sacrifice was burning on the altar:" But the erection of such a stone, and at such a distance from the *Cromlech*, might be accounted for, without supposing them design'd for sacerdotal devotions." Chapple's Description, p. 109 to 137.

(a) "This CROMLECH OF DREWS TEIGNTON was first recommended to my notice by a worthy and judicious lady, who to her other amiable accomplishments has added a general knowledge of the antiquities of her country; and tho' that modesty which always accompanies real merit, and is of itself a silent testimony of it, with-holds the additional honour this page might receive from her name, yet gratitude no less forbids me here to pass over, unacknowledg'd, the helps to facilitate another undertaking, which I owe to the beneficence of the same patroness, by her procurement of of divers valuable manuscript copies of *Rijdon's* and *Weston's* surveys, mostly transcribed by Mr. *Prince* (author of the *Worthies* of Devon) with his own hand, and all under his direction; and were lately in the possession of the Rev. Mr. *Anthony Tripe*.—Ignorant of any monument of the *Cromlech*-kind in *Devonshire*, till thus pointed out to me by my fair informant as well deserving the attention of the curious, it might otherwise have escap'd that examination, whereof I am now to give the result: But I afterwards observ'd it to be noticed as such in Mr. *Denn's* map of this county; whose engraver however, has there given it the form of a Greek  $\Pi$ , as if it had been a Druidical gallows for the execution of criminals.(2)—Being thus excit'd to a view of this *Cromlech*, and desirous of ascertaining its real form, some business in that neighbourhood soon after gave me an opportunity of seeing, and taking a rough sketch of it; but being then straiten'd in time, and having no other instrument with me but a pocket rule, I contented myself with only taking the length and breadth of its covering stone, and such other dimensions as might limit the angles, and enable me to plan the ground it cover'd, and the position of its three supporters; in which all I then observ'd remarkable (besides the inequality of their heights, by which the covering-stone has such an inclination as we have elsewhere taken notice of) was, as mention'd in the preface to this tract, that their

(1) Ibid.—(2) This is not meant as a reflection on my friend Mr. *Denn* himself; who, supposing it were indeed so mark'd by him in the engraver's copy, might in the course of his survey only have a sight of it from some distant point of view; where the middle fulcrum happening to be in a line with one of the others, was hidden by it, and so only two such mark'd in his field-book. But more probably this was one among many errors of the engraver, left uncorrected in the proof sheets of the plates; which Mr. *Denn*, to my knowledge, sent to his friends in divers parts of the county, desiring their examination of them, and correction of any mistakes they might observe in them: but this being overlook'd, among other minutiae, by such examiners of the plate it was in, (and which I also saw, but had not then seen the *Cromlech*.) 'tis no wonder, considering also the short time to which he is said to have been limited for its publication, that so minute a figure in the crowd of others escap'd his correction. Chapple



their three edges were, at the surface of the ground, in a right line with each other; from whence I then indeed concluded there might be somewhat more of geometrical exactness in its construction than was generally imagined; but had no idea of what now appears to have been the occasion of its erection, nor any the least doubt but that *this*, and all other such Druidical monuments were some way or other subservient to religious purposes; and perhaps some of them moreover design'd for the sepulture of the dead, which among the Druids as well as other worshippers of the Pagan deities, was always accompanied with some religious rites, sometimes with sacrifices, and other ceremonies, more or less solemn, as custom and the honour and dignity of the deceased demanded. For the burial of the dead, was, by all nations, anciently esteemed one of the principal duties of religion; which, according to the accounts transmitted to us by all historians, was denied neither to friends nor enemies. (1) — It has been before observed, that the covering or table-stone of this, is, like those of most other *Cromlechs*, not truly horizontal, but, from the inequality of the heights of its supporters, appears as it were bent or bowed down at one end: but towards what point of the compass I had not observ'd when I took the rough plan abovemention'd, having then neither sun-shine nor compass by which to ascertain its bearings or position with respect to the cardinal points or otherwise. Afterwards, considering with what views this its deviation from the horizontal level might possibly be design'd, if it were not wholly accidental; and recollecting that *Cæsar* and other ancient writers had assured us that the Druids in *Britain* and *Gaul*, among other pagan deities, next to *Mercury* who was by them thought to claim their highest honours, had a particular veneration for *Apollo* or the Sun; I imagin'd, that if the part so depress'd were meant to betoken any such veneration for, or respect to, that luminary, it would probably be directed towards that part of the horizon where he rises: And to be satisfied whether this were the case here, I determin'd on a more accurate survey of the premises with proper instruments, by which being also enabled to take more truly the several angles, as also those which the sides would respectively make either with a magnetical or a true meridian line, its exact position in respect thereto would thence be truly ascertain'd. Accordingly on the 20th of *August*, 1777, I went a second time to view and more strictly examine it, taking with me a plain-table for its more exact admeasurement; this, with its needle and other usual apparatus, being the most proper instrument for such a purpose. But previous to this survey, I had to get removed a large quantity of dry ferns with which I found the whole area fill'd up, and closely stuff'd in, as high as the covering or table-stone would permit, with an intent to be burnt there by the then *Shillston* tenant, and their ashes to be used as manure: And altho' when freed from these, there still remain'd in the midst of the area a pretty large heap of ashes, the produce of some such former sacrifice to *Ceres*, which in some respects obstructed my proposed measures,—preventing my then taking as intended (but which has been also since done) the necessary dimensions for connecting the upper part of each *fulcrum* with a plan of the under-surface of the table-stone, so as to ascertain their respective deviations from perpendicularity, and mark their bearing places;—and moreover conceal'd from my then notice some remarkable stones fix'd into the ground,—yet the position of this ash-heap hinder'd not my taking the very true and exact ichnography not only of the table-stone itself, but also of the bases of its supporters, and what else was requisite to determine the area or ground-plot cover'd or overshadow'd by it, and at what heights respectively. And this I chose to do at a scale so large as would distinctly shew any distance measured, within less than a quarter of an inch at most. This being done, and a true meridian deduced from the magnetic, by allowing the same variation of the needle here at *Shillston* as at *EXETER*, where it was at that time nearly  $23^{\circ} 35'$  west, (2) this was presum'd sufficiently near the truth; it being not likely to have any sensible alteration in a distance of about ten miles only: Nor does any error of this sort appear on re-examination; for tho' it then happen'd to be a cloudy

(1) Vide *Danet* in *Funo*, and the authors he cites.

(2) The variation (or as sometimes called the declination) or deviation of the magnetic needle from the true north point, is now well known to be itself continually varying, both with respect to time and place; being different in different places at the same time, and at different times in the same place: And tho' it was formerly easterly, the needle has long since pass'd the north, and in this part of the world now declines many degrees to the west of that point. At *Exeter*, on the 13th of March 1717-18, (O. S.) a judicious observer found it to be  $13^{\circ} 20'$  westerly: On the 20th of May 1762, I found it by observation increased to 21 degrees: In Nov. 1772 (as noted occasionally at that time in another work) it was further increas'd to  $22^{\circ}$ , and 3 quarters: On the 20th of August 1777 as above, it was estimated at  $23^{\circ} 35'$ ; and 18 months after (viz. in Feb. 1779), when it was become nearly  $23^{\circ} 50'$ , was found by an azimuth at *Shillston* to be the same there, or very nearly so: And now, Aug. 17th 1779, I find by another observation of it at *Exeter*, carefully taken, by the help of an exact meridian line and a well-touch'd nine-inch needle, plac'd at a due distance from any iron liable to disturb it, that it wants but a very little of 24 degrees; viz. such a trifle as was but barely discernible with so short a needle, and could not appeal less by above one 12th of a degree at most, had it been more nicely measur'd on a larger arch; but I had no opportunity of adjusting it by one of a longer radius. So I estimate the present variation here at *Exeter* to be  $23^{\circ} 55'$ , agreeable to the uniform increase resulting from former observations here, where it seems to be continually increasing (perhaps more regularly than is generally supposed) at the rate of 10 minutes and about 20 seconds annually, or 1 degree and 2 minutes in 6 years: And should it continue to increase thus regularly, the needle at and near *Exeter*, may be expected to point directly west about the year of Christ 2164, and to make a whole revolution in and about 2090 years.—I am sensible how much this disagrees from the accounts we have of the needle's variations as observ'd at *London*; not only in respect to

cloudy day, and consequently no azimuth of the sun could be then and there taken to adjust it, it has been since confirmed by one taken on the spot, which, allowing for the increase of variation in the mean time, shew'd it had been *there*, when the plan was taken, within a minute or two of the above-mentioned variation; or differing so little from it as to make no discernible difference in the geometrical projection at the scale above-mentioned. A meridian line being thus carefully adjusted to my field-map, this immediately evinc'd the utility of my conjecture before-mentioned; for instead of any bending down on the table-stone towards the rising sun, its lowest part appear'd to be *south westerly*, and so rather respecting the *setting* sun, and this at the winter solstice, when his light and heat is generally the least perceptible (tho' the *Druids* perhaps might deem this a fit season for gathering their idolized *Mistletoe*, when, according to *Bradley*, its berries or seeds become ripe for propagation)." Chapple's Description, p. 151 to 160.

"From all my observations, it is evident that the Drewsteignton Cromlech could not be primarily intended either as a religious structure, or a sepulchral monument, but was partly designed for scia-thetical purposes, and in general as the apparatus of an ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATORY.—And of this, 'tis presumed, we shall be enabled to produce such proofs, as will be abundantly satisfactory, not only to proficients, but to any who have but the slightest acquaintance with the first rudiments of geometry and astronomy.—But however plain this may be on a candid examination, I am aware how liable the most conclusive arguments are, to be oppugned by the sophistry of wrangling disputants; and how obnoxious the most unexceptionable, to the censure of some sceptical cavillers, who, inclined to doubt of every-thing, resolve to approve of nothing: whom even mathematical evidence will hardly convince; and who professing that Pyrrhonic Philosophy which may be acquired without learning or parts, and with little or no study, affect a Socratical negation of knowledge; complaining of the prevalence of error, the disguises of truth, the imperfection of arts, and the vanity and incertitude of the sciences; and yet perhaps despising the only one that pretends and may justly lay claim to absolute certainty, lest it should happen to convict them of the absurdity of having substituted ignorance and scepticism for the perfection of wisdom, and oblige them unwillingly to acknowledge, that others enlightened by its lamp may see farther and more clearly than themselves. Such as these, at first view of a geometrical plan so seemingly complex as one or more of those we are here to exhibit, may enter their caveat in the court of criticism against a too hasty determination in this matter: Their business being ever to demur, never to decide, we must not be surprized at any weak endeavours to support their plea for a suspension of judgment, by starting imaginary difficulties, and by the impertinence of cross questions and nugatory objections: Representing all attempts to reduce this rude monument of antiquity to regular form and geometrical exactness, as the mere effects of fancy; and alledging, that any other irregular production of bungling artifice, or even the spontaneous disposition of natural rocks, which, freed from their interstitial and surrounding earth, had been left there in the form of such a *Broddingnag* tripod as this, might by the like adjustment of lines, angles, and circles to it, be exhibited as a specimen of antient ingenuity and skilful contrivance; tho' it were in reality, either the mere fortuitous effect of chance, or the clumsy workmanship of some bungling fabricator.—Others, who may readily grant this piece of stone-work to be artfully constructed, and well adapted to its intended uses, whatever they were, may however, at first view of our plan, be apt to suspect, that all this geometrical parade is wrested and forced into regularity, to support a favourite notion or preconceived hypothesis: since we want not instances of ingenious triflers and fanciful projectors, who, by the aid of a pregnant imagination and ready invention, will undertake to make anything out of anything; like the ale-house cook, who being required to dress the boots of an itinerant quack, by order of his zany, and having, by slicing and mincing them *secundum artem*, with proper additions for seasoning and sauce, transform'd them to a *French fricassée*, serv'd them up as a delicate dish for his Doctorship's supper. Nay, some venture yet farther, and assuming to themselves a creative power, boldly undertake to rival Omnipotence, by a practical refutation of the old maxim, *Ex nihilo nihil fit*; pretending, in virtue of a magic process peculiar to themselves, to deduce anything from nothing.—There is, it must be confess'd, a kind of antiquarian knight-errantry, which amuses itself with its own dreams. These, strongly impressing a prejudiced mind, the dreamer at length persuades himself must be somewhat more than the sports of fancy; indulges the infatuation; catches at every shadow of an argument to confirm himself in it; considering the phantom he has rais'd, in every point of view; and then introduces others to support it, and convince himself of its reality. Thus fascinated with the charms of imaginary objects, no wonder if he mistakes, like Don *Quixotte*, a windmill for a giant; a barber's basin

for its annual progress to the westward, but also as to the regularity of gradual increase. This is evident from comparing the successive observations of Messrs. Burrows, Gunter, Cellibrand, Pond, Dr. Halley, Mr. Graham, Dr. Bevis and others. They seem to have thought the variation to have increas'd or decreas'd more slowly; and so contented themselves with registering the years of their observations, without mentioning at what time in each; whereas in order to determine accurately the law of such increase or decrease, and whether accelerated or retarded, the month at least, if not the day of observation, ought also to be known, and should be duly register'd for the information of future observers. However, enough appears from their dates to evince, that the variation at London has not vari'd uniformly; nor (if the accounts we have of it may be relied on) doth it seem to have always differ'd from that at Exeter by any certain or constant quantity; tho' that difference has generally been from 2°. 48' to 2°. 55'. Chapple.



for the morion or defensive skull-cap of a *Roman* foot-soldier; an *Irish* bawn, for the *quendam* assembly-room of Druidical bards; or a ponderous old rat-trap, for the model of an ancient *Catapulta*.—Positive in his adopted opinions, and confident in his own conjectures, a visionary of this sort starts not at common difficulties. Self-sufficiency supplies what ignorance denies; and a fanciful presumption, or happy guess, compensates for deficiency of evidence. To persons thus qualified, the fragments of unintelligible inscriptions, obliterated manuscripts, corroded coins, mutilated statues, broken columns, &c. &c. are easily explicable, and as readily explain'd. Hence new and strange discoveries are sometimes suggested, or absurd hypotheses form'd, and no less stiffly maintain'd than prematurely adopted; however repugnant to the common sense and receiv'd notions of more sagacious inquirers, relative to the laws, arts, policy, religion or learning of the ancients: And hence we are now-and-then amused with new models of their architecture; new codes of their laws; new rituals of their superstitions, new keys to their mythology, or new standards for regulating their history, and for stretching or curtailing their chronology. But in these, as well as in matters of less importance, in which these fantastic schemists are sometimes no less assiduous, when fancy and conjecture supply the want of authentic evidence, no wonder if their imperfect conceptions prove abortive, and their illogical conclusions from such disputable premises, frequently become subjects of ridicule and contempt.(1) Some of those dreaming *virtuosi*, for instance, have pretended to fix the exact chronology of a supposed antique shield, among other of its properties, by the colour of its rust:(2) Others have busied themselves in bottling up air, for occasional supplies of it in æthereal voyages, to have an insight into *lunar* antiquities, and a prospect of undiscover'd countries here; extending their boundless curiosity far beyond the clouds, and those gross vapors which here inflate the lungs of sublimary mortals; impatient of confinement to their own, tho' most forcibly attractive, sphere; and no longer acquiescing in that humbler (but to mechanicks more interesting) enquiry, whether the artificial sphere of *Archimedes* were wholly composed of brass, as *Lactantius* supposes(3); or whether, as suggested in an epigram of *Claudian*(4), its outside or casing at least, were not rather of transparent glass, like that of a modern globe-lantern.(5)—Such are the reveries, not only of some assuming matters in antiquity and pretended restorers of ancient arts, but sometimes even of more learned triflers on such subjects: And as such, some may be disposed to ridicule the production of a short-sighted novice in such researches as the present subject demands, and which would more properly exercise the speculations, and require the more penetrating inspection of persons eminent for their erudition, long conversant in the works of the ancients, and well acquainted with the learning, the manners, and customs of different ages and nations. The attempt of any other, to account for the fabrication of such a relique of the remotest antiquity as we are now examining; and especially to discover an internal mark by which to judge of its age, with no less certainty than a huntsman can that of a hart by his antlers and crochets; may possibly be deem'd a presumptuous encroachment on their prerogative, and not easily escape the like scouring with Dr. Woodward's rubiginous shield.—But the cock in the fable, having chanced to find a jewel where he only sought a barley-corn, lest greater connoisseurs to judge of its worth, and avail themselves of his discovery. And in like manner the present and, 'tis presun'd, first discoverer (for such he takes himself to be) of the real design and geometrical construction of the CROMLECH in question, cheerfully submits *his* to their better judgment, and to their candid correction of his oversights and mistakes,

(1) The reader who adverts to what has been inserted from Dr. Borlase, will not misunderstand anything here said, as meant to censure or ridicule the laudable researches, or acute sagacity of real antiquaries, or their having recourse to probable conjectures where certainty cannot be obtain'd; since such conjectures frequently lead to more certain truths: But granting they may be sometimes too far indulg'd, or even conduce to multiply errors; yet such abuses of any branch of science, furnish no good argument against its general utility; nor is any thing like this, here intended. I have been speaking the language of an objector, and endeavour'd to state in its full force every foreseen objection to the account I am now to give of the Drew's Teignton Cromlech against which account, even whilst in embryo, some such have been already, however prematurely, started; and before I proceed to exculpate myself from any charge of prejudice, or bigotry to the dictates of fancy or fiction, have here fairly admitted whatever may be plausibly pleaded, from the failings of others in attempts of this kind, against any hasty conclusions concerning it; which in short, only amount to this: viz. That if not only pretended connoisseurs in such matters have had strange dreams, but real ones have sometimes nodded, and both perhaps merited reproof by the publication of visionary schemes; much more may one, who has no pretensions to the abilities or judgment of the latter, nor to the prolific imagination of the former, be liable to, and ought therefore to be cautious of incurring the like censure.—This must be readily granted. But the lowest pedlar in antiquity may chance to strike out lights, conducive to detect the mistakes, or to improve the discernment of the most learned: And we should blame the timidity of that passanimous farmer, who could be deterr'd from the cultivation and tillage of his own little spot, by observing the luxuriant crops in richer and more fertile lands, to be here and there intermix'd with no less luxuriant weeds; or that the barren soil of others was more productive of poppies than corn. The directions of reason and prudence in such cases would be, 'Let not sloth or distrust prevent the proper culture of any; and let the weeders have their due share of employment in all; but let them be cautious not to root up any part of the wheat, together with the tares and wild poppies.' Chapple

(2) See Pope's *Memoirs of Scriblerus*.

(3) *Instit.* l. 2, c. 5.

(4) *Jupiter in parvo quam cerneret æthera vitro*,  
Rist

(5) See Huygens's *Cosmotheoros*; Wilkins's *World in the Moon*; and his *Mathematical Magick*, p. 164, 165.



(as he often said) in describing them. (a) The first thing he mentioned was a most exact meridian line, made by the coincidence of the three supporters—that is, the outside edges of two, and the inside edge of the third, are to truly fixed on the meridian as could possibly be done by the most accurate astronomer. The next was the latitude of the place, which was shewn by some part of the Cromlech, even to the *nearest minute*; as were the sun's greatest meridian altitude in summer, the least in winter, and consequently the obliquity of the ecliptic—which last article afforded a most curious circumstance; for, by allowing the known diminution of the obliquity, he found that upwards of two thousand two hundred years had elapsed since the Cromlech was erected. After describing these, and many other astronomical properties, he said he had lately discovered, that the cover-stone was inscribable in an ellipsis. And that the Cromlech served also for gnomonical purposes, he had the most positive proof. For by its construction, he found that there was a certain point under the Cromlech, whence reflections should be cast; and, by removing the earth from that spot, he discovered a curious little triangular stone, which must have been placed there for that purpose. All this is wonderful indeed! But though I have the highest opinion of Mr. Chapple's diligence and integrity, yet I am apt to believe that his curious hypothesis, which might first be suggested by some fortuitous position of the stones, will not bear the test of cool and impartial examination. Were there any regular planes cut on the surface of these stones, we might suppose them designed to point out different phenomena of the sun and planets: but, as there is no mark of a tool on any of them (which, indeed, would profane them in the opinion of a Druid) I would as soon believe that the earth was formed by a concourse of atoms, as that four rude and shapeless stones, to all appearance selected only for their magnitude, should exhibit an exact correspondence with every circle in the heavens. (b)

After

takes, if any; tho' he must expect the most strict and critical examination from those, who, disinclined to approve of whatever tends to depreciate the merit of their own discoveries, may be unwilling to recall that temporary coin which originated from their mint; and which having had the stamp of public credit and approbation, has hitherto pass'd current, but whose deficiency may be detected by the touchstone here offered for its trial.—For, among persons of sound learning and acknowledged judgment, some who have been generally successful in their endeavours to brighten up the obscurity, and rub off the rust of antiquity, have yet condescended to form strange hypotheses, to account for the most difficult subjects that have puzzled preceding antiquaries; and fortifying them with all the plausibility of argument and elegance of language, with which such *literati* can attract the attention of the most discerning, and conceal all defects and absurdities from the superficial inspector (who charm'd with the gilding, examines not the weight or solidity of the apparently sterling gold) scruple not to obtrude their visionary systems on the publick, as infallible regulators of historical truth. And as such perhaps, they may be for some time accepted; and continue in vogue, 'till some other inventive and penetrating genius treads the like fairy maze, subverts the enchanted castle of his predecessor, and erects another of his own, in a different taste perhaps, but on a no less unstable foundation. And this *deceptio visus* at length vanishes in its turn, when possibly some transient spectator, or cursory reviewer of the premises, may happen accidentally to stumble on a demonstrative proof of the fallacy of all their plausible schemes; throw a new and unexpected light on the subject; and free it from those mists by which it had long been obscured, and which men of more extensive discernment had in vain attempted to dispel.—Partiality in favour of a beloved hypothesis must indeed be expected, as unavoidable in him or them who first promulged or adopted it, and who cannot be inclinable too hastily to abandon their own offspring, or such as they have taken into their paternal care and protection." Chapple's Description, p. 138 to 150.

(a) At which no person will wonder, who has seen the innumerable circles, lines, curves, &c. on the plates designed for his Book.

(b) With respect to the Lanyon Cromlech, Mr. Chapple expresses a wish "that it were reviewed and re-examined by some judicious person, such as the Rev. Mr. *Hitchins* of *Marazion* (a gentleman every way qualified for such an undertaking, and who, if I mistake not, resides within a very few miles of *Maderne*, in which parish this and another *Cromlech* are situated); and that he would take the trouble of making an accurate plan of it, at a larger scale than that in Dr. *Borlase's* book; measuring also the exact height, not only of each supporter, but also of every part of the perimeter of the covering or table-stone; and taking such other dimensions, and making such requisite observations thereon, as may be suggested to him in the subsequent parts of this tract. Such a plan, and the observations of such a judge in geometrical and astronomical productions, with the inferences naturally deducible from thence, would doubtless be acceptable to the curious; and we might thereby be enabled to ascertain in what particulars its construction differs from ours, as in divers respects it certainly does; tho' similar in others, and both, very probably, design'd for the like purposes."—

Chapple's

After all Mr. Chapple's curious disquisitions, I cannot but concur with Dr. Borlase in thinking, that the Cromlech was originally designed for a *sepulchral monument*. Its general

Chapple's Description, p. 38, 39. This Mr. Hitchins has done : And he hath been so obliging as to favour me with his sentiments on the subject<sup>(1)</sup> : " Mr. Chapple (says Mr. Hitchins) thought he had made a wonderful discovery of various astronomical and gnomonical properties in the Cromlech at Drewsteignton, and he was about to publish a description of it with plates, &c. I know not whether you design to say much on that subject in your History or not ; but if you think it an object worthy of your attention, as Mr. Chapple in his intended publication called on me to inform the public, whether Lanyon Cromlech, near Penzance, had the same properties, I shall give you my sentiments on that subject. I have attentively examined the Cromlech at Lanyon, the most considerable one in Cornwall, but cannot discover the least astronomical or gnomonical use to which it can be applied, not excepting even the simple contrivance of a meridian line, the first property Mr. Chapple observed in his Cromlech." The correspondent, from whose letter I have already made extracts relating to Chapple's Description, has an eye to the use of the Cromlech in the following remarks : " Moses, in his history, which I take to be most faithful (since, exclusive of divine assistance, he drew his information from the Royal College of Ægyptian Priests, being educated as the royal offspring were) speaking of the descendants of Noah, mentions Nimrod, as being the first that began to be great—that is, founded a great kingdom, and who delighted in war and in hunting : He says that this was before the Assyrian monarchy, which came out of it, and that the place, at first, of this monarchy, was *Babel* : and it was probably under his authority that the worship of Baal, or of fire, was instituted ; which, in fact, was an act of idolatry like that of the Roman emperor's since ; for it was a deification of himself—he being the son of Chus, who was the son of Ham or Cham, which signifying heat or fire, the natural emblem of this was the sun—at once the type of his power and of his descent : no wonder therefore that they instituted this worship. The power of Babel had for its object the same worship, and further, the counteracting of the designs of providence, that they might flee to it in case of a second deluge, and that they might never be dispersed, or lose their home or language. They were, however, dispersed and defeated in their purpose : And it is to this remarkable event that the passage probably alludes, which says, that *God spared not the angels of God*, that is, the holy race of Noah, which could not but be revered by their descendants as angels or gods, on account of their supposed divine origin, but *cast them out*. The words are, *αλλα εκταρταρων αυτες*—a very remarkable expression, which occurs but that once, and is generally understood to mean *dispersed them* ; which words, added to the history of this empire, makes it probable that *Nimrod* founded his kingdom in *Tartary* ; which, the learned admit, is derived from *Tatar*, which signifies *dispersion*. From hence this monarch and descendants made the most extensive conquests, the memory of which is retained in the ancient, and supposed to be fabulous accounts of the conquests of *Bacchus*, which indeed was a proper deity to name and to ascribe it to, since *Nimrod* was the descendant of *Chus*, and from hence his kingdom was called the kingdom of the *Scythian Tartars* ; for the *Scythi* and the *Cuthi* are the same race. The original dispersion, the confusion of languages, and probably the cruelty of his conquests, scattered men much further than this. Some probably fled to *America*, which, it is now well known, was peopled from *Tartary* : and it is remarkable, that on the arrival of the Spaniards, the worship of *Baal*, or of the *Sun*, was the great national religion of the people of *Chusco* or *Cusco*. The Runic or Scandinavian annals also agree in declaring, that they were driven from the *cast* by some great calamity : and the same people were probably spread, by degrees, to the more western parts of Europe. Wherever they went, they continued their original love of war and hunting, and the worship of Baal, or of the sun, or of fire, and of the *host of heaven*, which, it is probable, they made also their more particular study. Wherever they went to, they erected fire towers in honour of Baal, and those other most stupendous structures, partly that they might for ever preserve their name and nation, partly that they might baffle the effects of time, and perhaps, as they hoped, even the divine vengeance ; and partly that the solidity of these structures, and the almost inaccessible heights and fastnesses where they were erected, might preserve them from the fury of their enemies, and always afford them a retreat where they might exercise their rites in security. Of this species of structure, I am of opinion, is this *Cromlech* at *Drewsteignton* ; I mean that it is of *Cuthite*, or as it was called by the Romans, *Druidical* origin, which has been the name adopted ever since for them." I have thus, at the request of several of my subscribers, permitted Mr. Chapple to accompany me in the notes, tedious and desultory as he is. To proceed, however, any further with Mr. Chapple, is impossible. He is now entering, after all the dulness of his *generalities*, into a *particular* examination of his astronomical instrument. In this examination he refers continually to his plates. Several of these plates, however, are lost.<sup>(2)</sup> Yet even by their assistance, it would be extremely difficult to unravel Mr. Chapple's meaning.

(1) In a letter dated St. Hilary, 3d August 1790.

(2) Mr. Chapple's daughter, Mrs. Bulkeley, of Starcross, has one or two of the plates. The others, she says, were mislaid nor does she think it possible to recover them.



general figure and the size of its area, seem to suggest this idea. Not that the covering-stone or the supporters were intended to secure the dead from violence. They are but ill-calculated

meaning. His two learned friends, Mr. Hitchins and Mr. Hugo, have both repeatedly assured me, that they could never follow Mr. Chapple through the maze of his astronomical discoveries, even with the united aid of the written description, of the plates to which it referred, and of his own oral explanation. "The plates (Mr. Hitchins says) were so extremely complex, that if they were now before us, to retrace Mr. Chapple's ideas, would be impracticable." In all his writings, in short, Mr. Chapple is involved : and often, in the moments of perplexity, have I thus addressed his shade :

*By thee, we dim the eyes and stuff the head,  
With all such reading as was never read :  
By thee, explain a thing till all men doubt it,  
And write about it, Chapple ! and about it :  
So spins the Silk-worm small its slender store,  
And labours till it clouds itself all o'er.*(1)

That Mr. Chapple's admirers, however, may not complain of my having suppressed any part of his Cromlech MSS. I shall here present them with the Preface which he meant to prefix to the curious treatise in question : "This tract owes its present publication more to accident than to any premeditated design : For, although some notice of the DREWS-TEIGNTON CROMLECH was intended in another work, and to that end I had, some years since, taken a transient view of it, and such of its dimensions as might the better enable me to give some general description of it, as the only *Druidical* monument of its kind in this county ; my then intention was, to refer to Dr. Borlase and others for further particulars concerning such structures. Indeed I then observed, that three edges of its supporters were nearly in the same right line ; and therefore suspected there might be somewhat more of geometrical nicety in its construction than its rough and irregular appearance would induce an incurious observer to imagine ; but had not the least idea of its being accommodated to the purposes mentioned in the following sheets, or to any other of a similar kind ; taking for granted this apparently rude monument of remote antiquity was some structure subservient to the Druidical worship of our British ancestors, and sacred to some or other of the pagan deities. What induced me afterwards (viz. in August 1777) to take a more exact plan of it, and ascertain its situation in respect to the points of the compass, will be noted in its place, and need not be enlarged on, here : At which time, having with proper instruments, carefully observed and adjusted its dimensions, bearings, angles, and, in short, every thing requisite to delineate the true ichnography of it, as also the exact heights of its supporters, &c. some avocations to other affairs, and an afflicting family event which happened soon after, obliged me to desist, for the present, from any minute examination of its properties : So that my field-map, and other papers relative to it, were laid by, unsuspected, for a whole year ; till an occasional revival of those papers, and a few days accidental interruption of my other work before-mentioned, and which I had for some time resumed, induced me to review and examine the whole. This led me gradually to the discovery of some properties in it, which left no room to doubt of the original use and design of this antiquated fabric ; and tho' the seeming irregularity of some of its parts, and the position and proportion of others, in some measure tended to entangle and perplex the subject, yet having once got the clue, this, with the unexpected help of a master-key which I chanced to meet with by the way (I mean the *Vitruvian Analemma*), facilitated the search ; all difficulties vanish'd, and I was soon enabled to unravel the whole. For every step I took, open'd unexpected views, all tending to confirm and demonstrate the rectitude of the former ; and every calculation, when compared with the actual measures of the *Cromlech* itself, bore witness to the accuracy of its plan, and the boldness and elegance of its construction. My first discoveries of this sort, whilst yet unassisted by this key, being communicated to some respectable friends, they advised me to pursue my enquiries concerning it ; as being, in their judgment, from what had hitherto appeared on the subject, a new and not unimportant discovery : And tho' it might for some little time interrupt my progress in the work I had before undertaken, yet instead of reserving it for a proper place in *that*, persuaded me not to delay publishing the result of my disquisitions concerning it, as a separate tract.

(1) The following Letter from the late Lord Courtenay to Mr. Chapple, plainly intimates his Lordship's apprehensions, that his Steward would not easily dissipate this cloud of science.

Chapple,

Powderham Castle, 25th January, 1779.

I this afternoon received your letter with your further remarks on the Cromlech. I saw it last Saturday, in my way between Kerlake and Moreton, entirely free from all affect or rubbish whatever. I could not avoid viewing it with pleasure, when I considered that the structure was a means of affording not only utility to those who raised it, but of informing us, they were less ignorant in many mathematical observations than they have hitherto received credit for : I must confess that what you shewed me carries with it both truth and conviction ; I only hope it will make its appearance soon and very soon, being convinced that you will gain great credit from the discovery. I wish you would be expeditious, as I am rather apprehensive your scheme is not so much concealed as I could wish.

I am, &c.

COURTENAY.



ill-calculated for protecting the dead from the inclemencies of the weather, or any other injury. There is something of grandeur in the construction of the Cromlech; which was probably

tract. And indeed, it soon appear'd, the subject would require a longer dissertation than could with any propriety be inserted in any review of the county at large: and I the more readily acquiesced in its more immediate submission to public inspection, as having a full assurance that, as it carried its own evidence with it, it would, like other truths, appear the more conspicuous, the more strictly it should be scrutinized. A separate tract being thus resolv'd on, it became requisite, however, to introduce it by some few particulars relative to the *parish* and *farm* in which the CROMLECH is situated; since their names, and those of their supposed possessors in former ages, at least so far claim'd notice as obliquely reflecting some light on the subject: But no more of these, or the etymologies of such names, are here enlarged on, than appear to have either an immediate, or at least some remote tendency thereto; this principal object of my enquiry being still kept in view. This indeed had been hitherto much clouded in obscurity; but the accidental spark now struck out, I imagined, might, if duly improved, conduce to its further illustration: And tho' in abler hands it might doubtless be kindled into a brighter flame, such as would add much to its brilliancy, yet it seem'd to invite even such feeble endeavours as mine, to make the best use I could of the favourable opportunity that offered, in some measure to dispel that gloom which had more or less bewilder'd former enquirers. This invitation I could not well resist; and having fortunately met with an unerring guide to conduct me in my researches, and open a way to a clearer view of the object before me, I could not shut my eyes against that irresistible light that pour'd in upon me. Such accidental discoveries have little or no claim to be consider'd as meritorious: If any thing in this tract can have pretensions of that sort, 'tis the care and diligence with which I have pursued the clue thus accidentally acquired; which has cost me some time and trouble indeed, but this mixt with pleasure and satisfaction to find, among the innumerable properties more or less remarkable that successively offer'd themselves to observation in this seemingly rough but really well executed piece of ancient workmanship, every newly-discovered one harmoniously concurred with, and conducted more fully to confirm the former, and the consummate ingenuity of the artists who contrived it. Of this, many remarkable instances will appear, in the descriptive part of it, in the following sheets; to which, were it necessary, a far greater number might be added. Purity of style, and elegance of diction, must not here be expected: nor would the subject admit of it, were the author capable of superadding embellishments of that kind. Language rough and unpolish'd as the *Cromlech* itself, may be sufficiently intelligible in a description of it, provided it be free from ambiguities and nonsensical phrases: These I have endeavoured to avoid, perhaps sometimes by too much circumlocution; my aim being to render the whole as plain and intelligible as I could, to all sorts of readers, even to those who have been little conversant with such subjects. The mathematical parts indeed, and some etymological enquiries, may not be so well relish'd or understood by some: But these may see enough to satisfy them in general, that such a *Cromlech* as ours is a work of art and ingenuity, and not of chance or caprice, as some have imagined it to be. Even a bare inspection of the plates will afford them some evidence of the contrary. And, for the sake of the *English* reader, nothing is here cited in another language, but what is explain'd, or its substance and purport inserted in plain *English* either in the text or notes. The notes here and there interspersed, may serve to relieve the reader from a too close and constant attention to so dry a subject: Some of them indeed necessarily relate to it; and the rest, tho' digressive, yet not so wholly unconnected with it, or remote from it, as to lose sight of, or impede a seasonable recurrence to it. And tho' such *Cromlechs* as ours will here appear applicable to, and were doubtless originally design'd for, such uses as seem to have been hitherto unsuspected, at least by any writer I have seen on the subject; yet no fanciful hypotheses are here obtruded on the reader, or forcibly wrested into a conformity with any preconceiv'd opinion of the proposer relative to the *Cromlech* in general, or to that we have here undertaken to describe; since the nature of its construction, and the purposes for which it was contrived will, it is presumed, fully and clearly appear from its own internal evidence, and on due examination afford such full and satisfactory proofs of the care and skill of the artists by whom it was erected, and how nicely accommodated to the purposes for which it was intended, as to preclude all cavils and disputes concerning it; except perhaps those, who, prejudiced in favour of some adopted hypothesis, are determined to oppose all evidence inconsistent therewith. Should we chance to meet with an old time-piece, that on diligent inspection, appear'd to have every part fitted for the indication of hours and minutes, and duly proportionate to them, tho' the workmanship were antique, and perhaps deemed too clumsy to suit a modern taste, and in some respect awkwardly constructed;—or find some fragment of a collection of astronomical tables, in which every particular, when examin'd by strict calculation, appear'd truly to adjust the places of the planets, tho' perhaps its title and some introductory pages were wanting; surely we should not hesitate to conclude them originally design'd for those purposes respectively: and would be apt to laugh at the folly of that man who should pertinaciously insist, that the one was no more than a paltry childish play-thing, and the other a mere promiscuous and random jumble of characters and figures, to amuse and deceive the ignorant, and answer the collusive purposes of a pre-  
tended

probably meant to do honor to the deceased. And the size of its area very well agrees with the dimensions of the human body. In the mean time, we should recollect that the Kistvaen is but a Cromlech in miniature: and the Kistvaen is a sepulchral chest. Besides, the relics of the interred have been frequently discovered in the area of the Cromlech. But the Cromlech was not a common burying-place: It was the sepulchre of a chief Druid, or of some prince, the favourite of the Druid order. Hence the Cromlech acquired a peculiar degree of holiness: And (a) sacrifices were performed, in view of it, to the manes of the dead.

From the usual situation of the Cromlech, we must doubtless perceive, that it is no ordinary monument of the Druids. At Drewsteignton, the Cromlech is placed on an elevated spot—overlooking a sacred way, and two rows of pillars that mark out this professional road of the Druids, and several columnar circles; whilst at the end of the down, there are rock-idols, that frown with more than usual majesty. Nor are the Logan-stones and rock-basins of Drewsteignton and Chagford, at any considerable distance. Thus we have, even now, an opportunity of surveying in assemblage, almost all the monuments of Druidism, near the “(b) town of the Druids upon the Teign.” And this Druidical scenery seems to have been included in a circuit of about twenty miles.

From these observations on the relics of Druidism in Danmonium, it appears that we can boast no structures like the temple of Stonehenge; though several, indeed, of the monuments before us are marked by the same style of wild magnificence. Rude grandeur, not graceful elegance; gigantic massiness, not beautiful proportion; was, every where, the character of the eastern architecture: And such traits of the Asiatic genius are as obvious in the Cromlech of Danmonium, as in those ruins, which

oft-times amaze the wandering traveller,

By the pale moon discern'd on Sarum's plain. (c)

The most perfect temple of the Druids hath been represented by some writers, as a deep recess in the centre of an ancient wood. And this Druidical wood has been placed on an eminence. (d) Tacitus describes such a wood as enclosed by a fence of paliadoes: And, sometimes, the whole mountainous wood was surrounded at the bottom by a vallum. The Druids had certainly no covered temples: But Stonehenge is a striking specimen of a Druidical temple, erected on a regular plan. And nothing is more probable, than that such a temple once existed at Drewsteignton. Not that I can trace at this moment, with an ingenious correspondent, “the ruins of a very great temple at Sticklepath near Zeal-Monachorum, not far from Drewsteignton; the fragments of which (he says) are scattered through the village and over the sides of the mountain on which it was probably erected.” The same gentleman declares, that “the Valley of Stones is filled with the stupendous ruins of some Cuthite or Druid temple—where there was a *hanging-stone* (so characteristic of these structures) till the wind blowing down a great mass of the ruins,

tended fortune-tellers conjuring-book. Yet some such bigots to their own crude notions may be expected: And it were in vain to use arguments with those, who will never acknowledge themselves convinc'd that their judgment has deceived them. Such opinionists are best left, like madmen, in quiet possession of their own wild conceits and visionary systems. But having carefully scrutinized every inch of the *Cromlech* in question, to guard against all mistakes concerning it, I am fully persuaded that any rational and unprejudiced person, who will take the pains and care to examine the whole, will be no less convinc'd of the general design of this ancient structure, and on what principles it was evidently constructed: Yet, however certain of these, I pretend not to be less liable than another to mistakes in the application of those principles to some particular parts of it: But whatever slips or mistakes may have escaped me in these or any other particulars, being not desirous of deceiving myself or others, I shall always be glad to see rectified by more accurate observers, and ready to retract any error, which, in this or any other production of mine, may be fairly detected.”

(a) Rowlands, in his *Mona Antiqua Restaurata* observes, that as our first colonists were probably no more than *frece. deficientes from Noah*, they certainly brought with them the *mode of worship by sacrifice*: And, as so awful an event as the destruction of the world was then recent, and their minds impress'd with a deep sense of an invisible and irresistible power, it was natural for them to *erect altars* where-ever they sojourn'd during their peregrinations, and to multiply them where they took up their abode. Of these altars he supposes the *CROMLECH* to be the remains: And he conjectures, that *Cromlech* is derived from the Hebrew *Caremluach*, a devoted stone or altar.

(b) *Druid-teign-ton*. It is remarkable, that there is a *Teignton-Drew* or *Steignton-Drui* near Bristol, where Governor Pownall discovered very strong vestiges of the Druids.

(c) See Dr. Stukeley's Description of Stonehenge.

(d) See Section III. p. 33.



rains, the end of one piece of rock fell against this stone; and it is now quite immovable.”(a)

This much for the ages of primitive Druidism. In subsequent times, the Phenicians, Greeks, and Belgic settlers erected, also, their sacred edifices: Of such, however, we have no vestiges in Danmonium; unless the lamp which was found some years since, at Exeter, hath any connexion with a Phenician or Grecian temple. This lamp is of brass, and has the crescent or half-moon as represented in Montfaucon: And it is generally conceived to have belonged to a temple of Diana. “Upon the coast of *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, I find a Promontory, says *Sammes*, called *Hercules* his Promontory by *Ptolemy*, and called to this day *Herty-point*, containing in it two pretty towns, *Herton* and *Hertland*, whereof *Herton* is the greater, and corruptly called *Harton*. Now as I will not aver as ever *Hercules* was here and named it so, as *Franciscus Philelphus* and *Lileus Geraldus* aver, because Mr. *Camden* says there were three and forty *Hercules*’s, as *Varro* will have it, he cannot admit of one of them to arrive at this point. Well let it be so, though I think *Diodorus Siculus*, nor any of the *Greeks*, to be competent judges of the voyages of the Phenicians, yet I do believe that the Phenicians rather than the *Grecians* might give it the name, and build some temple in honour of their own *Hercules*, as he almost got the honour of the temple in the *Streights*, so has he almost robbed the *Phenician Hercules* of this also.”(b)

There is one British monument in Danmonium, still remaining to be described, I mean the *Barrow* or *Burrow*; which I have reserved for this place, as it was equally common in this country, to all the settlers before the Roman Period, and afterwards, to the Romans themselves, to the Saxons, and to the Danes. But, on examining the Barrow, we may often judge by its contents to what people it belonged. *Barrows* are found in most counties, and were primarily intended for protecting the remains of the dead. Among the Assyrians, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans, we have various instances of this ancient monument. We read in *Livy*, that *Claudius Nero* buried his own soldiers after this manner, in the second Punic war: And *Cæsar Germanicus* brought the first turf himself, to raise the Barrow over the fallen troops of *Varius*. This mode of interment prevailed in all the northern kingdoms. But, no where, are Barrows found in greater number than in this island. These monuments are called *Kairns*, or *Karnes*, if consisting of stone materials; and *Crigs* (in British, *round heaps*) from their circular plan; and *Burrows*, from their use, as *Burrow* signifies a *sepulchre*: *Barrows*, however, is their more general name. It was commonly on the third day after the funeral-pile had been fired, that they, who were to construct the Barrows, proceeded to collect the bones and heap together the materials; which were either a quantity of stones, or earth only, or stones and earth mixed together. The stones, in some of these monuments, are of an astonishing magnitude. In the construction of the plain Barrow, the original design was nothing more than to keep up the earth or stones as high as the base would bear. Hence was produced a conic figure—the most simple and the least subject to injury from time or violence. There were Barrows more artificial—some surrounded by a single row of stones that formed the base—others with a ring of earth—some having a large flat stone on the top—others, a pillar—some encircled both at the top and bottom, with stone or earth—and others planted with oak or beech. If these monuments were for private persons, they were generally placed near the public roads: If the sepulchres of soldiers, they were commonly thrown up on the field of battle, where the soldiers fell; and on those plains, that have been the scenes of military action, they are often found in straight lines, as regular as the front of an army. We sometimes meet with the Barrow in a valley; but more frequently on a hill or plain. The size of these sepulchral works was various: That of *Ninus*, near the city of *Nineveh*, was, according to *Ctesias*, nine furlongs in height, and ten in breadth. In this country, *Silbury-Hill* is one of the most extraordinary works of the ancient Britons; though but a mole-hill compared to the Assyrian monument. In most instances,

(a) Mr. *Badcock* seems to have been of opinion, that “those ancient pillars at *Combe-Martin*, that were called the *Hanging-stones*,(1) were some Druidical remains of a temple: And the *Hanging-stone* is the *Stonebenge* or *Balanced-stone*, which was remarkable in all these edifices. It is said, that there is but one pillar left—which served as a boundary between *Combe-Martin* and the adjoining parish.”

(b) *Sammes*, p. 56.

(1) Not from a sheep-stealer’s having been hanged there, according to the silly tradition of the neighbourhood.



instances, the size of the Barrow was determined by the quality of the deceased. This mode of burial was so universal, that it will be almost impossible to say to what nation any Barrow belonged; unless the interior parts of it should furnish criteria to assist our determinations. In some Barrows urns were repositied; in others were round or square pits, containing a black greasy mould, without urns; in others, skeletons, that shewed no signs of having passed through the fire. The contents of British and Phenician Barrows were, probably, much alike: these were the ashes of the dead, enclosed in urns more or less polished, or little repositories instead of them. In the Grecian and Roman Barrows, we may look not only for urns, but frequently for pavement underneath. The Saxons and Danes (we are told) had left off the custom of burning the bodies of the deceased, before their arrival at this island; though they continued to bury their dead under earthen hillocks. So that Barrows, containing unburnt bodies or skeletons (with neither urns nor cells) may be Saxon or Danish. After all, however, these are very uncertain criteria. The urns designed to contain human bones, were of gold, silver, brass, marble, or glass; but, more frequently, of pottery ware. The urn was deposited in the middle of the Barrow; and, not unfrequently, another near the outward edge. The urn at the extremity was, I suppose, that of the person who had a desire to be entombed in the same Barrow with a deceased relation or friend. Two or more urns were sometimes placed round the central sepulchre. And, indeed, there have been instances of no less than fifty surrounding the principal urn. The urn was generally placed erect on its bottom, and covered with a flat stone or tyle. The Druids applied these Barrows to various purposes. On the Stone-barrows, especially where there was a large flat stone on the top, they kindled their annual fires; and the enclosed Earth-barrows, they used as altars for sacrifice, or places of inauguration. Here too, they pronounced their decrees, and made the most important decisions, as from a sacred eminence.<sup>(a)</sup> In Danmonium, there are numerous Barrows on the *Jugum Ocrinum*, and on each side of this chain of mountains. They told me (says Dr. Stukeley) of a great Karne or heap of stones, on *Black-Down*, called *Lapper-stones*, probably a sepulchral monument. On the northern extremity of Hemyock, towards Wellington, there is a large Barrow, composed of flints: it is called *Symonsborough*, as is the estate on which it stands, and the next estate adjoining to it. The common people have a notion that a king called *Symon* was buried there. The tradition of the country plainly shews, that it was the burial-place of some person or persons of eminence. On the right side of the turnpike-road leading from *Columpton* to *Honiton*, over *Kent'smoor*, are two Barrows, contiguous to each other. There are Barrows also on East-hill, near the town of Ottery St. Mary. On Haldon there are a great number of Barrows, particularly on the Kenne side; formed, for the most part, of flinty stones; several of which are, at this time, the reputed boundaries between the Lords of the neighbouring lands: Thus they have generally been considered as *Termini*, and neglected as sepulchral monuments. On the 29th of May, 1773, some workmen upon Haldon discovered an urn in a large oblong stone heap, from the middle of which, they had taken a considerable quantity of flints, for repairing the road that leads over the down from Kenneford to Newton-Bufhel. This *Tumulus* is situated near the Kenneford road, about thirty perch to the eastward of the eighth mile-stone from Exeter. The urn was four feet deep from the crest of the *Tumulus*, and let into the solid earth beneath, to the depth of half a foot: It was covered with an irregular flat stone, about five inches thick. It consisted of earthenware, evidently baked. The workmen, fancying the urn to be a crock of money, instantly broke it with their shovels into several pieces: These pieces were in thickness about three-fourths of an inch. The interior diameter of the urn itself, taken in the most bulging part of its curvature, was at least ten inches: And its height was about fourteen inches, as well as Mr. Chapple could judge from the fragments. The workmen eagerly grasped its contents in handfuls; but found themselves only in possession of a greasy kind of ashes, that smelt like foot. Among the ashes were some small fragments of bones. There was a yellowish tinge on the urn, and the flints above it; which the workmen positively asserted to be gold, dissolved and evaporated through the vessel. This was afterwards found (by a microscope) to be a diminutive mat, bearing yellow flowers, with a few black and globular berries. On this large *Tumulus*, which measured twelve feet in length, and twenty-eight in breadth, a further search was made the same

<sup>(a)</sup> For curious information on the subject of *sepulchral Tumuli*, see Pennant's Tour in Wales—p. 381 to 388.

same year, on the 23th of June, when a second and third urn were discovered. The second urn was at the distance of fourteen feet from the spot where the first lay; and the third urn twelve feet distant from the second. These urns, also, contained a black and greasy kind of ashes; and in each of them about a handful of splintered bones. The interior diameter of the second urn, as it stood in the ground, was full thirteen inches; its depth below the surface of the ground being nearly the same, and the whole height of the urn about eighteen inches: But this could not be exactly ascertained; as its neck above the surface of the ground was so rotten, that it mouldered into dust, on the removal of the stones which surrounded and covered it. Of the third urn, no dimensions could be taken; for, on emptying it of the ashes, it quickly fell to pieces. These two urns seem not to have been so well manufactured as the first; which was so little decayed, that it might have been preserved entire, but for the accident I have mentioned. This vessel was composed of a dark grayish clay, found in some parts of Haldon, and afterwards dipped in a brighter brown composition, by way of glaze; and then ornamented with several figures, before it was burnt or baked. The latter part of the process must have been done in some mould; the basket-work towards the bottom being regular and distinct: And the like regularity appears in the other decorations. At a small distance from this Tumulus, to the northward, is a large circular Tumulus; the diameter of which is sixty feet. A continuation of flinty stones under the mossy turf, shews that there was some connection between these Tumuli. This circular Tumulus might have been the burial-place of superior officers. We may observe, that the circular Tumuli on Haldon, are true circles, and the periphery of their bases regularly footed up with stone. Not long after this, Mr. Tripe, late surgeon at Ashburton (whose ingenuity and various learning entitle him to a place among the literary characters of Devon) undertook to examine several of the Haldon-Barrows; into the centre of which he made sections, and found them all to be uniform in their structure: His hopes were, however, not gratified in this pursuit: For, though in some of these Barrows he found pieces of urns wrapt up in moss, and particularly in one of them, a shoulder-bone of a child, met with nothing by which he might venture to decide upon their antiquity. A gentleman who accompanied Mr. Tripe on this expedition, thus proceeds with the narrative: "We resolved upon renewing our pursuits, merely for a single trial more: and the Barrow we pitched upon, was one of the most apparent eminencies on the down; that which is the present reputed boundary between the parishes of Kenton and Kenne, not far from the head of *Holloway-lane*, leading from the down towards Oxtou. We called together a regiment of labourers, and made a bold attack upon this Barrow, through which we made a wide opening, home to the center; but meeting with nothing to reward our desires (except an exact uniformity of construction with all the others we had before opened) we then agreed to give up our searches, and were nearly upon departing: But, before we dismissed our labourers, I happened to clean away the base of the Barrow, near the center, and at last discerned a very large flat-headed stone, quite even with the ground upon which the Barrow was erected: I imparted this to my friend; and, on viewing it more nicely, we found ourselves once more quickened in our hopes. Mr. Tripe then undertook to keep off all the labourers, except a couple to assist me in starting and getting up this cap-stone: And under it I found an *urn*, complete and uninjured, with its mouth downward, resting upon another large flat stone. I took it very carefully up, and delivered it to my friend: and under the urn we found the bones and ashes of the deceased. Gratiified as we were by this discovery, we had, however, the mortification still to remain ignorant as to its antiquity; for it happened to be an *unbaked* urn, without any inscription or other marks to assist us in deciding upon it. It was in shape, much like a Barnstable or Bideford butter-pot: and I left it with my friend Mr. Tripe, in whose custody it probably still remains." This urn is, at present, in the possession of the Rev. John Swete, (a) of Oxtou-House, who is animated, and at the same time exact in the following description: "Quitting the grounds of Oxtou, we rode up *Holloway-lane*, and having mastered an ascent of a hill, emerging from a deep defile, we gained the level heights of Haldon. Turning short to the right, we inspected a large Barrow; known by the name of the *great stone-heap*; which, though originally of a conical form (as are all the Tumuli in these parts) yet, being now intersected by an opening made some time before, afforded a very conspicuous object to the subjacent country. The form of this Barrow was nearly circular, being rather more than two hundred feet in circumference

(a) Son of the late Mr. Tripe, of Ashburton.



cumference, and about fifteen in height. By the aid of fourteen men, a passage into it was effected, almost due east, about eight feet wide: Nearly at the same space from the margin, was discovered a dry wall, about two feet high, which was separated from without by very large stones, in the form of piers or buttresses. On arriving near the center, were seen a great many large stones (all of them flint) placed over one another in a convex form; and, in the middle thereof, a large stone nearly round, two feet in diameter, six inches thick, covering a cell on the ground about two feet square, formed by four large stones placed on their edges. In this was an *urn* (inverted, which was rather remarkable) containing the ashes and burnt bones of probably a youth; as they were small, with little muscular impression. When the urn was removed, these appeared as *white as snow*—*λευκα οστεα*—though, soon after they were exposed to the air, they lost that whiteness. From the size of the Tumulus, and this circumstance, we may gather, that they were the remains of a person of dignity; whose surviving friends, in honor of his memory, had taken care to have them well burnt and blanched by the intenseness of the fire. The urn is thirteen inches high, ten in diameter at the top, five at the bottom, near half an inch thick, and holds about ten quarts. It is made of unbaked earth, smoked and discoloured by its exposure to the fire, and consequently without inscription or embellishments." In a high field, called Castle-Park, in Hennock, I met with a small earth-work, which is evidently sepulchral. Its shape is elliptical: and its round is formed of small stones. The (a)clergyman of Hennock, a short time afterwards, sent me the following account of it. "We opened the hillock that you suspected might be a Tumulus. After the small acre-stones were taken away, we found earth and stones regularly laid on: the earth used was the vegetable soil. The stones were flat, and some of them of considerable size. We found the hillock thus formed, till we came four feet and half deep, when we perceived the stones to lie a contrary way: and we suspected some pavement; but upon removing all the top, we found only three stones placed on edge, and let down about half their depth into the fast. The two side stones were of the same size; their ends in a straight line, and their upper surface level with the middle stone: they were placed, north and south. When we came thus far, we hesitated whether we should let them remain: we removed them, and sunk into the fast, but could find nothing. The two side-stones were thirteen inches, the middle one three feet two inches." There are several circular stone-heaps in the neighbourhood of this earth-work. On the opposite hill to the east is the old Beacon, about half a mile distant from the Castle-field. On opening one of the sepulchral monuments a few years since, upon Maredown, in the parish of Moreton, were found *ashes, burnt wood, and pieces of earthen vessels*, the fragments of urns. The greater number of the Barrows which I have noticed, consist chiefly of stone; which might have been collected, as convenience led, from the adjacent grounds, where the scantiness of earth would have rendered the operation more laborious. On the wild downs of Withecombe, and the surrounding parishes, the Tumuli invariably consist of moor-stone. There are several stone Barrows in the parish of Ilfrington. But on *Quarnell-Down*, there is a most magnificent Barrow; such as a numerous army might have been some time employed in raising. The circumference of the Barrow, is ninety-four paces. Here, probably, in the centre, were deposited the remains of some great personage—perhaps a British Prince; for the discovery of which we need not dig deep, as in the central part there is very shallow earth. There is a large circle of high heaped stones, loosely thrown around this Barrow; under which were buried, perhaps, the bodies of the Prince's relations; or of those, possibly, who fell with him in battle. A vast deal of stone is scattered about the down, in the neighbourhood of this burial-place. There is another immense Barrow on *Quarnell-down*, consisting entirely of small loose stone. On *Hazwell-down* near Ashburton, is a very large stone-heap. And on Dartmoor, and on *Roborough-downs*, near Plymouth, are a variety of karnes. On the north-side, also, of the *Jugum Ocerinum*, we might investigate a great number of Barrows. There are large accumulations of stone, in various parts of the forest of Exmoor. The parish of Northmolton is separated from Exmoor by stones set in the ground, along the summit of the hills. On these hills are a number of Barrows; seven of which are within or near the limits of Northmolton. They are confused heaps of earth and stone, overgrown with moss. The people in the neighbourhood say, they were simply land-marks; but they were, doubtless, burying-places. Lyttelton discovered many Barrows in the north of Devon; though it does not appear,

(a) Mr. Hill; one of the best informed, and at the same time, most communicative of my correspondents.



that either himself or Milles, his brother antiquarian, made the slightest use of the discovery. "(a) I met (says he) with two or three Barrows on *Bratton-down*, near Arling-ton; and so many large ones on *Berry-down*, that I suspect they gave name to the place. (b) The five hills, or rather the *billy ridge with five swellings*, on the summit above the down of *Ilfordcombe*, is so singular a configuration of ground, that I would have given a good deal to have been able to draw it." (c) Mr. Badcock takes notice of "a fine Barrow,

(a) In a letter to Milles, dated July 17, 1756. As Lyttelton and Milles were both Deans of Exeter, and as Lyttelton was Bishop of Carlisle, I have thought proper, in several places, to mention their plain names, lest, by giving them different titles at different times, I should occasion perplexity; or, by attempting to avoid perplexity, I should be guilty of circumlocution; or, by endeavouring to steer clear of both, I should fall into anachronisms.

(b) A gentleman, who lately visited the north of Devon, thus informs the author: "Proceeding to Parracombe, at the center of the village, I turned out of the *Ilfracombe* road, and by a rough ascent rising towards the south, I attained the high ground of *Rosleigh*-Common; over which having rode for three miles, nearly on quitting it I perceived, on the west of the track, a large Burrow, which had been opened in several places, and was in diameter above one hundred feet. Its situation was contiguous to the lonely farm of *Carbrecken* Burrow, deriving its name from the Tumulus in question."

(c) Westcote speaks of several Barrows in the north of Devon: "At the north end of the towne ffalls in the ryveret called Yeo or North Yeow which springs at Challucomb, als Chaldecumb, some-tyme the land of William de Rawleigh now of Hatch. In this parish being bordering on the flourest of Exmoore are dyvers round Hillocks of earth, and stones antiently cast vp, which they terme Burrowes and distinguish them by names which I can imagine to be nothing else but monuments of some interments of persons of note slayne at some battayle or skirmige. of some of them there are yet remembered old tales, how ferie dragons or meteors haue often been seen to light on them: bee pleased to heare this that happened within these 6 or 7 yeares verified by the partye and credited for his honestye. A dayly labouring man hauing gotten a little money, bestowed it for some acres of land & thereon began to build an house, which was not far from one of those Borowes named *Brecken Borrowe*, whence hee tetcht his stones to build withall, and hauing digged into the bowels of this hillock, hee found a small place as if it had been an oven sayrely, strongly and closely walled vp, which put him in very ioyful hope, that some great good happ had befallen him, and that hee should finde some treasure to maintayne him more liberally in his old age and breaking an hole in the wall where in the concavtie hee espied an earthen pott (some Vrne I thinke) and fastning his hand thereon, hee sodainly heard or seemed to heare the noyse of the treading of many horses coming towards the place, which caused him to withdraw his hand, fearing the comers would take the purchase from him (for hee doubted no thing but that it was treasure) but turning about to see what they were, there was neither man nor horse in veiw: to the pott againe hee goes, and heard the like noyse the 2d time, yet looking about saw nothing, at the 3d time hee brought it forth, and the treasure was only a few bones as if they had beene of children or lambes or the lyke. But the man (whyther with the fear [which hee denied] or other cause I cannot ghesse at) in very short time after lost both hearing & sight, & in less than 3 monethes declyning dyed: hee was held very honest & constantly reported this, diuers times to men of good qualitie with protestations of the truth thereof, even to his death. Of another of the Borowes the name I haue forgotten, but it is nere another that is named *Wood-Borrow* of which a gentleman worthy credit both for honestye & wealth told mee this tale, which happened some yeare or two before the other. two good fellowes that inhabited not far from it were informed by one that was held skilful in metaphysicall studyes, that there was in that hillock a great brasie pann, and therein much treasure of siluer & gold, which if they would dig for hee promised them (by his art) to secure them from all danger, soe hee might haue a part; they willingly consented, and made a 4th man acquainted therewith whome they knew to bee valiant and hardye; but hee, better qualified then to vndertake such courses to purchase wealth, absolutely refused to bee partaker therein, but promised secrecie. the other two with the conjurer fall to their work & ply it soe lustily that it was not long ere they found the pann covered with a large stone; with the sight whereof & their protectors words encouraged, they earnestly follow their busines, with their utmost abilitie. for the conjurer told them, that if they fainted when it was in sight it would bee taken from them, and all their labour lost. and now the cover was to bee opened, & the younger of them at the work hee was sodainly taken with such a faintnes, that hee could not lift his hand to doe any thing & therefore called to the other to supply his place, which hee did, & was instantly taken with the like numefes which continued a very small time, yet their protector told them the birds were flown away & only the nest left which they found true; for recovering their strength they tooke out the pann, wherein they found nothing at all but the bottome thereof (where the treasure should seeme to have layn) very clean & the rest all cankered. Hee that told mee this protested hee saw the pann, & that the 2 labourers constantly avouched the other circumstances to bee true." Westcote's View (Port-ledge MS.) p. 153, 154.

Barrow, immediately beyond the outer row of stones on Maddoc's-down: And my curiosity (says he) will lead me to open it." I do not find that he put his design into execution. (d)—But to enumerate the Barrows in this county, would be endless.

And the present Section is already extended to too great a length; scanty as my materials were, for a history of the Danmonian Architecture. If, however, I have indulged a little in conjecture, it should be considered, that such a subject requires illustration: And a few scattered facts, at so remote an æra, can never be rendered interesting, unless they are mingled with probabilities.

## SECTION V.

### VIEW of PASTURAGE and AGRICULTURE in DANMONIUM, during the BRITISH PERIOD.

I. *Danmonium, originally, a Wilderuess—The Ground prepared for Pasturage—The Flocks and Herds of the Danmonians—Dartmoor and Exmoor.*—II. *Agriculture—Cæsar quoted—The Danmonian Farm—Orchard or Garden.*—III. *Remarkable Fertility of the Island, as reported by the Phenicians and Greeks; a plain Proof of its very early Inhabitation.*

AS the Danmonians had made some progress in architecture before the arrival of the Romans, it is natural to expect, that they were not deficient in other arts which contributed to the conveniences and comforts of life. Even of a people just emerging from barbarism, the first picture is that of shepherds and herdsmen: And the view of husbandmen follows in quick succession. With husbandmen we connect the idea of the farm, and all its obvious appendages: Nor from the neighbourhood of the farm-house, is it easy to detach the garden or the orchard. To the first people that landed in Danmonium, the face of the country was every where rough; the higher grounds were darkened by forest trees, or covered with coppice, brakes, and heath; and the low-lands were overgrown with wood or with the rankest herbs; where the rivers, which must have run lawlessly, obstructed not the progress of vegetation. Amidst such luxuriance, the beasts were furnished with coverts, the birds had built their nests securely, and the waters were replenished with fish. To the Aborigines of Danmonium, therefore, the wild animals of the country must have afforded a ready sustenance; whilst the necessity of hunting, of fowling and of fishing, was instantly suggested. But these exertions for the supply of their immediate wants, were slight, in comparison of the various labors imposed on the first colonists. To clear the grounds, to fell trees, and to destroy wild beasts, was a task preparatory to their settlement. And, among the animals which they hunted, for food or diversion, or in order to the security of their persons, they must have taken some, whose gentleness conciliated regard; and whose docility soon rendered the attempt successful to domesticate "the pensioners of nature", or confine the rovers within certain boundaries. To discuss the point, whether the Danmonians thus subdued, by gradual means, those animals which are so useful in subservience to man; or whether they imported with them their dogs and their cattle, would here be impertinent or unnecessary. Certain it is, that when Cæsar invaded the island, the riches of the Danmonians chiefly consisted in their cattle. It was their practice to keep large herds upon the uninhabited grounds that skirted

(d) Long before his death, his literary pursuits had been often interrupted by a dreadful indisposition: Heaven knows, that, at this moment, I am but too sensible of what his sufferings must have been! The ill-health of my predecessor, I fear, was entailed on me, with the history! There seems to be a fatality in the attempt—Not to mention the imperfect works of Sir. W. Pole, of Westcote, or of Risdon; Milles, and Clappell, and Badcock, have either fallen victims to the History of Devon, or died in the midst of their labors! It was this idea, which chiefly induced me to print my *Collections* for the GENERAL HISTORY, in the present form, without loss of time. If I drop, before the completion of this work, the public will, here, possess a variety of useful Notices; which, from the multiplicity of my papers, their disorder in numerous instances (to any other eye than mine) the endless diversity of the MS. and the difficulty of decyphering a great part of it, and from many other circumstances, no writer, succeeding me, could possibly bring forward: They are Notices, which, in this case, would be inevitably lost.

skirted the confines of their country. "Retaining, under their own care, as many as they could conveniently furnish with pastures, they detached the rest into the woods, or the borders, under the inspection of their servants. And these they sometimes called *Ceangon*, or foresters." (a) According to Mr. Carte, the Danmonians had a wide scope, indeed, for their flocks. "Westmoreland and Somersetshire (says he) being moist and morassy countries, served the Brigantes and *Danmonii* for their summer pastures, as Cumberland and Cornwall, having a dryer soil, did for their winter." But, as Mr. Whitaker tells us, "all the change of pastures that was made by the Britons, was the same as is made to this day by the Highlanders; driving the cattle to the valleys in summer, and redriving them to the hills in winter." The *Cassini* and *Ostidamnii*, as some conjecture, were keepers of the flocks and herds of the Danmonians. These flocks and herds were, probably, fed along the extensive tracts of Dartmoor; where the *Cassini* and *Ostidamnii*, had their temporary habitations; fixing their residence on a particular spot, as long as the pasturage around them was sufficient for the maintenance of their cattle. And (b) Exmoor must have afforded a noble range for the flocks and herds of the Britons. Not that the uplands of Danmonium were the resort of shepherds or of herdsmen only: The contrary has already appeared. (c) At this juncture, the care of cattle was a hazardous employment; since every night the peasants must have watched with their mastiffs, for the protection of the sheep and kine, from those ravenous beasts that inhabited the woods. The dangers of this occupation, however, daily decreased; since the Danmonians, still incroaching on the habitations of the wolf and the bear, soon thinned their numbers, and harried the beasts that escaped, or drove them into distant coverts. On those spots, which were thus rendered compatibly secure, they would naturally turn their attention to the soil: And, barren in many places, in others rocky, in others overgrown with briars or with the rankest weeds, the soil could be made productive, only by unremitting labor and assiduity. On the point of the British pasturage and agriculture, we may gather, perhaps, a few hints from ancient authors. Cæsar's distinction between the interior Britons, and the Britons of the coasts, must easily recur to memory: What relates to the present topic is vague. Whilst the Belgæ were well acquainted with agriculture, it seems that most of the Aborigines depended for sustenance on their flocks and herds.—"*Interiores plerique (the Aborigines) frumenta non serunt, sed lacte et carne vivunt.*" But some of the interior inhabitants of the island, were agriculturists. That the Aborigines should, even in Cæsar's time, notwithstanding the lapse of so many ages, in which numbers of them, dispossessed of their original settlements in Danmonium, had been driven into the heart of the island, prefer the vagrant life of shepherds to the steadier occupation of husbandmen, is surely probable from the Asiatic character. Yet I cannot conceive that so ingenious a people had been utterly inattentive to husbandry. Accordingly, we may infer from the very passage before us, that some of the interior Britons were tillers of the ground. The maritime Britons, however, were more generally employed in agriculture. Such were the Belgæ, who settled as a nation to the east of Devonshire; though great numbers of these continental intruders had incorporated with the Danmonians. The Danmonians, in the mean time had, doubtless, adopted all those modes of cultivating the ground, which ingenuity would dictate, or the practice of their neighbours would present to observation; though they retained their original love of change, still shifting their habitations from place to place, as the pasturing of their cattle required. And the attention of this people, seems to have judiciously divided between pasturage and agriculture: Whilst the Danmonians saw the neighbouring nations, some for the most part occupied by the former, and others by the latter; they reconciled both in themselves. Of a Danmonian farm, therefore, a certain portion of ground was, probably, allotted to the feeding of cattle, notwithstanding the extensive range of the neighbouring downs or commons; though the greater part was tilled with corn, for the provision of the family. The farm-house of the Danmonians, seems not to have been deficient in articles of convenience. If the Britons, as Mr. Whitaker informs us, had bee-hives near the mansions

of

(a) See Whitaker's Manchester. (b) "*Belgas sterilem et montesum illum terræ tractum—Exmoor—in occidente, invadere vel subigere voluisse, nullam veri speciem præ se fert; sed tantum agri Somersetensis illam in occidente vallem, quæ iis, citra montes ad Dunstar usque pertinet, omni fere ævo grata, salubris et jucunda fuit, agricolæque voto respondens.*" Musgrave, from whom this passage is taken, judges of Exmoor, in the British Period, from its appearance at the present day: But this judgment is erroneous. (c) See the IVth Section.



of their chiefs, and near their farm-houses, we can hardly avoid giving them credit for every comfortable accommodation. Whilst the house was guarded by the British mastiff, the wild boar of the Danmonian woods had become a peaceful inhabitant of the farm-yard; the cow was ready with her supplies of milk; and the horse had, also, passed into servitude. The Danmonian horses, however, must have frequently run wild in the woods and mountains. They are expressly described by the Romans, as at once diminutive in their size, and swift in their motions: (a) And the breed still subsists in the little horses of Exmoor and Dartmoor, as well as those of Wales and Cornwall. As to the Danmonian modes of cultivating the ground, we cannot expect much information. Pliny tells us, that the Britons manure their ground with marle, instead of dung: And what Pliny knew relating to this island, was, probably, collected from the Danmonian merchants. It seems, that a variety of marles was used by the Britons as well as Romans, in manures: And sea-sand was employed in the western counties, as at the present day. (b) With respect to the process of the British husbandry, it would be fruitless to enquire. I cannot but remark, indeed, that Diodorus Siculus mentions the Britons as *housing* their corn; which seems, at this moment, to be the custom in Devonshire, though not in many other counties. (c) In the passage (d) to which I allude, the Britons are said to lay up their corn in caverns: And the people of Devonshire have, in many places, barns capacious enough for their corn. In the more eastern counties, however, the corn is chiefly preserved in mows in the open air. After the partition of lands, the woods and coppices were considered as another part of the estate: And they were a valuable part of it. Though Danmonium abounded with woods, perhaps we had no great variety of forest trees. The number of our indigenous trees were few. Cæsar intimates, that the beech and the fir were strangers to our woods. But Mr. Whitaker thinks, from its British appellation, *Gius* in Scotland, *Giumbus* in Ireland, and *Fynnidug* in Wales, that the fir was a native of Britain. The firs of Scotland and Ireland are often noticed in the poems of Ossian. And the fir, though no longer growing wild in Devonshire or Cornwall, has been found among subterraneous subsilances in both counties; particularly on the Bovey-Heathfield, where it lies imbedded in the clay, and from its resinous quality and the nature of its grain, is evidently the fir-tree. In the mean time, the beech was certainly not a native of the island. And it is, at this moment, very scarce in Devonshire. (e)

Among

(a) *Die*, p. 1280.

(b) *Whitaker's Manchester*.

(c) The Belgæ of Devonshire were in possession of the Gallic instrument of threshing before the Romans: They were well acquainted with the use of our flail. *Whitaker*.

(d) Diodorus (1) tells us, that, from their subterraneous granaries, they took as much as was necessary for the day, and having dried the ears, beat the grain from them, which they bruised, and made into a sort of bread for present use. (2)

(e) It has been a subject of dispute among naturalists, whether the Yew is an indigenous or exotic plant. That it was indigenous, I have scarcely a doubt. In several parts of Devonshire, yew-trees are now flourishing, of the plantation of which we have no memorial. In Scotland, it was certainly indigenous. "Lift thy terrible sword! Bend thy crooked Yew! Throw thy lance through heaven! Lift your shields, like the darkened moon! Be your spears the meteors of death!" A correspondent, however, writes: "I have never seen the yew-tree growing in this country, except where planted: It has, in many instances, proved fatal to cattle: At a funeral, some years since, in a neighbouring parish, two or three horses were killed by eating it, being as it is supposed, forced by hunger. The deleterious effects of this plant were well known to the ancients: Cæsar knew the power of yew. As I do not recollect having seen the passage quoted, it shall find a place here. *Catvulcus, rex dimidia partis Eburonum, qui una cum Ambiorige consilium inerat, ætate jam confectus, quum laborem aut belli aut fugæ ferre non posset, omnibus precibus detestatus Ambiorigem qui ejus consilii auctor fuisset, taxo, cujus magna in Gallia Germanique copia est, se exanimavit.*" A yew-tree is still found in almost all our church-yards.

(1) "Και θησαυρίζοντες" &c. "In Britannia, si valuit, quod in Cappadocia et Thracia usus introduxerat ut frumentum in specubus abderent, proba vulgata est." Varro I. R. R. C. 57. "Quidam granaria habent subterris, speluncas quas vocant *σιγες*, ut in Cappadocia et Thracia. Alii, ut in Hispania citiorem, puteos, ut in agro Carthaginensi et Olfensi." Not. Diod. Wels. T. I. p. 347.

(2) Some vestiges of this ancient way of dressing corn, were discovered not long ago in several of the islands of Scotland. This method is called *Graddan*, from the Irish word *Crad*, which signifies quick. A woman sitting down, takes a handful of corn, holding it by the stalks in the left hand, and then sets fire to the ears, which are presently in a flame: she has a stick in her right hand, which she manages very dexterously, beating out the grain at the instant the husk is quite burnt, for if she mis of that she must use the kiln; but experience has taught them this art to perfection. The corn may be so dressed, winnowed, ground, and baked within an hour." Martin's Description of the western islands of Scotland, p. 204.

Among the fruit-trees of Danmonium, the apple was, undoubtedly, British. In the Cornish, the Irish, the Welch and the Armorican, it is invariably denominated the *avall* or *aball*: And it seems to have been brought into Devonshire by the first colonies. The *avallonia*, or the *apple-orchard* of the *Hædri* (the present site of Glastonbury) is mentioned by Richard. For (a) other fruit-trees, it is difficult to say, whether they were indigenous or not. Though the British garden was chiefly composed of fruit-trees; yet the orchard, and the flower and kitchen garden, were all united in one. And gardens near the British houses, in the southern counties, are remarked by Strabo. (b)

Obscure and unsatisfactory as these accounts of the Danmonian pasturage and agriculture are, we may be assured, that this island was remarkable for its fertility in very ancient times. In some of the earliest notices of Britain by the Greeks, the island, or rather Danmonium, is celebrated as prolific of the fruits of the earth. Orpheus called this island *the royal court of Ceres*. In after times, Strabo (c) and (d) Diodorus Siculus, agreed in their reports of its fertility: And these authors drew their materials from Greek geographers and historians, who lived long before Cæsar. That Danmonium could have produced fruits in such abundance, without human ingenuity and human labor, long and perseveringly exerted in the cultivation of it, is impossible to be conceived. Its uncommon fertility, therefore, leads us to think, that it must have been very early known to the oriental nations. (e)

The general principle of fertility in every country, is the application of man; by which the beneficial productions that naturally spring up, may be freed from every impediment to their growth, and removed into more genial situations, and by which the fruits of one country may be transplanted and cultivated with success in another. If this were not the case, mankind could not have spread over the face of the earth: and the far greater part of the world would have remained in a state of nature. The capacity of producing, when directed by skill and supported by labor, certainly extends the bounties of providence, and meliorates even the most ungrateful soils and climates. But these happy effects are produced, only in a course of time. Danmonium was, at first, a *wilderness*. Nor did it become *the court of Ceres*, till after the lapse of ages. (f)

church-yards. Three reasons may be assigned for their situation: The *first* is, that before the invention of gunpowder, the warrior might never be at a loss for a bow. The *second* is, its being an evergreen, and as such, an emblem of immortality. The *third* motive which may be supposed to have induced mankind to plant the yew in church-yards, is the idea of its being endued with a power to attract to itself the noxious particles that may arise from dead bodies: This last opinion has been of late much strengthened by the experiment of Dr. Priestley, who has discovered, that growing vegetables are wonderfully effectual in the purification of foul air." Mr. Cornish, of Totnes, in a letter to the author. A *fourth* reason has been given. The Yew, we are told, was there planted, to prevent the introduction of cattle into sacred ground: But this is improbable. The peculiar GLOOMINESS of the Yew, and the DEADLINESS of its poison, seems to suggest the propriety of its situation, more strongly than all.

(a) "The *Damson* (says Mr. Whitaker) had been long taken from the vicinity of its native Damascus, and accustomed to the soil of Italy, when the Romans took possession of this island: And the *British* appellation of it, *Damson* or *Damsen*, remaining among the *Irish* and *ourselves*, denotes it to have been introduced into Britain by the Romans." But the name of this fruit remaining among the *Irish*, by no means proves its introduction into Britain by the Romans. I should draw a different conclusion from this circumstance. The *peach* was, probably, transplanted from its own Persia into Britain. (b) p. 306. (c) Geor. lib. 3, p. 200. (d) lib. 5, p. 209.

(e) The fertility of this island, in the British Period, as the ingenious and learned Dr. Campbell intimates, is a *certain proof* that it was inhabited long before our antiquarians have thought proper to colonize it.

(f) "Sir Walter Raleigh reports, that the Spaniards, in some parts of America, scarcely proceeded into the Continent *ten miles in ten years*; which if they (with all necessary instruments) could not do, how can we expect, that in the first ages after the deluge, colonies could go on so fast, when they were to encounter with no less difficulties, and had not the same means to overcome them. And if by this measure we should calculate the progress of the first planters, we might not be far out of the way; but certainly as Europe extends in length 120000 German miles, so we might modestly assign so many years to the filling of it, which is four times the speed that the Spaniards made in America." *Summers' Britann. Antiqu. Illustr.* p. 9.

## SECTION VI.

## VIEW of MINING in DANMONIUM, during the BRITISH PERIOD.

I. Quarries—Tin-flooding—Streaming—Vestiges of Tin-Works in different parts of Devonshire—Lead—Iron—Gold—Silver.—II. Preparation of these Metals for Use.—III. Conclusion.

WE have seen the Danmonians pasturing their cattle and cultivating their grounds—the most natural employment of man. But there is reason to suppose, that their attention was not long confined to the vegetable productions of the earth. The Aborigines of this country possess a spirit of research, which led to new pursuits and prompted new discoveries: And Danmonium was now to be explored for mineral treasures. The use, indeed, of several kinds of stone, which met their eye, either scattered on the surface of the ground, or imbedded in the soil, or in various other situations, was as obvious as that of the timber which their woodlands supplied. The slate and the moor-stone, particularly the latter, were of this description. Thus the working of a quarry was soon an unavoidable labor: And there was an easy transition from the quarry to the mine. To conduct, however, the Danmonians, step by step, to the mines, is needless: For, though the use of stone seems more obvious than that of metals, the latter were procured, perhaps, with as little trouble in Danmonium.(a) This, at least, seems to have been the case with the Danmonian

(a) On the discovery of Mines, Dr. Pryce expatiates thus: “Lucretius, who ascribes the first discovery of Metals to the burning down of woods, says, that the heat of the flames melted the Metals, which were dispersed here and there in the veins of the earth, and made them flow into one mass:

Whatever 'twas that gave these flames their birth,  
Which burnt the tow'ring trees, and scorch'd the earth;  
Hot streams of Silver, Gold, and Lead, and Brads,  
As nature gave a hollow, proper place,  
Descended down, and form'd a glut'ring mass.  
This when unhappy mortals chanc'd to spy,  
And the gay colour pleas'd their childish eye;  
They dug the certain cause of misery.

Cadmus, the Phenician, is, by some, said to have been the first who discovered Gold; others say, that Thoas first found it, in the mountain Pangeus in Thrace: the Chronicon Alexandrinum, ascribes it to Mercury, the son of Jupiter; or to Pifus, king of Italy, who quitting his own country went into Egypt; where, after the death of Misraim, the son of Cham, he was elected to succeed him in the royal dignity, and, for the invention of Gold, was called the Golden God. Æschylus attributes the invention of this, and all other Metals, to Prometheus: and there are others who write, that either Æacüs, whom Hyginus calls Cæacus the son of Jupiter, or Sol the son of Oceanus, first discovered Gold in Panchaia. Aristotle says, that some shepherds in Spain having set fire to certain woods, and heated the substance of the earth, the silver that was near the surface of it, melted, and flowed together in a heap; and that a little while after there happened an earthquake, which cleaved the earth, and disclosed a vast profusion of silver. This is confirmed by Strabo, lib. iii. and Athenæus, lib. vi. who say, that the Mines in Andalusia were discovered by this accident. Cinyra the son of Agropyra, first found out the Brads (Copper) Mines in Cyprus; and the discovery of Iron Mines Hesiod ascribes to those in Crete who were called Daëtyli Idai: and Midacritus was the first man that brought Lead (Tin) out of the island Cassiteris. (Lucretius, Pliny, Polydore Virgil). We shall close this ancient account of the first discovery of Metals, with the following lines from Dr. Garth's Dispensary.

Now those profounder regions they explore,  
Where Metals ripen in vast cakes of Ore,  
Here, fullen to the sight, at large is spread,  
The dull unweildy mass of lumpish Lead;  
There, glimmering in their dawning beds, are seen  
The more aspiring seeds of sprightly tin;  
The Copper sparkles next in ruddy streaks,  
And in the gloom betrays its glowing cheeks.

Mines have been often discovered by accident, as in the sea cliffs, among broken craggy rocks, or by the washing of the tides or floods; likewise by irruptions and torrents of water issuing out of hills and mountains; and sometimes by the wearing of high roads. Another way of finding veins, which



Danmonian tin and lead. The *Moina-Staine* or the Danmonian Tin-mines, were not deep mines, as at the present day. The greater part of the tin produced in Danmonium, before

we have heard from those whose veracity we are unwilling to question, is by igneous appearances, or fiery coruscations. The Tanners generally compare these effluvia to blazing stars, or other whimsical likenesses, as their fears or hopes suggest; and search, with uncommon eagerness, the ground which these jack o'lanterns have appeared over and pointed out. We have heard but little of these phenomena for many years: whether it be, that the present age is less credulous than the foregoing; or that the ground being more perforated by innumerable new pits sunk every year, some of which by the Stannary laws are prohibited from being filled up, has given these vapours a more gradual vent; it is not necessary to enquire, as the fact itself is not generally believed. The art of Mining, however, does not wait for these favourable incidents, but directly goes upon the search and discovery of such Mineral Veins, Ores, Stones, &c. as may be worth the working for Metal. The principal investigation and discovery of Mines, depends upon a particular sagacity, or acquired habit of judging from particular signs, that metallick matters are contained in certain parts of the earth, not far below its surface. But, as ignorance and credulity are the portions of the illiterate, we have people constantly in search for Tin, where our dreaming geniuses direct them to follow after the images of wild fancy; consequently, we have a *Huel-dream* in every Mining parish, which raises and disappoints by turns the sanguine hopes of the credulous adventurers.—Mines are also discovered by the harsh disagreeable taste of the waters which issue from them, especially those of Copper: but this seems to be, only when the Ore is above the level at which the water breaks out; for, otherwise, it is unlikely that the water should participate of much impression or quality from the Ore that is underneath it, or untouched by it. A better expedient to find whether the water is impregnated with Copper, is to immerge a piece of bright Iron in it, for two or three days; in which time, the Iron will look of a Copper colour, provided the water is of a cupreous quality, or at least contains a certain share of vitriolick acid: further, if some Aqua Fortis be affused to a little of this water, in a clear phial, it will presently exhibit a bluish green colour, either fainter or fuller according as it is impregnated with the acid of vitriol. A candle or piece of tallow put into the same water for a few days, may be taken out tinged of a green colour.—Hoofton says, that “the first inventor of the Virgula Divinatoria, was hanged in Germany as a cheat and impostor:” on the other hand, Dr. Diederick Wessel Linden says, in answer to him, that “Dr. Stahl, when he was president of a chemical society in his country, published a reward of twenty-five ducats for any one that could prove who was the inventor of the Virgula Divinatoria.” It is impossible to ascertain the date or personality of this discovery, which appears to me of very little consequence to posterity: but perhaps we may not be far off from the truth, if we incline to the opinion of Georgius Agricola, in his excellent latin treatise *De Re Metallica*, that “the application of the enchanted or divining rod to metallick matters, took its rise from magicians, and the impure fountains of enchantment.” Now the ancients not only endeavoured to procure the necessities of life by a divining or enchanted rod, but also to change the forms of things by the same instrument: for the magicians of Egypt, as we learn from the Hebrew writings, changed their rods into serpents; and, in Homer, Minerva turned Ulysses when old into the likeness of a young man, and again to his former appearance: Circe also changed the companions of Ulysses into beasts, and again restored them to the human shape; and Mercury, with his rod called Caduceus, gave sleep to the wakeful, and awakened those that were asleep. And hence, in all probability, arose the application of the forked rod to the discovery of hidden treasure.” p. 111 to 114.

“Another way of discovering Lodes is by sinking little pits through the loose ground, down to the fast or solid country, from six to twelve feet deep, and driving from one to another across the direction of the Vein; so that they must necessarily meet with every Vein lying within the extent of these pits; for most of them come up as high as the superficies of the firm rock, and sometimes a small matter above it. This way of seeking, the Tanners call *Coffeneering*, from *Cotbas Stean*; that is, fallen or dropt tin.—Another and very ancient method of discovering Tin Lodes, is by what we call *Shodding*; that is, tracing them home by loose stones, fragments, or Shodes (from the Teutonic *Schuten* to pour forth) which have been separated, and carried off, perhaps, to a considerable distance from the Vein, and are found by chance in running waters, on the superficies of the ground, or a little under.—When the Tanners meet with a loose single stone of Tin Ore, either in a valley, or in plowing, or hedging, though at a hundred fathoms distance from the Vein it came from; those who are accustomed to this work, will not fail to find it out. They consider, that a metallick stone must have originally appertained to some Vein, from which it was severed and cast at a distance by some violent means. The deluge, they suppose, moved most of the loose earthy coat of the globe; and, in many places, washed it off from the upper, towards the lower grounds, with such a force, that most of the backs of Lodes or Veins which protruded themselves above the fast, were hurried downwards with the common mafs: whence the skill in this part of their business, lies much in directing their measures according to the situation of the surface.—Upon the top of most Tin Lodes, in the shelf or stratum under the loose mould and rubbish of the earth, is that mineralized substance, which is called the *Broyle* or *Bryle* of the Lode. Though it is a part of the Lode, yet it is different

before the time of the Romans, was, probably, from *Shode* and *Stream*. “Tin (says Dr. Borlase) is found disseminated on the sides of hills, in single stones, which we call *Shodes*,

in situation and appearance from all other parts of it; so far as it is not confined between two walls, the stratum so near the surface being of a more lax tender texture, than in the solid rock a fathom or two under it. The *Bryle*, therefore, is very loose, and in some places scarcely metallic, for want of depth, and of those lateral chinks and cracks, which feed and nourish the Lode, at deeper levels, with Mineral principles deduced from the strata of the earth.—Such is the *Bryle* of a Lode: consequently, when the waters of the deluge retired into their reservoir, great part of the Bryles of Lodes were carried off by the force of the waters to various distances, according to the gravity of Shode Stones, and the declination of the plane upon which they were dispersed. Tanners who describe this distribution of Shode, to make it more easily understood, compare it to a bucket of water discharged upon the declivity of a hill; near the bucket, it will take up but a small space; but as it descends, will spread wider, in the manner of a truncated cone. Hence it is manifest to reason and experience, that the more distant Shodes are from the *Bryle* of the Lode, the more diverged they are, and fewer in number; and, by parity of reasoning, they are more in quantity near to the *Bryle*, and are collectively in less space. Nevertheless, in some certain situations, they are in greater quantities in vallies, than on the tops or sides of hills; but such are smaller, and more easily carried down by water, and formed into strata, which furnishes our stream works. In level ground, they are found scarcely removed from the *Bryle*; but on a declivity, they are always found dispersed on the sides of the hill, at a greater or less distance, in proportion to the length or declivity thereof, and their own specific weight: consequently, the heaviest stones are nearest to the Lode, and the lighter are protruded to a greater distance (even to five miles distance, as it is said in *Philosop. Transactions* No. 69) which are also nearer to the soil, by means of their levity and size; while the more gross and weighty lie deeper interred as they are nearer the Lode. It is almost needless to observe, that as the texture, gravity, and black or brown colours of Tin Shodes, are different from all others; so they are thereby known and distinguished, as well as by the smoothness of them a great distance from the Lode, and the acuteness of their angles when near to it; which entirely depends upon the trituration they have undergone, rolling over rough surfaces, by the force of water, and the attrition of other bodies passing over them.—Henckell and Rosier say, “That Mundick Shode is very common; and that Wolfram, Granate, and Iron Corns, nay Quicksilver, are found in Shode and Stream.” “All of which,” Henckell further says, “were washed and torn away from their Veins, by the violence of the Noachian deluge.”—Copper and Lead Shodes are very seldom met with; yet such there are. Their *Bryles* being chiefly composed of tender unmetallic *Gelfan*, are not so well disposed for bearing that force and attrition, as the more stony matter of Tin Lodes are; and the former generally is not mineralized into Copper Ore at the *Bryle*.—It is a mistake in those who deny the existence of any other Shode but Tin: So far from it, every hard stratum of the earth which is uppermost, will shew us numbers of their Shodes dispersed from them at a distance, and reclined upon strata of quite different natures, as hills and vallies are situated to help forward or retain those rocky fragments. I think our distinct loose Moorstone, or Granite rocks, upon the sides, and at the bottoms of our mountains, are the Shodes of their strata underneath; and many large Shodes of Irestone are to be seen, though in less plenty, dispersed upon *Killas* strata at a distance from their parent rock: all of which are incontestible witnesses of those violent convulsions and convulsions of our country, at the time of the flood.—It is much to be lamented, that the science of Shoding is greatly lost in the present age. Among all our Miners, we have not fifty, who scientifically or experimentally understand any thing of the matter; and those that are intelligent therein, are become old and feeble; whereby it is much to be feared, that this useful, and I think improveable science, is in danger of being practically lost.—Almost every Lode has a peculiar coloured earth or *grewt* (grit) about it; which is also sometimes found with the Shode, and that in greater quantity, the nearer the Shode lies to the Lode; beyond which that peculiar *grewt* is seldom found with the Shode. A valley may happen to lie at the feet of three several hills, and then they may find several *deads grewt* or earth moved by the waters of the deluge, but not contiguous to the Lode, with as many different Shodes in the middle of each. This is also termed the *Run* of the country; and here the knowledge of the cast of the country, or each hill in respect of its *grewt*, will be very necessary, for the surer tracing them one after the other as they lie in order.—Likewise, when the Miners find a good Stone of Ore or Shode in the side or bottom of a hill, they first of all observe the situation of the neighbouring ground, and consider whence the deluge could most probably roll that Stone down from the hill; and at the same time they form a supposition, on what point of the compass the Lode takes its course: for if the Shode be Tin, or Copper Ore, or promising for either, they conclude that the Lode runs nearly east and west; but if it is a Shode of Lead Ore, they have equal reason to conclude that the vein goes north and south. After finding the first Stone or Shode, they sink little pits as low as the fast rubble (which is the rubble or clay never moved since the flood) to find more such Stones; and if they meet with them, they go further up the hill in the same line, or a little obliquely perhaps, and sink more pits still, while they find Shode Stones in them, but they seldom sink those pits deeper than the



*Shodes*, sometimes a furlong or more distant from their lodes: And, sometimes, these loose stones are found together in great numbers, making one continued course from one to ten

the rubble upon the Shelf, except they are near the Lode. If the Shode is found in the vegetable soil, the Lode is not at hand; but if it lies deep, massy, and angular, it is a certain sign that the Lode is not far off, and that it is to be found opposite to the base or heaviest part of the Stones. The account which the learned Alvaro Alonzo Barba gives of discovering Silver Mines, by what I take to be Shoding, is very much like mine, and is as follows, p. 79. "The Veins of Metal are sometimes found by great Stones above ground; and if the Veins be covered, they hunt them out after this manner, viz. taking in their hands a sort of mattock (a pick) which hath a steel point at one end to dig with, and a blunt head at the other to break stones with, they go to the hollows of the mountains, where the downfall of rain descends, or to some other part of the skirts of the mountains, and there observe what Stones they meet withal, and break in pieces those that seem to have any metal in them; whereof they find many times both middling sort of Stones, and small ones also of Metal. Then they consider the situation of that place, and whence these Stones can tumble, which of necessity must be from higher ground, and follow the tract of these Stones up the hill, as long as they can find any of them."—But to return—As they advance thus nearer the Lode with their pits, they find their Shode more plentiful and deeper in the ground; but if they chance to go further from the Lode, or pass the yonder side of it, there is a greater scarcity of the Shode, or perhaps none at all: in which case, they return to their last pit which produced Shode most plentifully, and work the intermediate ground with more care and circumspection, by drifts from one pit to the next, until they cut the Lode. Sometimes they find two different Shodes in the same pit at different depths; then they are sure, that there is another Lode further on; and in training up to the second, they may meet with the Shode of a third. However, when they are just come to the Vein they set out for, they find an uncommon quantity of Shode Stones answering to the description before given, and then they say, that they have the *Bryle* of the Lode; upon which they dig down into the solid hard rock, which was never moved or loosened, until they open the Lode, and find its breadth by the walls in which it is enclosed.—Some Lodes, however, are so disposed, that they yield no Shode at all, nor are they to be discovered in a good depth; which may happen to be the case for several reasons. The situation of some places might have preserved their Veins from having their surfaces torn up and dispersed by the flood; or else being so much torn and disturbed, their loose *Bryle* might have been totally carried off to a vast distance, towards which its poverty for Metal and consequential levity might contribute; in the place of which, a sediment or earthy part might have settled, and buried the Lodes so deep, that they are not discoverable by shoding. Again, the backs of some Veins are depressed, and so deep under the firm solid rock which lies over them, that they do make a rise or back immediately up to the loose stone or earth; that is to say, some Lodes make no back at all, and therefore produce no Shode, so that it is impossible to discover them, except by some favourable accident, of which I have known several instances.—These different dispositions of the strata I have taken notice of, sometimes deceive the miners in shoding for Veins; for when they suppose that there is but one bed or layer of stones or earth over the firm ground, and there happens to be a double stratum of rock and rubble between, which is far from being uncommon, perhaps they dig no deeper than the first shelf; in other words, they dig no deeper than till they think they are come down almost to the fast or firm ground, where they expect to find either the Shode or the *Bryle* of the Lode; but as they are covered by the other shelf or stratum, which the Miners are not apprized of, they have their labour for their pains, in seeking in such uncertain ground, which perhaps contains a double or treble shelf.—The Miners are of opinion, that the waters by their great emotion, did not only remove, and confuse the surface of the earth, but also broke the looser parts of Veins from off their superficies or backs; and thereby disordered and removed the face of the earth as deep as the fast and firm rock or stratum, as I have said before: and indeed our apprehension of the matter very much favours this supposition: whence, undoubtedly, those Shodes or fragments of Veins are the vestiges or remains of the deluge. Hence it is, that part of the Shode has been rolled down the declivities of hills from the Mines; moreover, that Shode which is found a great way distant from the Mines, is much more worn and smoother than that which is nearer to it, as it happens to stones on the sea shore, or on the sides of rapid rivers, which are fretted and worn smooth by the agitation of the waters, and the friction of other bodies. If any person will but consider the sea cliffs, he may observe, in several places, that the upper coat or covering of the earth, has been greatly moved and agitated; and that the loose stones did preponderate and subside on the firm rocks, pursuant to their specific gravities; next those, the rubble resided, and over all the pure light earth rested. Yet this order is not absolutely perfect and without exception; for loose stones are often found in the light earth, and on its superficies; which by the impetuosity of the waters, and situation of particular places, were molested in subsiding. For we are not to suppose our globe to resemble a trough, or the like excavated figure, wherein the variously mixed earths are to be regularly disposed, as in the operation of *buddling* or washing of Ores; but to be of a spherical arched figure, where the waters, as on a hanging bottom, powerfully rend, and pull it asunder: and this force of the waters



ten feet deep, which we call a *Stream*. And, when there is a good quantity of tin in it, the tanners call it, in the Cornish tongue, *Benbeyl*, or a *Living Stream*—that is, a course of stones impregnated with tin. In like manner, when the stone has a small appearance of tin, they say it is *just alive*; when no metal, it is said to be *dead*; and the rubble which contains no metal, is called *Deads*. These streams are of different breadths, seldom less than a fathom, oftentimes scattered, though in different quantities, over the whole width of the moor, bottom, or valley, in which they are found: And when several such streams meet, they oftentimes make a very rich floor of tin, one stream proving as it were a magnet to the metal of the other.”(a) Dr. Pryce explains *Shoding*, to be “the method of finding veins of tin by digging small pits in order to trace out the lodes of tin, by the scattering loose stones and fragments that were dispersed from them by the retiring waters of the deluge: The loose stones thus dispersed, are called *Shode-stones*.”(b) “If the *Shode* (says Dr. Borlase) is found in the vegetable soil, it gives no evidence of any lode’s being nigh; but if in the *jaft* (that is, the rubble or clay never moved since the flood) it is taken as a never failing proof that it came from a lode farther up in the hill. As soon as the shode is found impregnated with tin, to find the lode it came from, is the next care. The process consists in digging pits at a proper distance and depth, and in a proper direction, and judiciously regulating their advances to the lode, according as the properties of the shodes direct.”(c) With respect to the operation of *Streaming*, Dr. Pryce informs us, that the tinner, having fixed on a favourable situation, and settled the preliminaries, “sinks a *batch* or shaft, three, five, or seven fathoms deep, to the rocky shelf or clay; on both of which in the same valley, the Tin is frequently stratified, without any difference in its being more abundant in one than the other. It is found in different places, at different depths, and sometimes stratified between what is called a first, second, or third shelf. The stratum of Stream Tin may be from one to ten feet thickness or more; in

we may suppose to be greatest at the beginning and end of the deluge.—So likewise, in some places, the loose earth and stone, which cover the firm rocks, lie in strata; for immediately on the rock, there may be, for instance, a layer of sand or clay, and over that, a bed of large stones, and so alternately stratum super stratum, for some depth. Now these variations might very well happen on the decrease of the deluge: for when the flood was high and more at rest, the slimy light earth was deposited downwards; but when the waters came lower, and bent their course to the beach, then it came to pass that there was a strong current from off the land to the sea, which rolled down the loose stones upon the mud or sediment that fell and settled beforehand; so this current might have been interrupted again by the situation of the place and interposition of high ground, till the water had let fall another sediment, and afterwards found or perhaps broke another passage for itself through the land. This might have happened several times in the deluge, till at last the remaining water partly evaporated and partly sunk into the ground, leaving the deepest earth or sediment where it continued longest; as it happens frequently in floods or overflowings of water, where we may observe the situation of high and low grounds do not a little contribute to the same kind of effects that are here spoken of.—Another way of discovering Lodes, is by working drifts across the country as we call it, that is from north and south, and vice versa. I tried the experiment in an adventure under my management, where I drove all open *at grafts* about two feet in the shelf, very much like a level to convey water upon a mill wheel; by so doing I was sure of cutting all Lodes in my way, and did accordingly discover five courses, one of which has produced above one hundred and eighty tons of Copper Ore, but the others were never wrought upon. This method of discovering Lodes, is equally cheap and certain; for a hundred fathoms in a shallow surface may be driven at fifty shillings expence.—In feasible (tender standing) ground, a very effectual proving, and consequential way is, by driving an adit from the lowest ground, either north or south; whereby there is a certainty to cut all Lodes at twenty, thirty, or forty fathoms deep, if the level admits thereof. Such depths as proving the Lodes discovered by them, and the adit will serve to drain all parts of the strata above it; and likewise be a discharge for all water drawn from the Mine into it; so that it is effectual for discovery, proving for trial, and consequential to the future working of a Mine. But in Granite, Elvan, and Irestone strata, this cannot be complied with, neither is it advisable but under certain circumstances, where the ground is to be wrought for eighteen shillings per fathom, unless a *Crogs-Geffen* lies ready at hand, when the method in use is to drive partly on one side of the *Geffen*, breaking down the adjunct wall of it, whereby they drive the adit cheaply, expeditiously, and effectually for discovery. In driving adits or levels across, north or south, to unwater Mines already found, there are many fresh Veins discovered, which frequently prove better than those they were driving to. Witness the Pool adit in Ill gan, where the late John Pendarvis Bassett, Esq. cleared above one hundred and thirty thousand pounds.” p. 124 to 132.

(a) Natural Hist. p. 161, 162. (b) Pryce’s Mineralog. p. 327. (c) Nat. Hist. p. 166.

in breadth, from one fathom to almost the width of the valley; and in size, from a wall-nut to the finest sand, the latter making the principal part of the Stream, which is intermixed with stones, gravel, and clay, as it was torn from the adjacent hills. When he sinks down to the Tin stratum, he takes a shovel full of it, and washes off all the waste; and from the Tin which is left behind upon the shovel, he judges whether that ground is worth the working or not. If it is proving work, he then goes down to the lowest or deepest part of the valley, and digs an open trench, like the tail or low *flavan* of an adit, which he calls a Level, taking the utmost care to lose no levels in bringing it home to the Stream. This level serves to drain and carry off all water and waste from the workings, in proportion as he hath a weak or powerful current of water to run through it. Some places are very poor and not worth the expence for working; others again are very rich, and thence called *Beuheyle* or Living Stream, as is most commonly the case if it is of a *Grouan* nature, which being more lax and sandy, is more easily separated from its native place or Lode, and therefore more abundant and rich in quality according to the known excellence of *Grouan* Tin. In the latter case, the Streamer carries off what he calls the *Overburden*, the loose earth, rubble, or stone, which covers the Stream, so far and so large, as he can manage with convenience to his employment. If in the progress of his working he is hindered, he *teems* or lades it out, with a scoop, or discharges it by a hand pump: but if those simple methods are insufficient, he erects a *rag and chain pump*; or if a rivulet of water is to be rented cheaply at *grafs*, he erects a water wheel with ballance *bobs*, and thereby keeps his workings clear from superfluous water, by discharging it into his level: mean while his men are digging up the Stream Tin, and washing it at the same time, by casting every shovel full of it, as it rises, into a *tye*, which is an inclined plane of boards for the water to run off, about four feet wide, four high, and nine feet long, in which, with shovels, they turn it over and over again under a cascade of water that washes through it, and separates the waste from the Tin, till it becomes one half Tin. Though there is little dexterity in this manoeuvre, yet care is requisite to throw off the *Stent* or rubble from the *tye* to itself, whilst another picks out the stones of Tin from the *Garde* or smaller *pryany* part of it. During this operation, the best of the Tin, by its superior gravity, collects in the head of the *tye* directly under the cascade; and by degrees becomes more full of waste, as it descends from that place to the end or tail of the *tye*, where it is not worth the saving. If there is a copious stream of water near at hand, they cast this refuse into it, by which it is carried so far as to make its exit into the sea; for which practice they certainly deserve our severest censure; at least, if the choaking of harbours and rivers, and the destruction of thousands of acres of improveable meadow land, are not more than an equivalent for the casual and temporary profits arising from Stream Tin." (a) It was nearly in this manner that the Danmonians procured their tin: And they were, doubtless, well acquainted with tin in its richest mineral state; since Shode and Stream Tin must have been found plentifully disseminated upon the surface of the vallies, and the sides of the hills and mountains. Those fragments and nodules, by their color, shape, and gravity, must have attracted the notice of the first natives. The Aborigines could not observe the singular shape and weight of Shode and Stream Tin, without considering the contents as a mineral, which by its superior gravity would afford some metallic substance; especially when by a comparison with the mineral ores of other metals, known long before the flood, they must have judged its consistence to be metalline. There are some who would confine our original Tin-works to the Cassiterides, as including only the islands of Scilly. But, to wave all other considerations, the Shode and Stream Tin of the Scilly Isles, though abundant, was not sufficient for the wants of this adventurous and mercantile people. (b) Besides, we have the clearest

vestiges

(a) *Mineral. Cornub.* p. 132 to 134.

(b) The vestigia of any Tin Lodes, Mines, or workings, in the islands of Scilly, are insufficient to convince us, that they only gave this beautiful Metal to the world: the remains of any such workings are scarcely discernible; for there is but one place, that exhibits even an imperfect appearance of a Mine: And so necessary an appendage to a Mine as an adit to unwater the workings, is not to be seen in all the islands. If, in those days, the Metal was produced from stream or shode stones only, we must undoubtedly have discovered, in latter times, those Lodes or veins from whence they were dismembered by the deluge. They must have been wrought for Tin since the earlier ages; and some remains of such Lodes would now be visible on the sea coasts or cliffs, if many such had ever been; we are, therefore, strongly induced to believe, that the Mineral Ore of Tin was anciently

procured



vestiges of ancient Tin-mines in various parts of Danmonium. To say nothing of Cornwall, there are numberless stream-works on Dartmoor, and in its vicinities, which have lain forsaken for ages. In the parishes of Manaton, Kingsteignton, and Teigngrace, are many old Tin-works of this kind, which the inhabitants attribute to that period, when wolves and winged serpents were no strangers to the hills or the vallies. (a) The Bovey-Heathfield hath been worked in the same manner: And, indeed, all the vallies from the Heathfield to Dartmoor, bear the traces of shodding and streaming, which, I doubt not, was either British or Phenician. (b) Lead was, also, familiar to the western Britons. "For lead, the mines of the Scilly isles (says Mr. Whitaker) were worked by the Aborigines, and those of the Peak by the Belgæ." (c) In the Scilly Isles, the veins of lead lay so immediately below the surface of the ground, and branched out in so great an abundance, that the search for this metal was attended with little trouble or expence. Here again, there seems to be no warrant for the supposition, that the working of lead was circumscribed by the Scilly Isles. Mr. Whitaker says, that "it was late before any mines of Iron were opened in this island. They appear to have been begun only a few years before the descent of Cæsar, and even then were carried on not by the Britons, but the Belgæ." (d) As Mr. Whitaker is of opinion, that the *Danmonians* were a tribe of the *Belgæ*, he doubtless means to include the former under this general appellation. That the *Danmonians* had *Iron-works*, is plain from Cæsar, who mentions the *exigua copia* (e) of our iron in the maritime parts. The Iron-pits on Blackdown, were, I conceive, originally British; and were afterwards worked by the Romans. That gold and silver (particularly the former) were discovered in Danmonium, before the arrival of Cæsar, is plain, I think, from (f) Strabo and Tacitus. (g) From the frequent discoveries of gold in particular, among the few stream-works of the present day, we should conclude, that this metal must have been inevitably found by the *Danmonians*, who had no other works than those of stream or shode, and who in the prosecution of their labors, had, probably, broken up half the surface of Danmonium, before the Roman Period. "It is suspected (says Borlase) that there is gold, more or less, in all the stream-tin in Cornwall. What has been found, is always intermixed with grains of tin-ore, which, by their roundness and smoothness, shew that they have been washed down from the neighbouring hills. That gold lies, sometimes, so intermixed with tin, was not unknown to the ancients." (b) Piny gives us an accurate description of these metals found together, in the same manner as they are now discovered in our stream-works—the tin in *calculi* (that is, smooth pebbly ore) of the same gravity as the ore of gold, and separated by searling. "*Separantur canisfris*, says he (not *caminis*, as in some editions) that is, by baskets of the same nature and use as our fearces.

In what manner the *Danmonians* prepared these metals for use, Polybius, perhaps, would have informed us, had not that valuable work which Strabo mentions, been lost in the wreck of time. The Aborigines, probably, soon learnt the method of extracting metal

procured within the four western hundreds of Cornwall, and there smelted into white Tin, by charcoal fires, as the want of a proper bitumen in those days, and the entire demolition of all the woods near the Tin Mines, very plainly evince. Besides, unless we make great allowances indeed for encroachments of the ocean since those early ages, the islands of Scilly are merely in their present state a cluster of barren rocks, the principal of them measuring but three miles long and two wide. Whence should all this Tin arise? Likewise the state of population then could not admit of emigrations from the insular continent for digging, raising, and smelting a Metal, which the mother island produced in such vast profusion from her own bowels." *Pryce's Miner. Cornub.* Introd. p. iv.

(a) The ancient Tin-works of Manaton, it seems, are at this day, haunted by the winged serpent!

(b) A Phenician coin was found at Teignmouth, a few years since.

(c) Cæsar, p. 88, and Strabo, p. 265. (d) Cæsar, p. 88.

(e) "When Cæsar, speaking of Britain, says, '*nascitur ibi plumbum album in mediterraneis regionibus, in maritimis ferrum; sed ejus exigua est copia*;' he elucidates our western history. To Cæsar it appeared that the tin came from the inner country. The original road by which this tin was conveyed, should be an object of your investigation; and, probably, you will find it carried over fords and forming towns, in its progress between Dartmoor and where Sir R. Worsley now traces it to have entered the Isle of Wight. On these fords too, you will probably find a Roman settlement, and not impossibly account for Crockern-Torr, Chagford, &c. having been formerly places of eminence. The roads on each side of Dartmoor, were, probably, used for similar conveyances and centered at the first passage over the Exe, probably through Exeter." *Col. Simcoe* to the author.

(f) Lib. iv. (g) *Vit. Agric.* Cap. xii.—*Fert Britannia aurum et argentum, pretium villarum.*

(b) Lib. xxxv. Cap. xvi.



metal from mineral substances: And it was easy to purify tin from its native dross. The richness of the metal, and its ready fluxility in the fire, must have confirmed their conjectures; whilst its beautiful color and innocent properties, rendered it, perhaps, as valuable in their estimation as silver and gold, until, by great abundance, which renders all things cheap, it sunk in the scale of comparative excellence. Polybius is said to have described the ancient method of preparing tin for the furnace. And as Polybius was a very accurate writer, it is much to be regretted, that his account of the process hath not reached our times: All we can do, is to acquiesce in a few vague notices of Diodorus Siculus. The tanners, as (a) Diodorus intimates, manufacture their tin by working the grounds which produce it, with great art. For though the land is rocky, it hath soft veins of earth running through it, in which the tanners find the treasure, *extract, melt, and purify* it; then shaping it by moulds into a kind of *cubical figure*. With respect to other ores, I have nothing to add; as nothing remains on record. I might conjecture, that as the Romans had iron forges in Danmonium, the Britons might have been furnished with the same apparatus. And I might proceed in this manner, in regard to other metals. Here, however, I shall stop. I have been, sometimes, hypothetical: And, to enliven a barren subject, it was almost necessary to be so. But to indulge often in theory, is to throw a romantic color over the truth of history. Let me, therefore, close the present view, whilst the spirit of conjecture slumbers.

## SECTION VII.

## VIEW of the MANUFACTURES of DANMONIUM, in the BRITISH PERIOD.

I. *Necessary and Secondary Arts*—Among the *necessary Arts, Cloathing*—The Cloth-Manufacture and the Art of Dyeing Cloth, known to the Aborigines.—II. *Among the secondary Arts, the Danmonians skilled in the working of Wood—and in the working of Metals*—Tin, Lead, Brass, Iron, variously manufactured—the War-Chariot, an admirable Specimen of British Ingenuity—Gold and Silver Smiths—Pottery—Glass.—III. *Conclusion.*

THE Manufactures of Devon may properly be classed under two heads—the *necessary* and *secondary* arts.

Among the *necessary* arts, that of Cloathing first presents itself to notice. The more prevailing opinion, is, that the first garments of the Britons were made of skins; and that the art of dressing wool, of spinning it into yarn, and of weaving it into cloth, was communicated to the Britons by the Belgic colonies. Accordingly, we are told, that our Belgic colonists manufactured several kinds of woollen-cloth—that one of these kinds consisted of a coarse sort of wool, woven very thick; and that of this, the Britons made their mantles or plaids which they used in winter. Another kind of cloth attributed to the Belgic Britons, consisted of fine wool dyed several different colors. This being spun into yarn, was woven chequerwise; which made it fall into small squares, some of one color, and some of another. The art of manufacturing cloths from the filaments of flax and hemp, is ascribed, also, to the Belgic colonies. That the Belgæ manufactured linen, and wore linen garments, is unquestionably true. And the Belgæ have all the credit for introducing into the island, the art of dyeing cloth; which, we see, was not unknown to the Britons.

How these opinions can any way be reconciled with the history of the Druids, it is difficult to say. The Druids are described, as wearing long white garments: And the inhabitants of Devon and Cornwall, and of the Scilly Isles, are said to have been clothed in black—*μελανχλωραι* is Strabo's expression. Ancient authors, indeed, represent the Britons as variously habited: And this diversity was unavoidable. The aboriginal Danmonii would naturally wear one kind of habit; and the Belgic colonies, another. And from the distinctions of station, would arise other varieties of dress. The Druids were arrayed in long white garments, that swept the ground; whilst the nobles of Danmonium wore, perhaps, the loose black robe, and the common people the plaid or skins of beasts. That the inhabitants of Danmonium, were unacquainted with the cloth-manufacture till the

(a) Book IV. p. 301. Edit. Hanover, 1664.

the arrival of the Belgic colonies, is an opinion to which I can never assent. Even if we waive the idea of an eastern colonization, our connexion with the Phenicians and the Greeks, would render such ignorance improbable. The writers who entertain this notion of the western Britons in general, affirm, that "if the Phenicians or Greeks imparted any knowledge of these arts to the Britons, it was certainly *very imperfect*, and communicated only to a few of the inhabitants of the Scilly Islands, with whom they chiefly traded." (a) Here is all the hesitation that marks an extorted truth: Nor is the passage free from absurdity. That the knowledge of the cloth-manufacture was communicated by the Phenicians to the western Britons, is allowed from the pressing necessity of the case. Yet, as this concession plainly contradicts the notion of the Belgæ long after introducing the cloth-manufacture into the island, it is instantly qualified by terms that seem almost to annihilate it: It is fettered with unauthorized restrictions. On what grounds do we presume, that the knowledge which the Phenicians imparted, was *certainly very imperfect*, or that it was communicated to a few inhabitants of the Scilly Isles only, with whom they *chiefly* traded? The *chief* trade of the Phenicians was not with the inhabitants of the Scilly Isles: Their commerce was with Devonshire and Cornwall and the Scilly Isles. Why, then, should we confine this communication within the narrow boundaries of the latter? Who shall prove, that it was not coextensive with the Phenician trade? (b)

In the mean time, I am disposed to think, that those British manufactures were even anterior to the Phenicians. The plaided drapery, I conceive, was an original British manufacture, introduced by our first colonists. The (c) Highlanders, who emigrated from the east, manufactured (d) plaids. Of the cloth which was composed of hemp and of flax, the manufacture was eastern, from the very earliest antiquity. The *Kannaib* of the Irish, and the *Kanab* of the Armoricans, faintly echoed in the English *hemp*, was called *Cannabis* by the Romans. And it is likely that *Kannaib* was the original word, and that *hemp* was introduced into Britain by our first eastern colonists, and derived from those Aborigines to the Romans.—That flax was cultivated in the land of Ægypt, the book of Exodus informs us: It was very common in Palestine and other eastern countries. And the robes of the Druids are said to have been linen. (e) That linen, indeed, was very generally used by the western Britons, we should infer "from the spear-heads, axes for war, and swords of copper, that have been found in Danmonium, wrapt up in linen coverings." (f) That the art of dyeing cloth was familiar to the ancient Britons, before the Belgæ, we have every reason to infer, from the known fact of their painting and staining their skin. (g) And with the same color which they used in staining their skin, the Danmonians, probably, dyed their garments. The art of dyeing cloth was early in use among the people of the east. "Israel made Joseph a coat of many colors." Among the Britons, the *glasrum* or woad was a favorite color: And the famous *purpura* was surely not unknown to the nobles of Danmonium. Very possibly, the purple dye of the Tyrians gained its high reputation, among the ancients, from the use of our tin in the composition of the dye-stuff; as the tin trade was solely in their own management. That its use as one of the *non-coloring* retentive ingredients, was known to the Phenicians, will appear probable, when we consider the unfadingness of their purple; which was a leading character

(a) See Henry's History of Great Britain, vol. 1, p. 326.

(b) Sammes thinks, that "the black garments (*μελανοχαιται*) of the western Britons, were Phenician. The habits of these western Britons were remarkable for their length and colour; the former of which, together with the staff they used to carry, argues that some eastern colonies, and especially the Phenicians, traded with them". Britan. Antiqu. p. 118.

(c) See Ossian, vol. 1, p. 140 — 156.

(d) To this day, the striped woollen mantles of the Highlanders, are denominated *Breacan*: And the coarse rough cloth of the Welch, was termed *Brychan*. In this county, a rent in a garment is called a *brec*: And, wherever they *tear*, the Devonshire people say, they *break*.

(e) The Scythæ of Celchis (says the scholiast upon Pindar) are a colony from Egypt: they are of a dark complexion, and they deal in flax, of which they make linen after the manner of the Egyptians. The Irish have been ever famous for the manufacture of linen and woollen cloths. Vallancey has proved the names of every implement used in the weaving of linen, to be oriental.

(f) Borlase's Antiqu. p. 217.

(g) Which may be reconciled with their wearing cloaths. In war, they threw off their garments, and painted their bodies, to render their aspect more terrible. The Highlanders fought almost naked within the present age.

rafter in that celebrated color produced by the shell-fish purpura. It is not likely, that the simple *blood* of a shell-fish, however beautiful at first, would have proved a *lasting* dye. The addition of some retentive ingredient, must have been necessary to secure its brightness and preserve its beauty. Tin, dissolved in *aqua fortis*, is, at present, a necessary article in the new scarlet dye. And our fine cloths owe the permanence of their delicate colors to the retentiveness given by the finest grain tin: So that the English superfine broad-cloths, dyed in grain by the help of this ingredient, are become famous in all markets of the known world.

After Cloathing, there are arts of an inferior degree, which may be called the *secondary* arts. Of this kind, are the arts of working wood and metals. That the Britons were not uninstructed in the business of the turner and carpenter, is evident from the formation of their shields either in circles or lozenges, from the tapering of the shafts of their spears and arrows, and from the rounding of the axles of their chariots. The arts of working wood, were more obvious than those of refining and working metals. With respect to the tin of Danmonium, I have already intimated in my notices of the mines, that this metal, being collected in the sand or glebe, was cleared from the earth with water, fused in the furnaces, and beaten into squares. (a) Lead was another metal which the Danmonians used for different purposes, and which was one of the Phenician exports. And brass was worked into various shapes by the Danmonians. The first formation of brass was prior to the flood—though not previous to the knowledge of iron. Without brass or iron weapons, the first colonists could neither have built their houses nor cleared away the woods about their settlements. And, as the nations in the east appear to have worked mines of iron or copper, in the remotest periods of their history, so the Danmonii were particularly acquainted with both. (b) The Danmonians had, certainly, brass-founderies: And they had one brass foundery, at least, in the cantred of Isca, in order to supply the armoury of the principality. The armouries of the Britons were furnished with spears, daggers, swords, battle-axes, and bows, and with helmets and coats of mail, shields and chariots. In Ireland, and in the Highlands of Scotland, we find many of these weapons at the present day. Swords, composed of copper, speltæ, and iron, of the same shape, and of the same mixture as to the quantity and quality of each metal, have been found on the plains of Canaan and in Ireland. Concerning the origin and use of celts, which were of brass or copper, many have ignorantly conjectured. Celts have generally been supposed to be purely Roman. They seldom, however, occur in Italy; and when they do, they are regarded as transalpine antiquities. For this and other reasons, Dr. Borlase is inclined to believe, that the celt is not to be ascribed to the Romans in general, but that it was originally of British invention, and afterwards improved and used by the provincial Romans. "Celts, says Dr. Borlase, are of different sizes. The larger and heavier seem to have been the heads of spears—the middle sort were designed, perhaps, for javelins, and the lighter and smaller for the heads or arming of arrows. Some celts, found in a stone-quarry in Yorkshire, were enclosed in cases; and, doubtless, they were thus cautiously sheathed, to preserve the keenness of their edges." What Borlase here calls the brass cases of the celts, were actually the moulds in which they were cast. Moulds have been found much burnt by the constant casting of the hot metal. A great number of celts have been dug up in Ireland—a country never visited by the Romans. I should judge them, indeed, to have been the manufacture of the original Irish, before the Romans existed as a nation. Mr. Whitaker has given us a particular description of these instruments: (c) And he has proved, beyond all contradiction, that the celt was the head of a light battle-axe. "And it was a British one," adds our excellent historian. It was an aboriginal instrument: The Asiatics of Danmonium, of Ireland, and of Scotland, all used it. With respect to Devonshire and Cornwall, celts have been frequently found in these counties. A small brass celt (d) was discovered some years ago, at Place, in Chudleigh—it is now in the possession of John Hale, Esq. in Chudleigh. And another brass celt was found at the same time and place, which had a hole in it, probably for a handle, and was given to a gentleman in Dorsetshire. A celt was, also, dug up at Ingldon,

(a) Pliny, l. 34, c. 16. Diodorus, p. 347.

(b) See Deuteronomy, c. 3 & 8. Czar, p. 88.

(c) See his Manchester, vol. 1, p. 17 to 22.

(d) Near this celt was found, at the same time, a small brass oval ring, now in the possession of Mr. John Pike, of Chudleigh.



Ingdſon, in the pariſh of Ilſington, a few years ſince : There was nothing remarkable in it. And Dean Milles has left us a draught of a braſs celt, which was found in the pariſh of Buckſtſleigh, “ under a wall (ſays he) lately pulled down. They ſuppoſe by the ſituation of the place, that the ground has not been broken there, for at leaſt a century back : Formerly mines were worked there.” The working of the mines, however (though the Dean ſeems to lay ſome ſtreſs on this circumſtance) has no connexion with the uſe of the celt. In ſeveral parts of the north of Devon, alſo, celts have been dug up : Mr. Badcock mentions one in particular, which was ſubmitted to his inſpection as a curioſity. (a)—Iron utenſils and weapons, were coeval, at leaſt with thoſe of braſs. And, before the Roman arrival, the Britons are thought to have eſtabliſhed founderies for making iron, and forges for manufacturing arms, tools, and utenſils of all kinds. Near Beaford-moorhead, and ſeveral other places in this county, cinders have been dug up in conſiderable quantities, that ſeem to point out the iron-works either of the Britons or the Romans. At the place I have mentioned, the cinders lay between two and three feet deep. From the remains of old intrenchments here, I rather ſuſpect that theſe cinders are to be claſſed among Roman relics.—In the war-chariot, both wood and metals appear to have been combined with wonderful art. Of the mechanical abilities of the Britons, this vehicle is a ſufficient evidence. Its ingenious conſtruction was admired by the Romans. On one of the Britiſh coins, we have an elegant picture of the war-chariot. (b) There we ſee the charioteer mounted on his carriage before us, a quiver of arrows peeping over his left ſhoulder, and a ſpear protended from his left hand ; his feet reſting upon the pole or a foot-board annexed to it, and his body leaning over the horſes, in the act of accelerating their motion. And we have the deſcription of a military chariot in Oſſian, ſimilar in one or two particulars, and more circumſtantial. It is the chariot of a Britiſh monarch. “ The car, the car (c) of war comes on like the flame of death ! The rapid car of Cuthullin, the noble ſon of Semo ! It bends behind like a wave near a rock ; like the ſun-ſtreaked miſt of the heath. Its ſides are embroſed with ſtones, and ſparkle like the ſea round the boat of night. Of poliſhed yew is its beam ; its ſeat of the ſmoothest bone. The ſides are replenished with ſpears ; the bottom is the footſtool of heroes !” That the Britons had neither diſcovered gold nor ſilver before the Romans, hath been aſſerted ; though the contrary is an abſolute fact. To the Romans, gold and ſilver were the reward of victory—*pretium victoriae*, ſays Tacitus : And a great number of gold chains were taken from Caraſtacus, and triumphantly carried to Rome. Hence it appears, that the Britons were furniſhed with no ſmall quantity of gold ; and that they were able to refine and work this metal in the time of Caraſtacus. Yet it is preſumed, from the ſilence of Cæſar, that at his arrival, the Britons were unacquainted with gold. But to the Britons of Danmonium, gold was, probably, familiar long before Cæſar. The golden hook of the Druids, with which they cut their miſletoe, proves that they had artiſicers who worked this precious metal.—Veſſels for containing and preſerving liquids, was a very early invention in all countries. And the Danmonians, it is ſaid, were ſupplied with earthen veſſels by the Phenicians. But, as clay is found in various parts of Danmonium, and the formation of it into veſſels is ſo obvious and ſo ſimple an art, I have no doubt but pottery was known to the Danmonians before the exiſtence of the Phenician trade. Earthen veſſels have been often diſcovered in the Britiſh ſepulchres, both in Devonſhire and Cornwall—ſome unbaked, and others burnt in the kilns. (d) Clay is eaſily moulded into form, and naturally hardens in the ſun, or by fire : But the vitrification of ſand by the force of fire, was a diſcovery not ſo obvious : It was known, however, to the Phenician ſettlers, if not to the aboriginal Britons. Indeed, the firſt glaſs-houſes that hiſtory mentions, were erected at Tyre. In Danmonium,

(a) “ This celt was diſcovered (ſays Mr. Badcock) in the military road, which, branching off from the caſtle of Termolus, runs towards Barnſtable, not by the preſent turnpike but in the bottom ; and which, avoiding the hills, purſues its courſe in the tract of the ancient road, and joins the preſent road near Landkey. I examined the celt, which is a perfect antique : And the girl who found it, pointed out the ſpot where it was diſcovered—immediately after ſome labourers had been digging for gravel on the right ſide of the road, to repair the road itſelf.” *Badcock in a letter to Sir Geo. Yonge.*

(b) See Borlaſe’s Coins, No. 22.

(c) Oſſian vol. 1, p. 231, 232.

(d) It appears from the kiln-burnt pottery that has been diſcovered in the Britiſh ſepulchres, and from the Britiſh word *cdyn*, or *oven*, that furnaces for baking were generally known among the Aborigines.

Danmonium, glass annulets and beads of glass have been often discovered. And, if such ornaments were the production of our glass makers, they, doubtless, applied their art to domestic uses. Dr. Stukeley giving an account of a *glass urn* discovered in the ile of Ely in the year 1757, observes, that *the Britons were famous for glass-manufacture*, which he looks upon as a strong presumptive proof that Britain was originally peopled from Tyre. (a)

On the whole, whether we adopt the Armenian, the Tyrian, or the Gallic system of colonization, we may be assured, that the Britons in general, and the Danmonians in particular, were more civilized and ingenious than they are commonly considered. This character appears on every view of them: Nor is it obscurely marked in those few simple notices of the mechanical arts in Danmonium.

## SECTION VIII.

## VIEW of the COMMERCE of DANMONIUM, in the BRITISH PERIOD.

I. *Internal Commerce—Trade with the Phenicians—When first established—Where—Phenician Exports—Imports—Trade with the Greeks—Greek Exports—Imports—Trade with the Romans—Greeks of Marseilles—Passage from Diodorus Siculus discussed—Various Emporia on the coasts of Danmonium—New channels of Commerce opened in Gaul—The British Trade no longer confined to Danmonium.*—II. *Land-carriages of the Danmonians—Ships—The Danmonians not ignorant either of Ship-building or of Navigation.*—III. *The Trade of Danmonium not carried on by way of Barter, according to the common opinion.—The Danmonians acquainted with the use of Money—Conclusion.*

IN treating of the commerce of this island, we naturally enquire, what intercourse was maintained between the different British states; before we look abroad to their foreign connexions. But on this subject, we have not a gleam of information that any way relates to Danmonium. Of our (b) internal commerce, therefore, I shall say nothing. The first *foreign* people with whom the Britons had any commercial dealings, were the *Phenicians*. This is a remarkable circumstance. We should naturally suppose, that the Danmonians would have formed the first connexions with their neighbours on the Continent. And this supposition is founded on the convenience of such a connexion. But if those Britons were no other than a colony from Gaul, we must necessarily imagine them acquainted with the product of their original country, and carrying on some species of trade with their progenitors. (c) The contrary, however, was the case—which furnishes a presumptive proof, that Danmonium was not peopled from the Continent. Various have been the conjectures respecting the time when the Phenicians traded with the British islanders. A little unprejudiced attention, however, to ancient history, both *sacred* and *profane*, would have long since settled our wandering ideas on this curious subject. Mr. Whitaker

(a) The people of Sidon (whom the prophet Zechariah calls *the wise Sidonians*) were eminently skilled in the most useful arts and sciences; if we may regard the joint authorities of Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius Periegetes, and Pliny, as well as many other celebrated historians of ancient times. The Sidonians, and their descendants the Tyrians, universally studied astronomy and navigation; they excelled in ship-building; they invented *glass*; they introduced dyeing; and they carried architecture to great perfection. In the people of Sidon and of Tyre originated, in a great measure, the commercial intercourse of the world. Wherever they came, they endeavoured to diffuse their own spirit of industry, and to propagate civility among mankind.

(b) Indeed, it is probable, that the Danmonians had some traffic in cattle; since at first the "riches of the Britons, like those of the *Patriarchs*, says Mr. Whitaker, consisted almost entirely in their cattle." As the Britons were, also, famous for the neatness of their basket-work, the *Baskawes*, I conceive, must have been an article of internal commerce, before their acquaintance with the Romans.

(c) And emigrants from the Continent, would probably have transplanted the island commodities thither, and carried them to the coasts of the Mediterranean: And it would have been well known, at least in Europe, who these people were, and whence this merchandize came. But it is a fact, that the Phenicians *alone* fetched these valuable goods *by sea*, from a people and a country long unknown even to Asia, and still longer unknown to Europe.

Whitaker hath placed the original peopling of this island, even after the probable date of the Phenician trade. "When mankind (says he) (a) were dispersed from the plains of Shinar,

(a) In a letter to the author; who considers Mr. Whitaker's correspondence as the greatest literary honor he ever received. Yet, from the nature of his hypothesis, he is sometimes obliged to differ from this first of antiquarians.—In the History of Manchester (vol. 2. p. 168—octavo edit.) Mr. Whitaker says, "that Midacritus brought the first vessel of the Phenicians to our coasts—that Midacritus opened the first commerce of the Phenicians with our fathers. And this commerce began (he continues) before the time of Herodotus, and about five centuries before the era of Christ. At this time, the very first population of Lancashire was but just begun—the Belgæ were not yet landed in the island—and the original Britons possessed all the southern parts of it. The testimony of Herodotus (adds Mr. Whitaker in the notes) carries the Phenician arrival up to 440 or 450. And the progress of population in Britain and in Ireland, as it has been already and will hereafter be described, forbids it to be carried beyond the year 500." In answer to this, I must first observe, that Richard brings the Phenicians hither one thousand years before Christ, which makes the difference of five hundred years from Mr. Whitaker's account; and that the same author describes the whole island as then inhabited and cultivated, though Mr. Whitaker says, that Lancashire, five hundred years afterwards, was just beginning to be colonized. But I should almost suspect from Mr. Whitaker's manner, that he thinks the commerce might possibly have begun before; since he acknowledges, that his preconceived idea of the peopling of this island, "forbids his carrying the commencement of the Phenician trade above the year 500." This is, undoubtedly, true. To carry the commencement of the Phenician trade above the year 500, would be to shake his own theory of the peopling of the island. Yet I have scarcely a doubt but the Phenician commerce begun long before the year 500. The testimony of Herodotus himself, as stated in the text, seems to prove the fact, beyond all contradiction.—This trade was opened, Mr. Whitaker says, with the natives of the Cassiterides, or the Scilly Islands. And he is decidedly of opinion, that the Scilly Islands were only ten in number (as Strabo asserts) at the time of the Phenician trade; and that Silura, the principal island, which reached almost to the shore of Cornwall, and which is now reduced to a number of insignificant islets, was the very land and the only land where Midacritus first traded. The difference between the ancient and the present state of the Scilly Isles, may be accounted for (Mr. Whitaker thinks) by the incroachments of the sea. "That the sea has gained considerably upon the shore of Yorkshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, the eastern coast of Kent, and that of Suffex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, and Cornwall, we have sufficient proof from Camden and Borlase.(1) And it has visibly usurped upon the Scilly Islands, within the present century. The sea, also, has greatly plundered the coasts of North Devonshire.(2) These gradual and successive depredations, have reduced the Scilly Islands to their present condition—have widened the narrow strait of Solinus into an expanse of forty miles, have covered half the great island of Silura with the waters of the ocean, and left only its mountains and promontories rising like so many islets above the face of the waves." There is a curious passage relating to the Scilly Isles in Harrison's Description of England, dated 1586. "The violence of the sea (says Harrison) hath devoured the greatest part of Cornwall and Devonshire on either side: And it doth appear yet by good record, that whereas now there is a great distance between the Syllan Isles and point of the Land's End, there was of late yeares, to speke of, scarcele a brooke or draine of one fadame of water betweene them, if so much, as by these evidences appeareth, and are yet to be seene in the hands of the lord and chiefe owner of those Isles."(3) The distance here, betwixt Cornwall and the Scilly Isles (as Mr. Whitaker observes) is contracted too much. But the whole (says Mr. Whitaker) serves strongly to shew the original distance between them to have continued a good while below the conquest. If this be the case, the incroachments of the sea were not gradual, as before represented, but rapid beyond all credibility. A good while below the conquest, the sea had permitted the Scilly Isles and the continental island to approximate to each other, as they did in the days of Strabo or of Solinus. A good while below the conquest, therefore, those forty miles of land, which reached almost to our shore, and the place of which is now occupied by the sea, must have been overwhelmed and lost! Surely such an event could only have been occasioned by some sudden and violent convulsion of nature! But if such an event had happened so lately and within our own times, in so instantaneous a manner, it would, doubtless, have been recorded. I would infer, then, from these circumstances, that the question relating to the original distance of the Scilly Isles from this continental island, is involved in much doubt. That great incroachments of the sea have taken place in those parts, since the time of the ancient geographers, I readily admit: But, in my opinion, it would be a fruitless labor, to attempt to reconcile the present state of the Scilly Isles with such descriptions of them as occur in Strabo or Solinus; since neither Strabo nor Solinus had any accurate idea of their situation or their form.—Borlase, however, seems to think otherwise: And his remarks on this subject are very ingenious. "These islands being so noted among the ancients, I expected to find among the inhabitants a conscious esteem of their own antiquity, and

(1) Camden, c. 890. 467, 411, 211. 237, 199, 205, &c.  
(2) Prefixed to Holingshead's Chron. p. 226, 1586.

(3) See Camden, p. 47 and 757.



Shinar, they marched along the face of the large continent of Asia, by movements, gradual and progressive. Nothing was done, *per fulum*. In their migrations towards the west,

and of the figure they had made in history before the other parts of Britain were at all known, or at least regarded. I was not without some hopes of finding old towns, old castles, perhaps inscriptions, and works of grandeur; but there is nothing of this kind; the inhabitants are all new comers; not one old habitation, nor any remains of *Phœnician* and *Grecian* art in the ports, castles, towns, temples, or sepulchres. All the antiquities here to be seen, are of the rudest *Druid* times, and if borrowed in any measure from the oriental traders (superstition being very infectious) were borrowed from their most ancient and simple rites. We are not to think however but that *Scilly* was really inhabited, and as frequently resorted to anciently, as the old historians relate. All the Islands, by the remains of hedges, walls, houses contiguous to each other, and a number of sepulchral *barrows* shew that they have been fully cultivated and inhabited. What the ancients say of its name, customs, trade and inhabitants, I shall not trouble you with, as affording us few lights; you will find all this collected in the last edition of *Camden*, pag. 151; but I should not excuse myself, if I did not lay before you the hints, which things themselves suggested, and which our own records supply us with all. That these islands were inhabited by *Britons* is past all doubt, not only from their neighbourhood to *Britain*, but from the *Druid* monuments; the several *rude pillars*, circles of *stones-erect*, *kistvaens* without numbers, *rock-basins* and *tolmens*, all monuments common in *Cornwall* and *Wales*, equal evidences of the antiquity, religion, and original of the old inhabitants; they have also many *British* names at present for their little islands (1), tenements (2), karns (3), and creeks (4), and more, doubtless, have been forgot or jostled out by modern ones. How came these ancient inhabitants then, it may be asked, to vanish so, as that the present have no pretensions to any affinity, or connexion of any kind either in blood, language, or customs? How came they to disappear and leave so few traces of trade, plenty and arts, and no posterity that we can hear of behind them? In answer to which, as this is the most remarkable crisis in the history of these islands, you will excuse me if I enlarge; and if I make use of the same arguments which I had the honour lately to lay before the Royal Society (5), it is because they have the same weight with me now as they had before, and the course of the present subject will not suffer so momentous a part of natural history to be omitted. Two causes of the extinction of the old inhabitants, their habitations, and works of peace, war, religion, occur to me; the gradual advances of the sea, and a sudden submersion of the land. The sea is perpetually preying upon these little islands, and leaves nothing where it can reach but the skeleton, the bared rock. It has before been mentioned that many hedges now under water, and flats which stretch from one island to another, are plain evidences of a former union subsisting between these now distinct islands. History speaks the same truth. "The Isles of *CASSITERIDES*, says *Strabo* (6), are ten in number, close to one another, one of them is desert and unpeopled, the rest are inhabited;" but see how the sea has multiplied these islands: they are now reckoned more than an hundred and forty, into so many fragments are they divided. The continual advances which the sea makes upon the land at present, are plain to all people of observation, and within these last thirty years have been very considerable. I was shewn a passage which the sea has made within these seven years through the sand-bank that fences the *Abbey-pond*, by which breach, upon the first high tide and violent storm at east, or east-south-east, one may venture to prophecy that this still, and now beautiful pool of fresh water, will become a branch of the sea, and consequently exposed to all the rage of tide and storm. What we see happening every day may assure us of what has happened in former times, and from the banks of sand and the low lands giving way to the sea, and the breaches becoming still more open and irremediable, it appears that there has been a gradual declension and diminution of the *solids*, and as gradually a progressive ascendancy of the *fluids* for many ages. But farther, ruins and hedges are frequently seen upon the shifting of the sands in the *frits* between the islands, and the low lands which were formerly cultivated, (particularly those stretching from *Samson* to *Trescaw*) have now ten feet water above the foundations of their hedges, although at a reasonable medium we cannot suppose these foundations formerly to have been less than six feet above high water level, when the lands were dry, arable or pasture grounds; this therefore will make sixteen feet difference at least between their ancient and present level; there are several *phenomena* of the same nature to be seen on these shores; as particularly a straight lin'd ridge like a causeway, running cross the *Old Town Creek* in *St. Mary's*, which is now never seen above-water. On the Isle of *ANNET*, there are large stones now covered by every full tide, which have *Rock-basins* cut into their surface, and which therefore must have been placed in a much higher situation when those basins, in other

(1) Men-ar-warth, Men-ar-widen, Penbros, Gwynhill, Gwynhillveor, Enys-an-geon Bighal, Enys-withec, Car-reg-hera, Cri-bawethen, Cribanek, Rosveon, Rosveor, Treawmen, Men-raer-low, Trescaw Guel, Henjak, Arwothel, &c.

(2) Treowith, Salakec, Trewardethen, Habblingy, Tolmen, &c.

(3) Karn-morval, Karn-gwavel, Karn-leh, Pen-enys, Mount-Toda, &c.

(4) Porthmellyn, Porthloe, Portheraffon, Porthelik, &c.

(5) In a letter to the Rev. Dr. Birch, Secretary of the Royal Society, on the alterations which the Islands of Scilly have undergone since the time of the ancients. (6) Lib. iii. Geog.

west, they would find themselves at length obstructed in their advance, by those waters that divide the continental life of Europe from Asia and Africa. This would check the forward

other places generally so high, and probably of superstitious use for receiving the waters of heaven, were worked into them.(1) Again—Tin mines they certainly had in these islands two hundred years before Christ. What is become of these mines? for the mines at present to be seen show no marks of their being ancient. To account for these alterations, the gradual advances and slow depredations of the sea will not suffice; we must therefore either allow that these lands, since they were cultivated, and built upon, have sunk so much lower than they were before, or else we must allow that since these lands were fenced and cultivated, and the houses and other works now under water, the whole ocean has been raised as to its surface, sixteen feet and more perpendicular; which latter supposition will appear to the learned without doubt much the harder of the two. I conclude therefore that these islands have undergone some great catastrophe, and besides the apparent diminution of their islets by sea and tempest, must have suffered greatly by a subsidence of the land, (the common consequence of earthquakes) attended by a sudden inundation in those parts where the above mentioned ruins, fences, mines, and other things of which we have no vestiges now remaining, formerly stood. This inundation probably destroyed many of the ancient inhabitants, and so terrified those who survived, and had wherewithal to support themselves elsewhere, that they forsook these islands, by which means the people who were the *Aborigines*, and corresponded so long with the *Phœnicians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans* were reduced to the last gasp. The few poor remains of the desolation might soon lose sight of their ancient prosperity and eminence, by their necessary attention to food and raiment; no easy acquisitions, when their low-lands, ports, and towns were overwhelmed by the sea. Give me leave to observe in the next place, that this inundation may be traced in the traditions we have had for many ages among the *Cornish*, and stands confirm'd by some *phenomena* on the shores of *Cornwall*. That there existed formerly such a country as the *Lionesse*, stretching from the *Land's-End* to *SCILLY ISLES* is much talked of in our parts. *Antoninus* places a little island called *Lissia* here, but whether he means the *Wolf* ledge of rocks, or any portion of the *SCILLY ISLES* is uncertain; however there are no appearances of any island in this Channel at present. Mr. *Caveau*, in his *Survey of Cornwall*, (pag. 3.) argues from the plain and level surface of the bottom of the channel, that it must at one time have been a plain extended above the sea. In the family of *Trevilian*, now resident in *Somerset* but originally *Cornish*, they have a story, that one of their ancestors saved himself by the help of his horse, at the time when this *Lionesse* was destroyed; and the arms of the family(2) were taken, as 'tis said, from this fortunate escape. Some fishermen also have insisted that in the Channel betwixt the *Land's-End* and *SCILLY*, many fathoms under water, there are the tops of houses, and other remains of habitations; but I produce these arguments only as proofs of the tradition and strong persuasion amongst the *Cornish*, that such a country once existed and is now buried under the sea, not as proofs of the matter of fact, for of that I am very dubious, the *CASSITERIDES*, by the most ancient accounts of them, appearing always to have been islands. I rather guess that this tradition of the *Lionesse*, and a great country between the *Land's-End* and *SCILLY*'s being overwhelmed by the sea, might have taken its rise from that subsidence and inundation which not only these islands have certainly undergone, but part of the shores of *Cornwall* also, for in *Mount's-Bay* we have several evidences of a like subsidence. The principal anchoring place is called a *Lake*(3), but is now an open harbour. *St. Michael's Mount*, from its *Cornish* name(4), must have stood formerly in a wood, but at full tide is now half a mile in the sea, and no tree near it. *Leland*, (Itin. vol. iii. pag. 7.) talking of this *Mount*, says that an 'ould Legend of *St. Michael* speaketh of a tounelet in this part, now defaced and lying under the water;' in confirmation of which alterations I must observe, that on the *Beach* betwixt the *Mount* and the town of *Penzance*, when the sands have been dispersed and drawn out into the sea, I have seen the trunks of several large trees in their natural position, (as well as I can recollect) worn smooth just above their roots, upon which at full tide there must be twelve feet of water; neither is what Mr. *Scawen* says in his MS (5) an inconsiderable confirmation that *Cornwall* has lost much land on the southern coast, that there was 'a valley between *Ramhead* and *Looe*, and that there is to be seen in a clear day, in the bottom of the sea, a league from the shore, a wood of timber lying on its side uncorrupted, as if formerly grown therein, when it was dry ground thrown down by the violence of the waves. Of this several persons have inform'd me (says Mr. *Scawen*) who have, as they said, often seen the same.' So that the shores in *SCILLY*, and the neighbouring shores in *Cornwall* (not forgetting the *Wolf* ledge of rocks midway between

(1) "A person taking a survey of the Channel in the year 1742, took one of his stations at low water, as he told me, upon this rock, (viz. the Gulph-rock, midway betwixt *Penzance* and *Scilly*) where he observ'd a cavity like a brewer's copper, with rubbish at the bottom, without being able to assign a cause for it's coming there." *Heath's Account of Scilly*, p. 157. This could be no other than a *Rock-bason*, and consequently this rock is greatly sunk by being now entirely covered with the sea, at least nine hours in twelve.

(2) Gules, from a Fesse Wavy Azure and Argent, a Horse issuing Ar. (3) *Gwavas Lake*.

(4) *Carreg luz en Kuz*, a hoary rock in a wood.

(5) *Pag. 9, 10*, written in his own hand.



forward steps of colonization: And Egypt, by means of that little junction of land, which connects the continental Isle of Africa, was probably peopled before any part of Europe. Navigation, at first, must have consisted solely in occasional exertions for crossing small arms of the sea. A voyage from Asia to Britain, would have been a most miraculous effort of the human mind. It would have been as unnatural as miraculous.

"The land was all before them, where to chuse"

Their place of rest, and providence their guide."

Why, then, should they attempt long voyages, to go they knew not whither; and to seek unfruitful regions near the pole, when they had all the soft climes of Asia before them, equally uninhabited, and directly inviting them? Nor could they, if they would, have taken such voyages. The Phenician voyages are no proof to the contrary. They were in a much later age; whatever Richard has said (who makes the *Græci Phænicesque mercatores*, to have come hither about the original plantation of the island) as the Phenicians came hither only a little before Herodotus—he mentioning the Cassiterides and their tin, but not knowing where those islands lay; and as the Grecians came long afterwards. We deceive ourselves on these points, by using the words *Grecians* and *Phenicians* at large.

The

between both) are equal evidences that there has been a subsidence of the land in these parts, and the memory of the inundation which followed upon that subsidence is preserved by tradition, though, like other traditions, greatly enlarg'd and obscur'd by fable. When this inundation happen'd we may be willing to know, but must be without hopes of knowing with any certainty. In the time of *Strabo* and *Diod. Siculus*, the commerce of these islands seem to have been in full vigour; 'abundance of tin carried in carts,' says the latter; 'but ten islands in all, says *Strabo*, and nine of these inhabited.' The destruction therefore of *SCILLY*, must be plac'd after the time of these authors; that is, after the *Augustan* age, but at what time after, I find nothing as yet that can determine: *Plutarch* indeed (of the cessation of oracles) hints that the islands round *Britain* were generally unpeopled in his time; if he includes *SCILLY* among them, and was rightly inform'd, then this desolation must have happened betwixt the reign of *Trajan* and that of *Augustus*. There was a great subsidence in the southern coasts of *England* in the time of *Edward the First*, whereby *Winchelsea* near *Rye* in *Sussex* was swallowed up, and its ruins are now three miles within the high sea<sup>(1)</sup>, and for the unhappy inhabitants who had lost their town, *Edward the First* bought land and gave it them, and there stands the new *Winchelsea*. But I must observe that if the subsidence at *SCILLY* and *Moult's-Bay* were so late, we could not have been without some notice of it, and in the complaints of the monks of *SCILLY* to *Edward the First*, we must needs have found so great a misfortune particularly mention'd; whereas their petition was only for protection from pirates and foreign failors. In the year 1014 happened a great inundation, of which the *Saxon Chronicle* gives this account: 'Hoc item anno in vigiliis Sancti Michaelis contigit magna ista Maris Inundatio per latam hanc terram quæ longius expatiata, quam antea unquam, demersit multa oppida et hominum numerum inenarrabilem.' But I think the catastrophe of these islands cannot be placed even so late as this; for the monks being placed here either by *Athelstan*, in the year 938, or soon after, nothing of this kind could have happened but it would have appeared somewhere or other, in the papers or history of *Tarvisstock Abbey*, at least, if the monks of *SCILLY* were united to that Abbey at it's first foundation in the year 961. I therefore conjecture that this inundation must have happened before *Athelstan's* time; and by the *Irish* annals I find an inundation which might probably have affected the south of *Ireland*, and at the same time reach'd *SCILLY* and the coast of *Cornwall*, which are not above fifty leagues distant from it to the east, nor much more than a degree to the south of it. 'In the end of March A. D. 830, *Hugh Dorndighe* being Monarch of *Ireland*, there happened such terrible shocks of thunder and lightning, that above a thousand persons were destroyed between *Corca-Balkein*, a part of the county of *Cork* then so call'd, and the sea side. At the same time the sea broke through it's banks in a violent manner, and overflowed a considerable tract of land. The island then called *Innisfadda*, on the west coast of this county, was forced asunder and divided into three parts. This island, says my author, lies contiguous to two others, *viz. Hore Island* and *Castle Island*, which lying in a range, and being low ground, might have been very probably then rent by the ocean.'<sup>(2)</sup> As this inundation in the southern parts of *Ireland* seems well attested, and might not unlikely have reach'd *Cornwall* and *SCILLY*, I should think it most suitable to history, that this was what reduced, divided, and destroyed the *SCILLY* Islands, and over-run the lands on *Moult's-Bay*." *Observations on the ancient and the present state of the Islands of Scilly, and their importance to the present state of Great Britain*. In a letter to the Rev. Charles Lyttelton, LL.D. Dean of Exeter, and F.R.S. p. 84 to 39.—This book is scarce; as, indeed, are *Borlase's Antiquities and Natural History of Cornwall*. I have frequently made extracts, therefore, from these well-written volumes, for the gratification of my readers.

(1) Norden's Survey of Cornwall.

(2) Smith's Natural and Civil History of Cork, vol. ii. pag. 11. Keating, pag. 52.—An old Irish MS.



The men, who came trading to our Cassiterides, were not proper Phenicians or proper Greeks. They did not come from Tyre and the Morea. The Greeks were the Phocæans of *Marseilles*, and the Phenicians were the Tyrians of *Carthage*, settled at *Cadiz*. And thus considered as inhabitants of Marseilles and Cadiz, these bold voyagers can lend not a shadow of pretext to a voyage from Asia to Britain. But let me further observe concerning these voyages: It is a common opinion, which I see you have adopted, that these mis-called Phenicians came to the south-western parts of this very island Britain. They came only to the Cassiterides—to islands, which Strabo shews us, were ten in number. And the idea, that Cornwall, and perhaps Devonshire, were considered as islands, is all a dream of romantic antiquarianism. When Devonshire and Cornwall were as well known to the Romans as Kent or Somersetshire; they still distinguished the little islands of the Cassiterides, from the great Isle of Britain." These observations of Mr. Whitaker, will suggest to us some reflexions on the *Phenician* trade, with respect both to *time* and *place*. Let us first appeal to *scripture*, and next to *profane* history. That the eastern people were acquainted with navigation and commerce, at a very early period, is plain from a passage in the Psalms: "They that go down to the sea in ships (says David) and occupy their business in the great waters." This argues an established commerce familiar to his countrymen more than one thousand years before Christ. Let us look to another part of scripture: "*Tarshish* (a) was thy merchant (exclaims the prophet Ezekiel) by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead they traded in thy fairs," the fairs of Tyre. This *Tarshish* was the city of *Tartessus*, situated near the pillars of Hercules, and posselt by the Carthaginians; who found it a very convenient situation for maintaining a commercial intercourse with their original countrymen of *Tyre*, on the one hand, and with the *British Isles*, on the other. Hence they were enabled to supply the markets of Tyre with iron and tin; and the west of Britain, with the Tyrian purple; and both Tyre and Britain, with the commodities of Spain. Vessels, we find, built for longer voyages, and greater burthens, were named the *ships of Tarshish*, because they were built like the ships of Tarshish properly so called. Thus Solomon's navy (which traded to

(a) Lowth, in his notes on Isaiah, has thrown some light on this subject, and on the *Navigation of the ancients*. P. 26. Note on chap. xii. ver. 13—16. "Ships of Tarshish are in scripture frequently used by a metonymy for ships in general, especially such as are employed in carrying on traffic between distant countries; as Tarshish was the most celebrated mart of those times, frequented of old by the Phenicians, and the principal source of wealth to Judea and the neighbouring countries. The learned seem now to be perfectly well agreed, that Tarshish is Tartessus, a city of Spain, at the mouth of the river Batis; whence the Phenicians, who first opened this trade, brought silver and gold, (Jer. x. 9. Ezek. xxvii. 12.) in which that country then abounded; and pursuing their voyage still further to the Cassiterides, (Bochart. Canaan, i. cap. 39. Huet, Hist. de Commerce, p. 194.) they brought from thence lead and tin. Tarshish is celebrated in scripture (2 Chron. viii. 17, 18.—ix. 21.) for the trade, which Solomon carried on thither, in conjunction with the Tyrians. Jechonath (1 Kings, xxii. 48. 2 Chron. xx. 36.) attempted afterwards to renew that trade; and from the account given of his attempt, it appears, that his fleet was to sail from Eziongeber, on the Red Sea: they must therefore have designed to sail round Africa, as Solomon's fleet probably had done before; (see Huet, Histoire de Commerce, p. 32.) for it was a three year's voyage; (2 Chron. ix. 21.) and they brought gold from Ophir, probably on the coast of Arabia, silver from Tartessus, and ivory, apes, and peacocks, from Africa. It is certain, that under Pharaoh Necho, about two hundred years afterward, this voyage was made by the Egyptians, (Herodot. iv. 42.) they sailed from the Red Sea, and returned by the Mediterranean, and they performed it in three years; just the same time that the voyage under Solomon had taken up. It appears likewise from Pliny, (Nat. Hist. 11. 6.) that the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, was known and frequently practised before his time, by Hanno the Carthaginian, when Carthage was in its glory; and by one Eudoxus, in the time of Ptolemy Lathyrus, King of Egypt; and Calpurn Antipater, an historian of good credit, somewhat earlier than Pliny, testifies, that he had seen a merchant, who had made the voyage from Gades to Æthiopia. The Portuguese under Vasco de Gama, near three hundred years ago, recovered this navigation, after it had been intermitted and lost for many centuries."—P. 130. Note on Chap. xxiii. 1. Howl, O ye Ships of Tarshish.] "This prophecy denounceth the destruction of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar. It opens with an address to the Tyrian negotiators, and sailors at Tarshish, (Tartessus in Spain) a place which, in the course of their trade, they greatly frequented. The news of the destruction of Tyre, by Nebuchadnezzar, is said to be brought to them from Chittim, the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean: 'For the Tyrians, (says Jerom on ver. 6.) when they saw they had no other means of escaping, fled in their ships, and took refuge in Carthage, and in the islands of the Ionian and Egean sea.' From whence the news would spread and reach Tarshish: so as to justify on the place. This seems to be the most probable interpretation of this verse."

to Ophir, or the East Indies, for ivory, apes, and peacocks, more than one thousand years before Christ) was called a *navy of Tarshish*. And thus Jehosaphat's navy, designed for a voyage to Ophir, but unfortunately broken at Eziongeber, were called *ships of Tarshish*. This city of Tarshish, so convenient for the British trade with its Tyrian colony, is mentioned by Polybius under the name of *Tarfeium*; where the historian is reciting the words of a league between the Romans and Carthaginians.

To return to our *British* commerce—I think we may plainly infer, that if the trading vessels from Tarshish were so famous in the time of Solomon, as to impart their name by way of distinction to the commercial navies of those days, the Tyrians or Carthaginians must have been long before exercised in the arts of navigation and commerce. Jesus, the son of Sirach, speaking of Solomon's glory, says: "By the name of the Lord God, which is called the Lord God of Israel, thou didst gather gold as tin, and didst multiply silver as lead"—which shews, that tin in those days, was brought in great quantities to the holy land. And it is remarkable, that tin and lead, in this place, are *both* mentioned, and distinguished: Yet, characteristically different as they are, the ancients often mistook the one metal for the other. By the ships Solomon sent out, he had a return, in one voyage, of no less than four hundred and twenty talents of gold. It is said in Kings: "money was in Jerusalem as *stones* for plenty." Tin, therefore, must have almost covered the streets of Jerusalem, to be spoken of in the same figurative way. From these passages, we see that commercial voyages were of high antiquity; that the chief articles of commerce were silver, iron, tin, and lead; and that those articles were in great abundance in Judea, even in the reign of Solomon. The question is, whence those articles were imported: If tin, in its mineral state, were, at this time, unknown to all other countries but our own; there is ample reason to assert, that we supplied all the markets of Europe and Asia with this commodity, in the earliest ages.

If we recur to heathen authors, we find Homer, who flourished more than nine hundred years before Christ, expressly noticing *tin*, by its Greek appellation *Κασσίτερος*. That the Greeks had the use of tin, and adopted the word *Κασσίτερος* to express it before the time of Homer, is evident from his mention of it, more than once, among the metals employed in the fabrication of the shield of Achilles; and also in the greaves for his hero's legs. But that the Greeks were unacquainted with the situation of the islands that produced this metal, five hundred years after the time of Homer, is as evident from Herodotus, who wrote more than four hundred years before the birth of our Saviour, and who confesses his ignorance of the islands called the Cassiterides, whence their tin came, but supposes that it was brought to them (as he says amber was) from the remotest parts of Europe. (a) *Οὐλο νηες οὐδα κασσιτερίδας εἶπας, ἐκ τῶν ο κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ, ἐξ ἐσχάτης δ' ὠν κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ, καὶ τὸ ελεχίρον.* From which conjecture of Herodotus, concerning the Cassiterides, we may plainly infer, that they had been discovered by the Phenicians some time before he wrote; instead of concluding with Carte from this passage, that the Phenician trade with the Britons for tin, did not exist till the very period of Herodotus. Carte's is a most ridiculous supposition. For surely their tin-trade, the particulars of which the Phenicians were interested in concealing from other nations (so that we need not wonder at the ignorance of Herodotus) could never have been so far settled with the Britons, in the course of a few years, as to admit of a negotiation between the Phenicians and Greeks, and a regular interchange of commodities in consequence of this commercial establishment. Before the Phenicians discovered the Cassiterides, they must have taken several adventurous voyages, perhaps, to little purpose. On the discovery of those islands, we cannot suppose, that they in a very short time determined their business with the Britons. And it is likely, that when this commerce was absolutely fixed, some little time elapsed before the Phenicians had recourse to the Greeks, for the disposal of their tin. Even when this intercourse was settled, the use of our tin was hardly adopted, throughout all Greece, in an instant: And it was *familiar* to the Greeks in the time of Herodotus. So that Carte's supposition is full of absurdity. May we not imagine with much more reason, that the Phenicians were acquainted with the Cassiterides before the time of Homer; since we have Homer's own authority to say, that tin was, in his days, well known to his countrymen? This corresponds with Richard, and carries us as far back as the age, when

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(a) Herodotus, Thalia. III. p. 250, 253. (Edit. Glasg. 1761.)



our island, according to Mr. Whitaker, was first peopled. (a) Those *Phenicians* then, who traded here, were by no means the modern Phenicians, but Phenicians of a far more ancient race. How the Phenicians or Tyrians could have performed these long voyages from Asia to Britain, may be a question of difficulty: But from the passages I have already quoted, it is plain that they were skilled in navigation. That their descendants, the Carthaginians, were skilful pilots, we have abundant proof. And if, as Strabo tells us, the captain of a Carthaginian vessel, seeing himself followed by a Roman fleet, *chose to steer a false course*, and land upon another coast, rather than shew the Romans the way to Britain; they certainly *had the use of the compass*. And the use of the compass must have been derived to them from their progenitors the Tyrians. If it be objected, however, that the Carthaginians, had they possessed the knowledge of the compass, could not easily have concealed it from the Romans, and other nations with whom they were connected, I would hint to the objector, the *commercial secrecy* of the ancient nations. The precaution, indeed, of the Carthaginians, to guard the compass from common observation, was, at length, the very means, perhaps, of their losing the use of it, themselves. The knowledge of it was intrusted to a few: From these few, it was imperfectly transmitted to others: And the secret, thus feebly retained, sunk gradually away with the possessors of it. But, whether the loss of the compass were owing to this or any other cause, we need not here enquire. No person, who is not ignorant of the history of the arts, will doubt the existence of an art in one period, because it hath disappeared in another. The ancient nations were acquainted with various arts, which have expired, and, after the lapse of ages, have revived. That the voyages of the Phenicians, were not mere *coasting* voyages, may be inferred, I think, from their *monopoly* of our trade for *several centuries*. For a long space of time, they carried on a regular trade with this island, to the exclusion of all other nations. Even our neighbours the Gauls were unacquainted with them. But if the Phenicians had been unskilled voyagers, timidly pursuing the line of the coasts, it is impossible that they could have kept their secret, long. They would have frequently exposed themselves to the observation of the maritime people. And curiosity, once awakened, never acquiesces in ignorance. Their periodical return would have been expected and eagerly watched; and their whole scheme of navigation would have been unavoidably detected. Such a discovery would naturally have taken place; even if, by a singular good fortune, they had escaped the dangers of the sea for hundreds of years, nor ever suffered shipwreck on the coasts, so as to expose their cargo to the eye of the jealous merchant or of the savage plunderer, and, in either case, lay open their destination. This much for the time. (b)

With respect to the *place* or *places*, whence our tin was shipped in the time of the Phenicians, many fruitless enquiries have been made. Some say it was shipped from the Cassiterides, without being able to determine, what the Cassiterides were: Others assert, that it was exported from Falmouth, or from St. Michael's Mount, or from the Land's-End. The Greek and Roman writers were so ignorant of geography, and their descriptions are consequently so perplexed, that this point must ever remain a matter of conjecture, as far as it depends on their uncertain testimony. As the ancients had such obscure notions of the situations of countries, they must have been necessarily indistinct in giving names to the places they discovered. Thus Mela mentions some isles of the northern ocean, which he says, "*quia plumbo abundant, uno omnes Cassiterides appellant.*" (c) Why then might not the tin-districts of Devon and Cornwall be included, together with the Scilly isles, under the name of Cassiterides? Strabo, it is true, says, that

(a) And, surely, the Britons were long in possession of the island before their connexion with the Phenicians: For, as I have already observed, it is impossible that the British isles could in a moment be discovered, peopled, and cultivated for the subsistence of their inhabitants, and explored for their mineral treasures, and again found out by eastern adventurers, and frequented for their tin-manufacture!

(b) According to some accounts, the Phenicians (after they had become acquainted with all the coasts of the Mediterranean, and had *planted colonies*, and *built cities* on several parts of these coasts, and had carried on an extensive trade with all the countries bordering upon that sea) passed the Straits of Gibraltar, more than 1200 years before the christian æra (Strabo says, soon after the Trojan war) and pushed their discoveries both to the right and left of those Straits. On their right hand, they built the city of Cadiz, on a small island near the coast of Spain, and thence prosecuted their discoveries and their trade with great spirit and advantage, as far as the British islands.

(c) Mela seems to have been almost as ignorant of these islands, as Herodotus.



that the Cassiterides are ten in number: But this was, probably, a random assertion. It stands unconfirmed by the testimony of any other writer: And there are, at present, more than one hundred and forty islands that go by the name of the Scilly Isles. Nor should it be forgotten, that Cæsar takes not the least notice of the Scilly Isles; which he certainly would have done, had they monopolized, for centuries, the tin-trade of the world. (a) That Richard of Cirencester understood Devonshire and Cornwall to have been included in the Cassiterides, is plain from his description of Danmonium. He tells us, that the country of the Danmonii abounded in minerals, and was frequented in the earliest ages, first by the Phenicians and afterwards by the Greeks, on account of the tin which it produced in great abundance. As a proof of this commerce, the three chief promontories of the Danmonii, he says, were called *Helenis*, *Ocrinum*, and *Κριε μέλιτωρ*; which three names he adds, were partly of Greek, and partly of Phenician origin. Immediately afterwards, he notices the Cassiterides, without saying a word of their tin or their commerce. "*Ultra brachium in oceano sita sunt insula Sygdiles, quæ etiam Oestrominides et Cassiterides vocabantur, dictæ.*" (b) In short, we have no foundation for asserting, what is commonly believed, that the Phenicians first traded with the inhabitants of the Scilly Isles. And if we place the original trade at Plymouth, or in the neighbourhood of the Tamar, we shall approach, I think, very near the truth.

Among the Phenician exports, the most plentiful commodity was, evidently, our tin. Lead

(a) "That the Phenicians accounted their trade to the Scilly Islands, for tin, of great advantage, and were very jealous of it, is plain from what Strabo says (1), that a master of a Phenician vessel bound hither, perceiving that he was dodged by a Roman, ran his ship ashore, risking his life, ship and cargo (for which he was remunerated out of the public treasury of his country) rather than he would admit a partner in this traffick by shewing him the way to these islands. The Romans, however, persisting in their resolution to have a share in this trade, at last accomplished it. Now, plain it is, that the few workings upon Trefcaw, were not worthy of such a competition: Whence, then, had they their tin? I will answer this question as well as I can. Some tin might have been found in the low grounds, washed down from the hills, and gathered together by the floods and rain—some found pulverized among the sands of the sea-shore, washed out of veins covered by the sea, and thrown in upon the sand by the same restless agent. In Cornwall we often find tin in the like situation. There may be, also, tin-veins in those cliffs which we did not visit (2), although the inhabitants, upon enquiry, could not recollect that they contained any thing of that kind; as the *Guel-Hill* of BREHAR, *Guel* Island, the name *Guel* (or *Huel*) in Cornish signifying a working for tin. Other tin they had from their mines; for though their mines at present extant are neither ancient nor numerous, yet the ancient natives had mines, and worked them as appears from *Diod. Siculus* (3), and from *Strabo* (4), who tells us, that, 'after the Romans had discovered a passage to these islands, *Publius Crassus* having sailed thither and seen them work their mines, which were not very deep, and that the people loved peace, and at their leisure (5) navigation also, instructed them to carry on this trade to a better advantage than they had done before; though the sea they had to cross was wider than betwixt it and Britain;' intimating (if I understand him rightly) that, before that time, the Phenicians and Greeks had engrossed the sole benefit of buying and exporting their tin, and that *Publius Crassus*, seeing their mines shallow, taught them how to pursue the ore to a greater depth; and, finding the inhabitants peaceably disposed with regard to their neighbours, and therefore the fitter for commerce, and very apt at navigation, and therefore able themselves to carry the product of their country to market, encouraged them to enter upon this gainful trade, and depend no longer on foreign merchants and shipping, although it was somewhat farther for them to sail to the ports of *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, than to the coasts of *Britain*, which had till that time been their longest voyage. Besides the tin therefore, which they found granulated and pulverized in valleys and on the sea-shore, they broke tin out of their mines, though these mines are not now to be found; and, in the last place, it must not be forgotten that the ancients had great part of their tin from the neighbouring coasts of *Cornwall*, famous for their tin-trade as anciently as the time of *Augustus Cæsar*; and whoever sees the land of *Cornwall* from these islands, must be convinced that the Phenicians and other traders did most probably include the western part of *Cornwall* among the islands called *CASSITERIDES*. *Ortelius* is plainly of this opinion, and makes *Cornwall* a part of the *CASSITERIDES*: And *Diodorus Siculus* (6), does as plainly confound and in his description mix the western parts of *Cornwall* and the *CASSITERIDES* indiscriminately one with the other." *Borlase's Observations*, &c. p. 72 to 76.

(b) Ricard. p. 20, 21.

(1) Geog. Lib. iii. (2) I have been lately informed, that, under one of the cliffs of Annet, there is a load, in which there is the appearance of tin, and that it looks as if it had been worked. (3) Lib. v. Ch. 2. (4) Geogr. Lib. III.

(5) i. e. when they were not employed about their tin. (6) Lib. iv. pag. 301. Edit. Han. 1604.

Lead was, also, an article of exportation. And not the least valuable article was the skins of wild and tame animals—under which was, probably, comprehended the wool of the British sheep—of great use to the Phenicians in their woollen manufactures. In return, the Britons received from the Phenicians, salt, brass-ware, and pottery. (a) Our earthen-ware was furnished, we see, by the Phenicians: and I have no doubt but that many of the earthen urns found in our barrows, were fabricated by that people; though, indeed, so easily

(a) 'An ingenious correspondent says: "It is observable that the articles in which the Britons dealt with the Phenicians, imply a settlement of some standing. They were tin, which requires some skill and labor to bring it to a merchantable state; gold and silver (1), pearls, and the curious dye from the (2) *murex*, which was here in great abundance, and which, probably, was the boasted Tyrian dye."

(b) Musgrave, in his Belgæ (p. 160 to 166) speaks thus of the British commerce: "De Gemmis *Melæ Britannicis* quid dicam, incertum sum, nisi eas e Rupe *Bristoliensi*, quæ nunc *Vincentii* dicitur, captas statuam. Profert Adamantes ea perspicuos, pulchros, ab Indiis advectorum æmulos, iisque una duritie secundos: Utrum *Melæ* etate reperti fuerint, non exploratissimum est; quare in his dicundis non parum hæsito. Judicent eruditi, prout cujusque libido est. Margaritarum vim magnam fuisse, constat ex iis, quas hodie præbent Ostrea *Britannica*. Nescio an *Rutupina*, quæ *Romanis* erat delicio, præ cæteris scaterent Margaritis. *Julius Cæsar* [Britanniam petiisse dicitur spe Margaritarum, quarum amplitudinem conferens, interdum sua manu pondus exigeret.] Sed (3) [in Britannia parvos & decolores nasci certum est.] Et (4) *Ælianus* ait, Margaritam Britannicam magis fulvi coloris esse, minusque splendidam. [Dixit *Julius Thoracem*, quem *Veneri Genetrix* in Templo ejus dicavit, ex Britannicis Margaritis factum voluerit intelligi:] subiecta, inquit (5) *Solinus*, Inscriptio, quæ id testaretur. Hæc omnia more suo exagitat *Jf. Volsius*, & Gemmas, & boni coloris Margaritas veteri negat *Britanniæ*. [Quænam, (6) inquit, sunt illæ Gemmæ? Flumina ista Gemmifera, & Margaritifera mera profecto sunt commenta, ad apparandum stulti Imperatoris triumphum.] At pace tanti viri, non adeo viles sunt Adamantes supra dicti, quin *Julii* sæculo facile placerent. Hæc videtur esse Gemmæ prædictæ, & *Sabrina* nostra Flumen illud Gemmiferum, de quo dubitat vir egregie doctus. Margaritas cum *Taprobanicis* nostras nequaquam audeo comparare, præcipue si magnitudinis habeatur ratio: at ex Foro nostro *Exonitensi* Piscatorio, & Margaritis hic repertis si liceat judicare, facile potuit earum in hac Insula comparari, satis magnarum neque decolorum numerus, qui ad exornandum *Veneris Thoracem* omnino sufficeret. — Calx etiam inter *εὐχάριστα* merito putanda est; sed quæ Cretam & Margam comprehendit: his enim tribus Agricola sæcundant agros. Testantur optimæ fidei Inscriptioes, Artem Calcariam olim a *Britannis* exerceri, & ut Terra Figularis hodie ad Tubos Tabacarios e *Dummonio*, sic Cretam, Margam, & ejusmodi alia ad stercorendos Agros hinc exportari. Calcaria, *Brigantum* oppidulo, [i. e. *Tadcaster*] fuisse unam Inscriptioem opinatur Doctiss. (7) *Galeus*, sed ob literas fugientes & propemodum exesas, vix legendam. Ad quod ad rem nostram maximopere facit, in Colle, cui *Sorbiodunum* (*Old Sarum*) infidebat, Fodinae Cretacæ præcipue frequentabantur, & ab iis Creta in exterarum regiones exportabatur. Unde Verificator *Anglus*

*Est ibi desitius Lymfæ, sed copia Cretæ.*

Arti Calcariae præfuit Dea *Nehalennia*, quæ a *Brigantibus*, (opinante Clariss. (8) *Galeo*) forsitan etiam a *Belgis* nostris colebatur. Ei Negotiatores & Mercatores navicularii vota solvebant, ut ex Ara, quæ (9) *Demburgi* in *Zelandia* dudum effossa est, conjicimus. Est autem hujusmodi.

DEAE NEHALENNIAE  
OB MERCES RITE CONSER  
VATAS M. SECUND SILVANUS  
NEGOTTOR O RETARIVS  
BRITANNICIANVS

V. S. L. M.

Novam Lunam *Nehalennia* significari volunt nonnulli, quæ certe navigantibus benigna fuit & propitia, sic, ut ea de causâ cultu digna videretur. — De *Gagete Solini Britannico* aliquid dicendum: Accipit ille nomen a *Gage* (tradente (10) *Dioscoride*) *Lyciæ* amne, ad cujus Ostium iste Lapis primum inventus est. Aliquando dicitur Lapis *Obsidianus*; sed *Anglice* [a *fratstone*.] Succinum nigrum esse contendit

(1) The Muscle Pearl.—Musculi, quibus inclusam sæpe margaritam, omnis quidem coloris optimam inveniunt. Ricard. p. 13.

(2) Sunt et Corallæ, satis superque abundantes, quibus tinctura coccinii coloris conficitur, cujus rubor pulcherrimus, nullo unquam solis ardore, nulla valet pluviorum injuria pallescere: sed quo vetustior est, eo solet esse venustior. Ricard. p. 13. The Murex of Devonshire, is noticed in my sketches of the Natural History.

(3) Vide Plinii, Lib. ix. Cap. xxxv. (4) Δοκεῖ δὲ πως χρωτῶπτερος ἰδεῖν, εἶναι τὰς τε ἀργὰς ἀμυδρότερας ἔχειν, καὶ σκοτωδέστερας. De Animalibus, Lib. xv. Cap. viii. Ed. Tigurina, Fol.

(5) Vide Solinum, Cap. liii; & in illud, Doctiss. Salmasti Plinianæ exercitationes.

(6) Vide ejus Observationes ad Melæ, Lib. iii. Cap. vi. vers. 36.

(7) Ad Antonii Itcr. ii. pag. 42.

(8) pag. 42.

(9) Reinckii Syntagma, p. 190.

(10) Lib. v. Cap. cxlvi.



easy a workmanship was soon, imitated by the Britons. (b) We are told, that the *Phœnicians* considered their commerce with us of such consequence, that they erected *forts* and *castles* on our coasts, for the protection and preservation of it. This was their usual custom in every country where they traded. And it is a certain fact, that they planted colonies along the coasts of the Mediterranean, for the further security of the trade which they had established there. Nothing, therefore, is more probable, than that they colonized a part of Danmonium.

How long (a) the Phenicians enjoyed this trade exclusively, is not certainly known: They, doubtless, took every precaution to conceal the source of their mercantile wealth. Though the Greeks in the time of Herodotus, knew perfectly well, that all the tin which they used, and which they received from the Phenicians, came originally from the Cassiterides, or from Danmonium; yet they could scarcely guess, it seems, at our situation. The Phenician merchants could easily avoid instructing the Greeks in the course they steered: But the Greeks were acquainted with the names of the tin-countries, in the time of Herodotus. And from their love of novelty, and the restlessness of their temper (the peculiar characteristic of the Greeks) it is very unlikely, that they should indolently sit at home, indifferent about the commodities of Danmonium (though secondarily experiencing the blessings of those commodities) when once they were instructed in the art of navigation. That Pytheas, the Greek Philosopher of Marseilles, gave an account of the British isles from his own inspection of them, three hundred and thirty years before Christ, is unquestionable. This geographer was an adventurous mariner, and "is said to have sailed as far as the Arctic circle, where there is no night at the summer solstice." In this voyage, we are told, he found out Iceland. This spirit of adventure, so conspicuous in Pytheas, would be equally discoverable, I conceive, in his countrymen. And, when we consider the connexion of the Greeks with the Phenicians, we should not err, I think, in bringing the Greeks to this island half a century at least before Pytheas. In this case, the Greeks entered Britain about 380 years before Christ. The history of Herodotus containing an obscure hint about the Cassiterides, would, immediately on its publication, have excited the curiosity of so inquisitive a people. (b) As to the passage in Richard, where the Greek merchants are said to be introduced as coeval with the primitive Phenicians, I do not see, that it is capable of such a construction. The passage (which was quoted before with another view) is as follows: "A. M. M. M. M. Circa hæc tempora culiam et habitatum primum Britanniam arbitrantur nonnulli, cum illam salutarent Græci Phænicesque mercatores." (c) The meaning of which seems to be this: "About the year of the world three thousand, the Greek and Phenician commerce was first established in

contendit *Aldrovandus*, cui suffragatur Doctiss: (1) *Anselmus B. de Boot.* Paleas enim attritu calefactus, Succini instar, trahit, & odorem habet Sulfureum. De eo (2) *Solinus* [Gagates hic (in Britannia) plurimus optimusque est Lapis; si decorem requiras, nigro gemmeus; si naturam, aqua ardet; oleo restinguitur;] Est in Museo (3) *Regiæ Societatis* hujusmodi Lapis insignis, & in *Cleaveland*, on the top of *Huntly and Wiltby Cliffs*, 8 putei effodi solet in Agro (4) *Surreienji* qui cum *Regnorum* olim patria fuit *Belgiæ* proxime vicina, fortasse an a *Belgiis* hinc exportaretur. Multiplex est *Gagatis* usus. In *Medicina* calidæ facultatis esse dicitur, & Mania, Morbo comitiali, sicut etiam *Hysterico* correptos Suffitu liberare. Diureticus est, & *Hydropicis*, urinam movendo, prodest. Oleum ejus destillatum maxime prædicatur ad *Dæmoniacos*, (id est, *Epilepticos*) *Paralysin*, *Convulsionem*, *Tetanus*, ad *Podagram* frigidam, omnesque frigidas *Fluxiones*, parti affectæ illitum: Unde *Podagricis* remediis & *Acopis* adnumeratur. Pulvis ejus ad unius *Drachmæ* pondo, ex *Vino* haustus ad tempus aliquod, Colicam integre sanare dicitur. Emollit, discutit, (5) *Discoride* teste; unde adversus sedis affectiones, quam levissime tritus, (6) *Ætiii* judicio valet; & ad *Condylomata*, eum *Scribonii Largi* Emplastrum habet. Ornabantur eo *Galeæ*, *Scuta*, *Gladii*: Mundum etiam muliebrem ingrediebatur; *Fœminarum* *Aures*, *Colla*, *Pectoraque*, colore contrario, commendabant. Hinc *Aurium* lobis etiam nunc appenditur ex eo *Inauris*; *Collo Monile*: in quibus *Puellæ* non parum gloriantur. Denique ad preces numerandas, in globulos formatas, & filo trajectas, nonnullis est in usu."

(a) After the first ages of the Phenician commerce, the Tyrian colonies of Carthage and of Cadiz, carried on the Danmonian tin-trade, conjunctively.

(b) Polybius, the Greek, wrote his large treatise on the tin-manufacture of Danmonium, about two hundred years before the christian æra. And Polybius was a very accurate historian. And he, probably, received his intelligence from the Grecian colony settled long before in Danmonium.

(c) Ricard. p. 50.

(1) De Lapidibus & Gemmis in Specie. Lib. 2. Cap. clxiii. & seqq. (2) V. Solinum, Cap. xxii. & in illud Doct. Sal. nassii Plinianas Exercitationes. (3) V. Museum Reg. Societ. edente Neh. Grew, Partem. iii. Cap. ii.

(4) Vide Additamenta ad Camdeni Comitatum Surrey. (5) Loco jam citato. (6) Lib. 2. tetrabibli, Cap. 24.



in Britain." Richard does not mean to say, that the Greeks actually traded to this island about the year three thousand: Had he intended specifically to describe the merchants, and the exact time when they respectively traded with the British islanders, he would, doubtless, have placed *Phenices* before *Græci*; for he must surely have known, that in point of time, the Phenicians were prior to the Greeks. This is plain, from his observing in another place, where he wishes to discriminate between the different merchants who traded here, that that country (Danmonium) "*utpote metallis abundantem, Phœnicibus Græcis et Gallis mercatoribus probe notam fuisse.*"(a) Here the Phenician, Greek, and Gaulish merchants come successively, in the proper order of time: And to have inverted this order, would have been a glaring impropriety. Yet in the very next period, where Richard is pointing out to us the etymologies of places, we see the Greeks again put over the head of the Phenicians—(b) *Græcam Phœniciamque originem*. Nothing, therefore, can be clearer than that, in the passage first quoted, our author speaks in general terms, and that he simply intends to mark the first establishment of the ancient British trade in this island: And whether this trade were entitled, the *Greek* and *Phœnician*, or the *Greek* only, would be little to the purpose. Who the first Greeks that came into this island, were, is uncertain. But, in process of time, the Greeks of Marseilles obtained a considerable share of the British trade: And tin, lead, and skins, are said to have been the commodities which the Greeks exported from Britain. And their imports were, possibly, the same as the Phenician. In the mean time, the Greeks of Marseilles endeavoured, like the Phenicians, to conceal their commerce with the British isles from other nations. Strabo tells us, from Polybius, that the Greeks pretended a total ignorance of the British isles, when questioned by the famous Scipio, respecting their situation or productions. With respect to the *Roman trade* with Danmonium, before the time of Cæsar, there is very great uncertainty. Yet we are told, that the Romans, after they became acquainted with navigation (which was not till after the first Punic war, about two hundred and sixty years before Christ) sent out a vessel in pursuit of the Phenicians, in order to discover the place where they traded for tin. But the Phenician mariner, suspecting the design of the Romans, voluntarily ran his ship among shallows, to decoy his pursuers into the same perilous situation, from which their imperfect skill in navigation would not enable them to emerge; whilst he knew how to disengage himself and his ship, with some present loss indeed, but little or no danger. That he did not sink his ship, or go down to the bottom with his crew and all, as some writers have imagined, is sufficiently clear from Strabo; who tells us, that, preserving himself from shipwreck, he was afterwards paid, out of the public treasury, an equivalent for the loss of his cargo. Notwithstanding every precaution of the Phenicians, the Romans, as Strabo assures us, at length discovered the situation of the tin-countries. In consequence of this, Publius Crassus came hither with the discoverers, and made observations on the tin-mines, then of no great depth, and the disposition of the people to peace, and their readiness to give directions to voyagers. Who Publius Crassus was, or when he made this expedition in quest of our tin, we are not informed: But his voyage was certainly posterior to the first Punic war, when the Romans were little acquainted with the seas.

I have already remarked, that it is very uncertain from what places the primitive Phenicians exported our commodities: And there is the same dubiousness in regard to the ports in Danmonium, which were frequented by the subsequent merchants.

The channel through which the trade of Britain was at one time carried on, is obscurely marked by Diodorus Siculus. The passage to which I allude, hath exercised much conjecture: It is as follows, together with the context. *Νυν δε περι τε καὶ αὐτὴν φερόμενη κασσίπερ διεξιμεν. Της γὰρ βρεῖτανικῆς κατὰ τὸ ακρωτήριον τὸ καλεόμενον Βελερίον οἱ καλοῦντες φιλοξένοι τε διαφορῶντες εἰσι, καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ξένων ἐμπορῶν ἐπιμιξίαν ἐξημερωμένοι τὰς ἀγωγὰς. οἱ τοὺν κασσίπερον καλίσκευαζον, φιλοτεχνῶς ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν φέρσαν αὐτὸν γῆν. Αὐτὴ δε πετρῶδης ἔσται, διαφύας ἔχει γυνῶεις, ἐν αἷς τὸν πορὸν κατεργαζόμενοι καὶ τήξαντες καθαιρῶσιν. Αποτυπῶντες δ' εἰς ἀπραγλὼν ρυθμῶς, κομίζουσιν εἰς τὴν αἰσὴν προκειμένην μὲν τῆς βρεῖτανικῆς, ὀνομαζομένην δὲ Ἰλίην. Κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ἀμπῶντες, ἀναξηραίνουμένη τε μέλαζυ τοπῆ, ταῖς ἀμαξαῖς εἰς ταύτην κομίζουσι δαψίλῃ τὸν κασσίπερον. Ἴδιον δε τι συμβαίνει περὶ τὰς πλησίον νήσους, τὰς μεταξὺ κειμένας τῆς τε Εὐρώπης καὶ τῆς βρεῖτανικῆς. Κατὰ μὲν τὰς πλημμυρίδας τε μέλαζυ πορὸν πληρῶμενη νήσοι φαίνονται. Κατὰ δε τὰς ἀμπῶντες ἀπορρεούσης τῆς θαλάσσης,*

(a) Ricard. p. 20. (b) p. 21.

θαλασσης, και πολυν τοπον αναξηραινουσας, θεωρεναι χερρονησοι. εντευθοι δ'οι εμποροι παρα των εγχωριων ανηλαι, και διακομιζουσιν εις την Γαλαλιαν. Το δε τελευταιον πεζη δια της Γαλαλιას πορευθεντες ημερας ως τριακοντα, καταγουσιν επι των ιππων τα φορτια προς την εκβολην τε Ροδανυ ποσιαμε. (a) In this passage, our historian is generally conceived to inform us, among other particulars, that "the people who inhabited the *extreme parts of Cornwall*, after they have prepared their tin for exportation, carry it in waggons to the *Isle of Wight*." According to the interpretation of others, *Islis* is supposed to mean, one of the *Isles of Scilly*, or the *Black-rock of Falmouth*. Among those, who entertain the *common idea*, are Dr. Henry and Mr. Whitaker: The advocates for a *new* construction, are Borlase, and Pryce. Before I venture to give my own opinion on this passage, I shall present my readers with the sentiments of these different writers. First, then, for the *common idea*. Dr. Henry writes thus: "Whether the Greeks of Marfeilles were discouraged from continuing to trade directly with Britain, by the length and danger of the voyage, or by the wars between the Romans and Carthaginians, which rendered the navigation of the Mediterranean very unsafe, we cannot be certain. But this we know from the best information, that the trade between Britain and Marfeilles, after some time, began to be carried on in a different manner, and through a different channel. Of this we have the following plain account from Diodorus Siculus: 'These Britons who dwell near the promontory of Belerium (the Land's-end) live in a very hospitable and polite manner, which is owing to their great intercourse with foreign merchants. They prepare, with much dexterity, the tin which their country produceth. For though this metal is very precious, yet when it is first dug out of the mine it is mixed with earth, from which they separate it, by melting and refining. When it is refined, they cast it into ingots, in the shape of cubes or dies, and then carry it into an adjacent island, which is called *Ictis* (Wight). For when it is low-water, the space between that island and the continent of Britain becomes dry land; and they carry great quantities of tin into it in their carts and waggons. Here the merchants buy it, and transport it to the coast of Gaul; from whence they convey it over land, on horses, in about thirty days, to the mouth of the Rhone.' As Marfeilles is situated near the mouth of the river Rhone, we may be certain that it was the place to which the British tin was carried; and that from thence the merchants of Marfeilles sent it into all parts of the world to which they traded. It is not so clear, from the above account of Diodorus Siculus, who were the foreign merchants who purchased the tin from the Britons in the Isle of Wight, transported it to the coast of Gaul, and from thence over land to Marfeilles. Some imagine that they were Greeks from Marfeilles, who had factories established in the Isle of Wight, and on the coast of Gaul, for the management of this trade; while others think that they were Gauls, and that the people of Marfeilles remained quietly at home, and received the British tin, and other commodities, from the hands of these Gaulish merchants. There seems to be some truth in both these opinions; and it is most probable that the merchants of Marfeilles, finding the difficulties and dangers of trading directly to Britain by sea, contrived the scheme of carrying on that trade over the continent of Gaul; and sent agents of their own to begin the execution of this scheme. But they could not but soon discover that it was impossible to carry on a trade through so great an extent of country, without the consent and assistance of the inhabitants; and that it was necessary to employ them, first as their carriers, and afterwards as their agents. By this means, some of the Gauls becoming acquainted with the nature and profits of this trade, engaged in it on their own account. For it is certain that the Gauls were instructed in trade as well as in arts and learning, by the Greeks of Marfeilles. It is evident that the Isle of Wight was the place from whence these foreign

(a) Nunc de stanno, quod illic effoditur, dicendi locus est. Qui BELERIUM Britanniae promontorium accidunt, hospitales sunt apprime, et propter mercatorum illic commercia mansuetiore vitae cultu. Hi stannum, terra, quae illud parturit, solerti opere subacta, conficiunt. Quae cum petricosa sit, venas quasdam habet terrestres, e quibus erutum metalli proventus liquefaciunt et expurgant. Talarum deinde modo conformatum in quandam Britanniae adiectam Insulam, cui nomen ICTIS, deportant. Dum enim per refluxus intervallum locus in medio desiccatur, plaustribus interim largam stanni vim transvectant. Insulis bisce vicinis, quae Europam atque Britanniam interjacent, peculiare quippiam accidit. Tractus enim ille, sub inundationem aestus, aquis oppletus, Insulas esse ostendit. decedente per reciprocationem mari, ingens loci spatium, aquis desectum, peninsularum speciem reddit. Inde stannum ab incolis entum in Galliam mercatores transferunt. Et xxx dierum itinere per Galliam pedestri sarcinas equis impositas, ad Rhodani tandem ostia deportant. Diod. Sicul. Wesseling. tom. I. p. 346, 347.



foreign merchants, whether Greeks or Gauls, exported the British tin; but we are not told at what port of Gaul it was landed. (a) A modern writer, of great learning, hath engaged in a long and particular discussion of this point; and after examining several different opinions, he concludes at last, that Vennes, in Brittany, was the port at which the goods exported from Britain were disembarked. It is, however, probable that the merchants of Gaul landed their goods from Britain at different ports, as it suited best their own situation and convenience. (b) Dr. Henry is sufficiently accurate in his translation of this passage from Diodorus. It is, therefore, very extraordinary, that whilst he introduces the Britons of the *Land's-end* carrying their tin into an *adjacent island* (ἡ γὰρ πρὸκειμένη) he should at the same instant determinè this island to be the *Isle of Wight* lying off the coast of *Hampshire*! According to this writer, the Cornish could pass with their waggons, from the Land's-end to the Isle of Wight, whenever they thought proper. It was but a step: And they could go over dryshod with all imaginable ease! By some strange magic, indeed, the Isle of Wight, in Hampshire, used, in the days of Diodorus, to be directly opposite and almost adjoining to the Land's-end in Cornwall. Thus, also, Mr. Whitaker: "The Greeks of Marseilles first followed the course of the Phenician voyagers; and some time before the days of Polybius, and about two hundred years before the age of Christ, began to share with them in the trade of tin. The Carthaginian commerce declined. The Massylian increased. And, in the reign of Augustus, the whole current of the British traffick had been gradually diverted into this channel. At that period the trade of the island was very considerable. Two roads were laid across it, and reached from Sandwich to Caernarvon on one side and from Dorsetshire into Suffolk on the other; and the commerce of the shores was carried along them into the interior parts of the country. The great staple of the tin was no longer settled in a distant corner of the island. It was removed from Scilly, and fixed in the Isle of Wight, a central part of the coast, lying equally betwixt the two roads, and better adapted to the new arrangements of the trade. Thither the tin was brought by the Belgæ, and thither the foreign merchants resorted with their wares. And the trade was no longer carried on by vessels that coasted tediously along the shores of Spain and Gaul. The tin was now transported over the neighbouring channel, unshipped on the opposite coast, and sent upon horses across the land or by boats along the rivers to Marseilles and Narbonne. And the Veneti of Gaul were the merchants, that resorted to the Isle of Wight with their vessels, that bartered with the Britons for their metal, and transmitted it across the continent afterwards. This isle, which is now separated from the remainder of Hampshire by a channel little more than half a mile in breadth about the point of Hurst-castle, was then a part of the greater island, disjoined from it only by the tide, and united to it at the ebb. And, during the recess of the waters, the Britons constantly passed over the low isthmus of land with their cart-loads of tin. *This was also the case with many other places on the southerly shore of Britain, which appeared as islands only on the tide of flood, and became peninsulas at the ebb.*" (c) Here all is beautifully consistent with the general narrative and with itself. But, as Mr. Whitaker informs us, that "*many other places on the southerly shore of Britain, appeared as islands only on the tide of flood, and became peninsulas at the ebb;*" I think we may be warranted in fixing on some other spot on the south-coast of Danmonium, less liable to objections than the Isle of Wight. It was with this notion, that Borlase and Pryce have attempted a *new construction* of the famous passage before us. Borlase, in his Natural History of Cornwall, says: "The short description which we have of the tin-trade in Diodorus Siculus, must not be omitted, though it is too general for us to learn many particulars from it. 'These men (says he, meaning the tinnors) manufacture their tin by working the grounds which produce it with great art. For though the land is rocky, it has soft veins of earth running through it in which the tinnors find the treasure, extract, melt, and purify it; then shaping it (by moulds) into a kind of cubical figure, they carry it off to a certain island lying near the British shore, which they call Ictis; for at the recess of the tide, the space betwixt the island and the main land being dry, the tinnors embrace the opportunity, and carry their tin in carts, as fast as may be, over to the Ictis (or port); for it must be observed, that the islands which lie betwixt the continent and Britain, have this singularity, that when tide is full, they are real islands; but when the sea retires, they are but so many peninsulæ. From this

(a) See *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, tom. 16, p. 163.

(b) Vol. 1. p. 331, 382.

(c) Manchester, vol. 2. p. 170 to 172.



this island the merchants buy the tin of the natives, and export it into Gaul; and, finally, through Gaul, by a journey of about thirty days, they bring it down on horses to the mouth of the Erydanus, meaning the Rhone (a). In this description it will naturally occur to the inquisitive reader to ask, where this Ictis was, to which the Cornish carried their melted tin in carts, and there sold it to the merchants. I really cannot inform him; but by the Ictis here, it is plain that the Historian could not mean the Ictis or Vectis of the ancients (at present called the Isle of Wight), for he is speaking of the Britons of Cornwall, and, by the words, it should seem, those of the most western parts. Τῆς γὰρ Βερίανικης κατὰ τὸ ἀκρωτίνιον τὸ κατὰ μὲνον Βερίσιον οἱ καλοικεῖντες, ἔτι. Οὗτοι τὸν κασιόεσσαν καλᾶσκουζασι φιλοτέχνας, that is, "those who live at the extreme end of Britain, called Belerium (b), find, dress, melt, carry, and sell their tin." Now it would be absurd to think that these inhabitants should carry in carts their tin near two hundred miles (for so far distant is the Isle of Wight from them) when they had at least as good ports and harbours on their own shores as they could meet with there: Besides, these inhabitants are said, in the same paragraph, to have been more than ordinarily civilized by conversing with strangers and merchants. Those merchants then must have been very conversant in Cornwall, there trafficked for tin, that is, there bought, and thence exported the tin, or they could have no business there; their residence would have been in some of the ports of Hampshire; and Cornwall could scarce have felt the influence of their manners, much less have been improved and civilized by them at that distance. Again: the Cornish, after the tin was melted, carried it at low-water over to the Ictis in carts. This will by no means suit the situation of the Isle of Wight, which is at least two miles distant from the main land, and never (as far as we can learn) has been alternately an island and a peninsula, as the tide is in and out. The Ictis therefore here mentioned, must lie somewhere near the coast of Cornwall, and must either have been a general name for any peninsula on a creek, (Ik being a common Cornish word, denoting a Cove, Creek, or Port of traffick,) or the name of some particular peninsula and common emporium on the same coast, which has now lost its isthmus, name, and perhaps wholly disappeared, by means of some great alterations on the sea-shore of this county. (c) In his ancient and present state of the Isles of Scilly, Borlase ventures to give his opinion upon the point: "Diodorus Siculus (says he) talking of the Promontory Belerium, alias Bolerium, the tin-commerce, and courteous behaviour of the inhabitants, says, that they carried this tin to an adjoining British Isle called ICTIS, to which at low tide they could have access. Now there was no such island as ICTIS on the western coasts of Cornwall in the time of Diod. Siculus, neither is there at present any one with the properties he mentions, unless it be St. Michael's Mount; and the separation between that and the Continent must have been made long since that time. By the first, therefore, Diod. Siculus can mean nothing but the Lands-end, by the geographers called Belerium; but (confounding the tin-trade of those western parts of Cornwall with that carried on in SCILLY) by the second, he means one of the SCILLY Isles, to which they conveyed their tin before exportation from the other smaller islands; for thus he goes on, 'There is one thing peculiar to these Islands (meaning, that there was no such thing in the Mediterranean, where the sea stands nearly of one height) which lie between Britain and Europe, for at full sea they appear to be Islands, but at low water, for a long way, they look like so many Peninsulas;' a description exactly answering the appearance of the SCILLY islands, which were at that time successively Islands and Peninsulas, and lie between Europe and Britain, as the old authors all agree, but, through the inaccuracy in geography, were not able to point out the situation of these islands more distinctly. This Ictis of Diod. Siculus is probably the same Island which Pliny, from Timæus, calls "Mictis, about six days sail from Britain, said to be fertile in tin;" where I must observe, that the distance here laid down is no objection to Mictis's being one of the SCILLY Isles, for when the ancients reckoned this place six days sail, they did not mean from the nearest part of Britain, but from the place most known, and frequented by them (i. e. by the Romans and Gauls) which was that part of Britain nearest to, and in sight of Gaul, from which to the SCILLY Islands the distance was indeed six days usual sail in the early times of navigation; there-fore

(a) Rhodanus, says the Latin translation; to Marseilles, says Possidonius, in Strabo, lib. iii. page 147, edit. Par. 1620. (b) Now called the Land's-End. (c) p. 176, 177.

fore I am apt to think, that by *Mictis* here, *Pliny* meant the largest of the *Scilly Isles*(a), as I do not at all doubt but *Diodorus Siculus* also did, in the passage mentioned above."(b) Dr. Pryce has gratified us with a conjecture on this topic, which is, at least, plausible. "It has been hitherto (says the Doctor) an object of enquiry, from whence our Tin was shipped in the time of the Phenicians: some say from the *Cassiterides* or *Scilly Islands*; *Bolerium*, or the Land's-end; others say, from *St. Michael's Mount*; and others, from *Ostium Kenionis Valubia*, or *Falmouth*. The ignorance of true geography and navigation in the times of *Timæus*, *Strabo*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Polybius*, and all the ancient historians and geographers, was so great, and their descriptions so obscure and contradictory, that it may ever remain a matter of conjecture and controversy, whence our Tin was exported for *Phenicia* or *Rome*, by the records they have left behind them. It seems probable, that they included the promontory of *Bolerium* among the *Cassiterides*, and denominated all the south-western coast of *Cornwall* as part of them; which being the first land discovered by the navigators of those days, gave one general appellation to the whole. Without partiality to any particular opinion, we must own the harbour of *Falmouth* seems to us the most commodious, both for natives and foreigners, to have carried on the business for exportation of this grand monopoly, which supplied all the Mediterranean markets: and we are not singular in this thought, but are very plausibly supported by a learned collator of our own country, in whose MS. we find an ingenious etymology and topographical agreement in relation to the matter before us. 'This harbour of *Falmouth* has been famous over *Europe* and *Asia* ever since the island was first known, though but darkly distinguished by the *Greeks* and *Romans* under several appellations; for instance, by one (in *Greek*) 'the Mouth of the *Dunmonii* Island: for neither *Greeks* nor *Romans* knew whether this province of the *Dunmonii* was an island of itself, or part of the insular continent of *Britain*, till the time of the *Roman* emperor *Domitian*, when he circumnavigated the whole island with his fleet. Besides, it was the custom of the *Jews* and *Greeks*, to call remote and strange lands, *Islands*, and the natives, *Islanders*: to which purpose we read, *Isaiah* lxvi. 19. 'Tubal, *Javan*, and the isles afar off,' which were the continent of *Greece* and *Spain*." Also, *Genesis* x. 5. and elsewhere, by the name of the isles are meant the islands, and in general all the provinces of *Europe*. And it is observable, that where the prophet *Isaiah* foretels the calling of the *Gentiles*, he makes particular mention of the islands, (chap. xli. xlii. xlix. li. lx.) which many interpreters have looked upon as a plain intimation, that the *Christian* religion should take deepest root in those parts of the world, which were separated from the *Jews* by the sea, and peopled by the posterity of *Japhet*, who settled themselves in the islands of the *Gentiles*. So that the islands, in the propheticall stile, seem particularly to denote the western part of the world, the west being often called the sea in scripture language. But to proceed: *Strabo* calls this mouth of the *Vale* river, *Ostium Kenionis*, and more properly *Valuba*, or *Valubia*; that is, the wall, defence, point, or promontory, of the said vale, now *St. Anthony's Point*; or *Val-Ubii* from the colony of the *Ubii*, a people of *Belgia*, who planted themselves on the *Vale* river before *Cæsar's* days.. Further, *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that all Tin was fetched out of *Britain*: as it is in some authors, after the *Greek* version, from *Νῆσος Ικτα*, *Ki Oxta*, which seems to say in *British*, first, the *Good Lake*, or *Haven Island*, and the second (what we now call *Bud-Ok*) a *Bay* of *Oak Island*; and, indeed, the memory of such *Ike* seems yet preserved in the present names of *Car-ike road*, the chief part of *Falmouth* harbour, from whence, to this day, the major part of our Tin is still exported; and *Arwynike*, and *Bud-ike* lands, by which the said harbour is bounded. Now, this word *Ike*, I am informed, is derived from the same *Japhetical* origin as the *Greek* ἵκω, *venio*, to come, arrive at, or enter into a place; and, therefore, as aforesaid, in *Cornish* *British*, it means not only a haven of the sea for traffic, but a place where a river of water hath its current into the sea; from whence, perhaps, the *Latins* had their *Ictus*, to signify the course of a river. And from this etymology, we may the better understand the words of *Diodorus Siculus*. The Island which he calls *Ictam* or *Icta*, adjoining with *Britain*, is certainly that which is now called the *Black Rock Island* in *Car-ike road* aforesaid; which, as he said, was then an island at flood or full sea, though at low water passable from the main land. There is also a *Cornish* MS. of the *Creation of the World*, a Play, brought into *Oxford* in 1450, and which is still extant in the *Bodleian* library there; which will at

(a) As *Baxter*, Gloss. in voce *Sigdesles*.

(b) p. 76, 77, 78.



the same time serve to evince, that the now Black rock of Falmouth was in old time the Island, the Ikta of Diodorus Siculus, from which Tin was transported into Gaul. Leland the elder, in his Itinerary, tells us, that this river was encompassed with the loftiest woods, oaks, and timber trees, that the kingdom afforded, in the time of Hen. VII, and was therefore, by the Britons, called Cassi-tir, and Cassi-ter; that is to say, Wood-land. From which place and haven, the Greeks fetching Tin, called it and the Island, so often here mentioned, in their language, Cassiteros. In further praise of which famous port, may the reader accept the following lines :

In the calm south Valubia's harbour stands,  
Where Vale with sea doth join its purer hands ;  
'Twixt which, to ships commodious port is shown,  
That makes the riches of the world its own.  
Ike-ta, and Vale, the Britons chiefest pride,  
Glory of them, and all the world beside,  
In sending round the treasures of its tide.  
Greeks and Phenicians here of old have been ;  
Fetching from hence, furs, hides, pure corn, and Tin,  
Before great Cæsar fought Cassibelyn."(a)

Having

(a) Pryce's Mineral. Introd. p. iii. to vii. The above, we find, is borrowed from Hals or Halfe : It occurs in Halfe's Parochial History of Cornwall. As there is an entertaining singularity in this writer's manner, and a small part only of his history hath been printed (and of this only a few copies) I shall here permit Mr. Halfe to speak at large for himself, though the substance of his theory appears in the text. "FALMOUTH, alias VAL-MOUTH, alias VALE-MOUTH, a Rectory, is situate (says Halfe) in the hundred of Kerryer, and hath upon the north Bud-ike, east the haven or harbour of Falmouth, south the Black Rock and Pendennis Castle, west part of Bud-ike and the British Channel. For the name, it's taken from the Vale river's mouth, which here empties itself into the British ocean. And the river itself takes its name from the original fountain in Reach under Haynesburrugh, called Pen-ta-vale Fenton, or Venton; that is to say, the head or chief good or consecrated spring, or well of water or river Valley; alias Pen ta-vail fenton, i. e. the sacred or consecrated famous head well or spring of water: From thence called the VALE river. This place in Cornish is called Val-gesow, or Falgenue; in Saxon Val-mun; in English Vale-mouth, synonymous therewith. This harbour of VALE-MOUTH hath been famous over Europe and Asia ever since this island was first known; though but darkly distinguished by the Greeks and Romans under several appellations; for instance by one (in Greek) signifying the Mouth of the Danmosii Island: For in former days neither Greeks nor Romans knew whether this province of the Danmosii was an island of itself, or part of the insular continent of Britain; no, not 'till the time of the Roman Emperor DOMITIAN, when he circum-navigated the whole island with his fleet of ships. Besides, 'twas the custom of the Jews and Greeks to call remote and strange lands Islands, and the natives Islanders: To which purpose we read, (Isaiah lvi. 19.) Tubal, Javan, and the Isles afar off; which were the Continent of Greece and Spain. Again; Strabo calls this mouth of the VALE river Ostium Cenienis; who also more plainly speaks of this place under the names of Valuba and Voluba: A corruption either of the British word Val-eba, i. e. the ebbing, flowing, budling, or flashing, of the VALE river; or Val-ubia, that is, the point or promontory of the said VALE, now St. Anthony's Point; or Val-Ubii, from the colony of the Ubii, a people of Belgia, that planted themselves on the VALE river before CÆSAR's days. From which Ubii might come Coru-ubi-ensis. Again; Diodorus Siculus tells us that all tin was fetched out of Britain; as it is in some authors, after the Greek version, from Νήσος Ιν-τα, or Ον-τα, [Nesos, Ik-ta, ki Oc-ta.] which seems to say in British, the first, the Good Lake, cove, or haven, island, and the second (what we now call Bud-ok) a bay of Oak Island. And indeed the memory of such Ike seems yet preserved in the present names of Car-ike road, the chief part of the harbour of Falmouth (from whence comparatively still all tin is transported) and Ar-cwyn-ike and Bud-ike lands, by which the said harbour is bounded. Now, this word Ike, I am inform'd, is derived from the same Japhetic origin as the Gr. ἵκω, [eko] venio, to arrive at, or enter into a place; and therefore, as aforesaid, in Cornish British it signifies not only a haven, harbour, or creek, of the sea for traffick, but a place where a river of water hath its current into the sea, or other places of water. From whence perhaps the Latins had their Ictus to signify the course of a river. And from this exposition, or etymology, we may the better understand Diodorus Siculus's words, as out of the Greek rendered into Latin, thus:—Britani, qui juxta Valerium promontorium [a corruption of Pel-ter-an Promontorium, i. e. the remote or far-off promontory of land; viz. the Land's End of Cornwall]—incolunt, mercatoribus, qui eo flanni gratia navigant, humaniores reliquis erga hospites habentur. Hi ex terra Jaxosa, cujus venas sequuti, effodiunt stannum; quod, per ignemeductum, in quandam insulam ferunt Britannicam juxta, quam Ictam vocant. Maris fluxu videntur insule; cum vero resitit exsiccatu interjecto litore curribus ac quam



Having thus laid before my readers the *common* interpretation of the passage in question, as well as what I have called the *new* theories concerning it, I proceed to state my objections

*num deferunt, &c. Ex his insulis mercatores emptum stannum in Galliam portant; inde diebus fere triginta cum equis ad fontem Eridani fluminis perducunt.* h. e. 'The Britons who inhabit near the Promontory *Valerium* (or the *Land's End*) are by the merchants who thither sail for tin, accounted more courteous or civil to strangers than the rest are. These people, pursuing the course of its veins, out of the rocky earth dig tin; which commodity, being melted or run down by fire, they carry to a certain *British* island nigh, which they name *Isa*. In time of highwater indeed they appear *islands*; but at ebb, the shore between them and the (insular) continent being dry, they thither in carriages convey the tin, &c. From which islands the merchants transported the tin they purchase into *Gaul*, &c.' The Island which he calls *Isam*, or *Isa*, adjoining thus with *Britain*, is certainly that which is now called the *Black Rock* Island, in *Car-ike* road aforesaid; which, as he said, was then an *Island*, at flood or full sea, tho' at low water passable from the main land. Which was *then* a true description thereof; tho' since by the raging flux and reflux of the sea the said lands and rocks are so much wash'd away, that it is not now passable to the said *Black Rock* Island on foot at low water from *Arwinc* lands contiguous. From or by which place the tin then made was, and still is, by merchants transported into *France*; and from thence in those days it was carried thirty days journey on horseback; and so over the *Alps* into *Italy*, even to the fountain *Eridanus*, now called the *Po*. This harbour of *FALMOUTH*, as mariners declare, is in all respects the largest and safest haven for ships which this island of *Britain* affords. Its mouth or entrance from the *British* ocean, between the castles of *St. Marv*s and *Pendenis* (situate one in *St. Anthony*, the other in *Falmouth* parishes) is about a mile and half wide; the centre or middle thereof above a league from the said mouth or entrance up the *VALE* river, by the very *Rock* Island aforesaid, to *Car-ike* Road, *King's* Road, and *Turner's* *Were*. South east, about two leagues from thence, still on the *Vale* river, a navigable arm or chanel of the said harbour extendeth itself up the country, by *Tregny*; to the bridge place of which formerly it was navigable. And it is overlooked on the south east side by *St. Anthony*, *St. Juss*, *Phibley*, *Ruan-Larony-Horne*, and *Cuby* parishes. Within the said parishes of *St. Juss* and *St. Anthony* are also two navigable creeks or channels. Here stands the castle and incorporate town of *St. Marv*s, where formerly stood a monastery of black canons *Augustine*, dedicated to the Virgin *MARY*, called *St. Mary de Vale*, for that it was situate on the *Vale* harbour or river; as its superior monastery is from the *Plym* river in *Devon*, called *St. Mary de Plym*, whereon it is situate. From the north west part of this harbour of *FALMOUTH*, between the parishes of *Budock*, *Glucias*, and *Mylar*, another navigable channel extendeth itself up the country to the incorporate town of *Penryn*. And towards the north another channel thereof higher up extendeth itself through the country from the centre about a league, and is navigable to *Peran* Well and *Carnan* Bridge. Further up north east another channel or arm of *Falmouth* harbour extends itself to the incorporate and coinage town of *Truro*, and the manor of *Meris*, and is navigable there, about nine miles distant from the *Black Rock* or Island aforementioned. Lastly, another branch of this harbour extends to *Tresilian* bridge, where it's navigable between the parishes of *St. Herme*, *Probus*, and *Mertber*, about ten miles from the mouth of the haven and the aforesaid island. All which members or branches of this noble harbour are overlook'd by pleasant hills and vales of land, and within the memory of man abounding with flourishing woods and groves of timber; and before that time *Leland* the elder in his *Itinerary* tells us, that this river *VALE* was in his days encompassed about with the lofliest woods, oaks, and timber trees that this kingdom afforded, *Temp. HENRY VII.* and was therefore by the Britons called *Cassitir*, and *Cassiter*; that is to say, *Wood-Land*; from which place and haven the *Greeks*, fetching tin, called it and the Island so often here mention'd in their language *Cassiteros*. Thus in *Bodman*, *Cassiter-street* formerly a coinage town. But now this commodity of *TIN* hath made such havock of woods and timber trees, in searching for and melting the same, that scarcely any of them are to be seen in those places. For the woods and trees being cut down and grubb'd up, the hills and vales have submitted to agriculture, and are become arable and pasture lands, abounding with corn, sheep, and cattle. From the premises, I suppose, 'tis evident, what Mr. *Carew* in his *Survey* saith, of this excellent harbour of *Falmouth*, that an hundred ships may lie at anchor within the same, and none of them see the others main-tops; the reason of which is, 'because of the steep hills and long windings of the several channels or branches thereof.' p. 123 to 125. And again: "Between the parishes of *Budock* and *Glucias*, on a promontory of land shooting into the sea-creek of *Falmouth* harbour, between two valleys and hills, where the tide daily makes its flux and reflux, stands the ancient burrough of *PEN-RIN*, or *PEN-RIN*; i. e. the hill-head, promontory, or beak, of land; for as *pen* is a head in *Corisib*, so *rin*, or *ryr*, is derived from, and synonymous with, the *gaphetical* Greek *ριν*, [*rin*] *nasus*, a nose, nook, promontory, or beak of any matter: A name given and taken from the natural circumstances of the place, as aforesaid. And here are lofty lands, still called the *Rins*, above the town. By the name *Pen-rin* it was taxed, as the voke lands of a considerable manor, in *Dome's* day roll, 20. *WILLIAM I.* 1087. This place I apprehend to be the *Oxvuvu* [*Okrinum*] of *Ptolemy*,  
the

objections to both. With respect to the former, Dr. Borlase has, in a great measure, anticipated me; whilst he points out the absurdity of the supposition, that the inhabitants of the Land's-end should convey their tin in carts near two hundred miles, when they had as good ports on their own shores as on the Isle of Wight. Not that Diodorus meant to confine this business to the Danmonii of the Land's-end. But the remoteness of the Isle of Wight, even from the people who lived on the banks of the Tamar, would be a sufficient objection to it. Dr. Borlase's remark, also, on the civilization of the Danmonii, from their intercourse with merchants, seems to have some weight. For, surely, if the Isle of Wight had been the common emporium, those merchants need not have mixed with the Danmonii. They would naturally have resided in the sea-ports of Hampshire, not of Devonshire or Cornwall. The last objection of the Doctor to the Isle of Wight—its present distance from the main land—has no force. I am willing to allow, that the Isle of Wight was alternately an island and a peninsula, in the days of Diodorus. Since those days, our coasts have undergone various changes. But, to carry on their tin-trade in this manner, must have been extremely inconvenient to the Danmonii. And it is improbable, that they should lay themselves under obligations to the people of Hampshire, without a motive—that they should prefer a restricted and uncertain commerce in a distant territory, to an unembarrassed and unprecious trade at home; though, at the same time, the ports of Devon and Cornwall were equal, if not superior, to those of Hampshire. But let us dismiss the Isle of Wight. One of the Scilly Isles, called *Miſſis*, has the next claim to our attention. Yet it deserves a momentary attention only. At this advanced

the Greek geographer of the Danmonii, *An. Dom.* 140. (by Camden, through his ignorance of the British tongue, placed at St. Michael's Mount) it being only a corruption of *Oc* or *Ok-rin-an*; as much as to say the Oak-Nose-Hill, or Oak-Promontory-Hill; referring to the terminative particles of the compound words *Bud-ock* and *Pen-rin*. To prove this conjecture, I find, in the manuscripts of the British and Welch bards and the *Traders*, *An. Dom.* 600, this place is distinguish'd with two appellations, *Pen-rin-Goad* (i. e. the Promontory Head Wood) and *Pen-rin Hafn-ton* (that is to say *Penrin Summer-Town*); it being even to this day suitably called in modern English the *Summer Court Town*. It being thus situate on the sea shore, it was heretofore walled and fortified for its defence against enemies; near which two watch-towers are still in being. Moreover, to prove that this town was formerly situated in an oak wood, or at least some other wood, I call for evidence the Cornish manuscript of the *Creation of the World*, a play, brought into Oxford in 1450, and which is still extant in the Bodleian library there; which will at the same time serve to evince that the now *Black Rock of Falmouth* was in old time the *Island* (viz. the *Iktā*) of Diodorus Siculus, by which tin was transported into *Gallia*. A few words therefore of it here follow faithfully transcribed, with their translation; they being spoken as by Solomon, rewarding the builders of the universe:

*Banneth an Tas twr wby;*  
*Why syth wea gwyr Gohery.*  
*Wbyr Goher crydye*  
*Warbarth gans of Gweel Bohellan,*  
*Hag Goad Penrin entier,*  
*An Ennis, lag Arwinick,*  
*Tregimber, hag Kegillack.*  
*Antbotho Gwry the wby Chauter.*

*b. e.*

Blessing of the Father on You;  
 You shall have your Reward.  
 Your wages is prepared  
 Together with all the Fields of *Bohellan*,  
 And the Wood of *Penrin* entirely,  
 The Island and *Arwinick*,  
*Tregimber* and *Kegillack*.  
 Of them make you a Deed or Charter.

Lastly; though at present *Penryn* hath no timber wood pertaining thereto, yet within the memory of the last age much oak timber trees were extant about it, and lately some antient trees were growing in the streets thereof; all pointed at and preserved in the name of *Bud-Ock*, a cove, creek, or bay of oak. And that the now *Black Rock of Falmouth* is the Νῆσος Ικτα, κι Οκτα, of the Greeks, [i. e. *Nesos Ik-ta ki Okta*] i. e. the island *Ike-ta* and *Ok-ta*, signifying the cove, creek, or harbour good, and oak good, (now *Falmouth*) I make no question. Of which see more under *FALMOUTH*. Otherwise, I confess, *Bud-ike* may be interpreted the bay, creek, cove, or bosom of waters, leading to the sea." p. 145, 146.



advanced stage of the Danmonian tin-trade, to have recourse to the Scilly Isles would be ridiculous. Borlase allows that Devonshire had a principal share in the trade. And would he bring down our Dartmoor-tin to one of the Scilly Isles, to be imported thence to the Continent of Gaul? Besides, he rests his hypothesis upon an unwarrantable assumption; not scrupling to assert, that "Diodorus confounds the tin-trade of the Land's-end with that of the Scilly Isles. As to the situation of the Scilly Isles, they lay, according to old writers, between Europe and Britain." This, it seems, was all the ancients knew. Here, then, it suits our author's purpose, to expose the geographical inaccuracy of the ancients, and, particularly, their indistinct notion of the Scilly Isles. Let us proceed. The *Ictis* of Diodorus is discovered to be the *Mictis* of Pliny: But, unfortunately, the *Mictis* of Pliny was six days sail from Britain. Thus, at the moment of its appearance, it vanishes: And we have seen it, only to regret its loss! Vainly would the Doctor tell us, that "when the ancients reckoned this place six days sail, they did not mean from the nearest part of Britain, but from that part of Britain nearest to Gaul, from which to the Scilly Islands the distance was, indeed, six days usual sail in the early times of navigation." If this be admitted as a solution of the difficulty, it brings an argument in favor of the accuracy of the ancients. Thus, at one time, the geography of the ancients is dark as Erebus, at another, as clear as the sun. But when we say, that an island lying off the coast of Britain, is six days sail from it, are we not understood to mean, the part of Britain nearest to the island? Any other interpretation seems forced. Grant, however, for the sake of argument, that *Mictis* was six days sail from that "part of Britain nearest to and in sight of Gaul." Does this concession bring us nearer to the point in question? Hath *Mictis* any new pretensions to our notice, as the *Ictis* of Diodorus? By adopting Borlase's opinion, we destroy at once the authority of Diodorus—we dash to atoms the very passage which is the groundwork of all our theories. If *Ictis* be *Mictis*, it must either be the *isle to which tin was conveyed from the surrounding islets of Scilly*; or it must be the *isle to which tin was conveyed from the Land's-end—in both cases previously to the exportation of this metal into Gaul.*—In the *first* case (which Borlase supposes to be true) Diodorus talks absolute nonsense. And Borlase obliges him to inform us, in the self-same words, (a) "that the people of the Land's-end convey their tin in carts to an adjacent island, whence it is shipped off for Gaul—and that the people of Scilly convey their tin in carts from all their islets, to one common island, whence it is shipped off for Gaul." This is all in one breath! It is like the satyr blowing hot and cold! Thus is our poor historian pressed into the service of conjecturists. Thus cruelly is he tortured, and forced to mutter falsehood, as he writhes upon the wheel of the executioner. In the *second* case, Diodorus leads our merchants to their journey's end, by a route most unconscionably circuitous. When the Cornish would go eastward, the Greek, in mere wantonness, turns their faces to the west. Not to insist on the expedition of the Devonshire miners from the hills of Dartmoor to the Scilly-Isles, to have their goods shipped off for France, let us look only to the hard lot of the inhabitants of the Bolerium. With the view of conveying their tin to Gaul, Diodorus orders them to set off—for the Isles of Scilly. The Scilly Isles lie about nine leagues west of the Land's-end: And over nine leagues were the Danmonii doomed to drive their waggons. Having accomplished, however, this more than Herculean labor, they had, I suppose, to felicitate themselves on the progress of their tin towards the Gallic coast. But a truce to badinage. Borlase was clearly misled by sounds, when he substituted *Mictis* for *Ictis*. In his Natural History of Cornwall, he says: "Where this *Ictis* was, I really cannot inform the reader." Yet, in his ancient and present State of the Isles of Scilly, he "does not at all doubt but that by *Ictis*, Diodorus Siculus meant *Mictis*"—whence we might almost infer, that in the theory which I have been examining, he was occupied by the delirium of the moment. Next comes the *Black-rock* conjecture; which, though it was thrown out at random by Halse, who understood neither Greek nor Latin, and hath been supported by Pryce, who was confessedly ignorant of Greek, and whose knowledge of the Latin was equivocal, is yet specious, and I will venture to say, ingenious. Such it appears, when we consider the periodical peninsularity of the Black-rock in former times, the name of *Iekta* corresponding with *Ictis*, and the situation of Falmouth harbour less objectionable than that of the Isle of Wight, or of the Scilly Isles. But several islands on our coasts were temporary peninsulas: So that the case of the Black-rock is not singular.

(a) "It is all the same in the Greek"—to *literalize* a vulgar proverb.



lar. As to the name of *Ickta* (or *Ick*) it is commonly applied to *creeks* in Cornwall<sup>(a)</sup>. And, the situation of the Black-rock (though comparatively good) was not the most eligible for the Danmonii east of the Tamar. In short, as it is the casual name of *Ickta* which wings us to the harbour of Falmouth, I can by no means alight on the Black-Rock as the *νῆσον προκειμένην* of Diodorus. Here, then, we hover in vain: And, though we have long fluttered over the world of waters, we have found no resting-place. To raise objections in this manner, against the theories of others, is easy: But to form a new theory, is difficult. Perhaps, in the present case, no conjecture can be thrown out, that may boldly claim universal attention. It is not, therefore, with an air of triumph that I propose my own opinions. With the view of exciting antiquarians to this enquiry, I have only to intimate, that I have often looked to the *Island of St. Nicholas*, as the *Ἰδῖς* of Diodorus. In this light, *St. Nicholas* seems to be entitled to a moment's consideration. It is situated in *Plymouth-Sound*, "the first promontory on the west side of which, (says Carew) is *Rame-head*. From thence trending *Penlee-Point*, you discover *Kings-sand* and *Causam-Bay*. In the mouth of the harbour, lyeth *St. Nicholas Island*; in fashion lozenge, in quantity about 3. acres, strongly fortified, carefully guarded, and subject to the commander of *Plymouth fort*. From this island, a range of rocks reacheth over to the south-west shore, discovered at the low water of spring tides, & leaving ouely a narrow entrance in the midst called the *Yate*, for ships to passe thorow, whereto they are directed by certaine markes at land." (b)

From the correspondence of this description with that of Diodorus Siculus—from the appellation of *Ἰδῖς*—from the scite of *St. Nicholas* at the mouth of the *Tamar*—from its central position in regard to *Devon* and *Cornwall*—from the actual conventions of the *Devonshire* and *Cornish* miners, in its vicinity—from the ancient mines both to the east and west of it, particularly the tin-works of *Dartmoor*—from its situation in reference to *Gaul*—and from the Grecian factory at the *Ramhead*, near which it lies, as connected with the Greeks of *Marfeilles*, I confess, I have a strong suspicion that this little isle might have been the identical *Ἰδῖς*. The correspondence of this description with that of Diodorus Siculus, must be evident at a glance. Diodorus describes a certain isle adjacent to the shores of Britain—*νῆσον προκειμένην*. Such is *St. Nicholas*. And this isle (he intimates) is situate between Britain and the continent: So is *St. Nicholas*. The name of this isle, he says, is *Ἰδῖς*. And *Ἰδῖς*, we shall see (which is Cornubritish) was probably the first name of *St. Nicholas*. The space between *Ἰδῖς* and the main-land (he adds) becomes an isthmus at the reflux of the tide. Such, even now, may almost be said of *St. Nicholas*; since "from this island, a range of rocks reacheth over to the south-west shore, discovered at the low water of spring-tides." It is remarkable, that this range of rocks is called the *Bridge*. Nor have I a doubt but that in the time of our historian, this bridge was passable: And great quantities of tin, from the west, were, probably, carried over it, in Cornish waggons. Diodorus, also, informs us, that the isles in general, between Britain and the continent, were, in this manner, alternately, islands and peninsulas—the truth of which is abundantly proved by the British history, and tradition, and the observations of the naturalist. "But the *Ἰδῖς* of Diodorus, may the objector say, must have been a larger isle than that of *St. Nicholas*." Doubtless it was a larger isle than *St. Nicholas* appears at present. Let us recollect, however, the vast changes that have taken place, on all the coasts of Britain and its neighbouring isles, since the time of Diodorus: Let us look only to the alterations in the *Scilly Isles*. That they have been greatly reduced from their original size, is evident. And, very possibly, *St. Nicholas* has been reduced in the same proportion. All the south-west coasts and adjacent islands have suffered, more or less, by the

(a) "*Ick*—a common termination of creeks in Cornwall; as *Pordinick*, *Pradnick*, *Portysick*," Borlase's Vocabulary.

(b) Carew's Survey, p. 99. Riffon's description of this harbour and of the island, is as follows: "Between Tamer and Plym, is situate that town sometime called *Sutton*, of its southerly scite.—In the Saxons heptarchy, this harbour was called *Tamerworth* (as is to be read in the life of *St. Indracus*) if *St. Nicholas Island* be not meant thereby. For *Weorth*, in Saxon, is a river-island.—Just before the harbour's mouth, lieth *St. Nicholas's island*, for form lozenge, by estimation three acres of land, strengthened by art as well as nature, and is subject to the command of the captain of *Plymouth fort*." Leland says, that "*Walterus de Valle torta* gave to *Plymtoun-Priorie* the Isle of *St. Nicolas cum cuniculis*, conteynyng a 2. acres of ground, or more, and lying at the mouthes of *Tamar* & *Plym* ryvers." Itinerary, vol. 2. p. 45.

the force of the elements, particularly by the depredations of the sea. Why, then, should we except St. Nicholas from the wreck? Those, however, who are acquainted with the present appearance of St. Nicholas, will make no such exception. From its shelving coasts towards the sea, there are rocks that run out to a great length. At low water, their surfaces are visible: And they are evidently very extensive. When we consider, then, the desalcation of the shore, from subsidences of earth and other causes, it seems reasonable to suppose, that these ledges of rock towards the sea, were once covered with strata of gravel and sand and earth, forming a part of the Isle of St. Nicholas; but that these different layers were removed in a course of time from their foundation of rock, fretted away by the gradual fluctuation of the sea, disturbed and tumbled into the deep from the mining of subterraneous waters, divulsed and dashed to atoms amidst earthquakes and the violence of the tempest. In short, sailors have made precisely the same observations on the rocks contiguous to St. Nicholas, as on those between the Scilly Isles and the Cornish coast. Excepting towards Mount-Edgcombe and the sea, no rocks are discoverable adjoining to this island. The other parts of its coasts are washed by deep water. Towards the sea, however, the water is extremely shallow, and large beds of rock are very apparent—whence I conclude, that a great part of the island hath disappeared: Nor is it unlikely, that in the age of our historian, St. Nicholas was even in point of size, as eligible an emporium as the Isle of Wight. (a)—With respect to the name of *Ictis*, *Ick* is undoubtedly a Cornish word, signifying a creek. It is preserved in the names of various places in the neighbourhood of the Tamar, and the Plym: And all the land near the mouths of these rivers is full of creeks. In his description of the course of the Tamar, Borlase tells us, (b) “that the Tamar receiving the Tavy on the east, and having made a creek into the parishes of Botsflemming and Landulph on the west, becomes a spacious harbour; and washing the foot of the ancient borough of Saltash within half a mile, is joined by the Lynher creek and river; then passing straight forward forms the noble harbour of Hamoze, (c) called formerly Tamerworth (d); where making two large creeks, one called St. John’s, the other Millbrook, at the west, and Stonehouse creek at the east (after a course of about forty miles, nearly south) the Tamar passes into the sea, having Mount Edgcombe for its western, and the lands of Stonehouse and St. Nicholas Island, in Plymouth Sound, for the eastern boundary.” The *vicos* of Diodorus, then, had received a Cornish name, in the days of the historian. On the coasts of Hampshire, we are acquainted with no such term as *Ick* or *Ickia*, or *Ictis*, as synonymous with creek. And the Cornish would naturally give this name to an island on their own shores, not to the Isle of Wight. *Ictis* was a Cornish island, on the Cornish coast, known by a Cornish name, and so denominated by the people of Cornwall. In the mean time, the name of *Ictis* may, with as much reason, be appropriated to the Isle of St. Nicholas as to the Black-Rock: Yet it was chiefly the name, which led Halse and Pryce to exalt their Black-Rock into the *vicos* of the Greek historian. The present appellation of our Island, is evidently modern. In the Saxon Period, its name is supposed to have been *Tamerworth*, an island at the mouth of the Tamar. But *Ictis* is a term more peculiarly descriptive of it—the island of creeks, or the creek-island.—From its situation at the mouth of such a fine navigable river as the Tamar, St. Nicholas was well calculated for the purposes of merchandize. And the Tamar was, undoubtedly, navigated by the Phenicians and Greeks. As it was entered, in a subsequent period, by the Danes, whence they committed their depredations both on the Devonshire and Cornish sides of it, so was it frequented by the earliest inhabitants of Danmoum, who, with their freights of tin, sailed down to the Isle of St. Nicholas.—The central situation of St. Nicholas, with regard both to Devonshire and Cornwall, will afford us, also, just grounds for supposing it to have been the general depository of the tin raised both to the east and west. The Phenician navigators are thought to have come up the Tamar,

(a) Let me repeat, that I do not here acquiesce in probabilities. Mr. Scawen tells us, in his MS. that “THERE WAS A VALLEY BETWEEN RAMHEAD AND LOOE.” And in a clear day, he says, “there is to be seen at the bottom of the sea, a league from the shore, a wood of timber.”

(b) Nat. Hist. p. 37, 38.—“Scant a mile lower lyth Limer Creek, going up onto S. Germane’s. Then breaketh a little Creek, out cauldil John’s or Antony. And at the mouth about St. Nicholas breaketh in a Creek going up to Milbrook 2. miles up in land from the mayn haven.” Leland’s Itin. vol. 2, p. 41. (c) Saxon name Ham-oze; that is, the wet oozy habitation, circuit, or inclosure.

(d) Camden, page 26.



Tamar, very soon after their acquaintance with Danmormium. (a) They must have discovered, therefore, the Isle of St. Nicholas, before they had established any factories in this county. But, in the present advanced state of the British commerce, St. Nicholas was surely familiar to the different settlers, who availed themselves, I doubt not, of its advantageous situation. Whilst the colonists of the north of Devon conveyed their tin to the banks of the Tamar, whence it might have been shipped off and brought down the river to this island, and whilst the inhabitants of Dartmoor and all the country bordering upon the Tamar, freighted their vessels in the same manner, and unloaded them, also, at St. Nicholas; the Cornish even from the Land's-end (as Diodorus intimates) were driving their waggons towards the same common depository to which they might easily pass at low water.—That our idea of the convenience of such a central spot to the tin-traders of Devon and Cornwall, is perfectly just, seems evinced in the strongest manner, by the actual meetings of the Devonshire and Cornish miners on (b) *Hengston-down*, at no great distance from our island, for the purpose of renewing the remembrance of their unwritten laws (their traditional observances of high antiquity) and of settling various points in which both parties were interested, either as tin-manufacturers or merchants. Periodical associations of this kind were natural. And such periodical associations took place in the vicinity of St. Nicholas from time immemorial, many ages before the existence of any written statutory laws, and probably in the British Period. If, then, the Devonshire and Cornish miners were in the habit of consulting their mutual convenience; by such meetings at a central spot, is it not fair to conclude, that they had a regard, also, to the common advantage, in the actual exportation of their tin, and that they conveyed this metal to some port of traffick, equally commodious to both parties? This port was some island on their coasts: And where can an island be found more accessible to both parties, than that of St. Nicholas? If St. Nicholas were in those days sufficiently large for such a general port of traffick (and I doubt not but it was) its situation more eligible than that of any other island on the south-west shores, would instantly determine its pretensions to the rank I have given it in the commercial world.—Let us add to this, the vestiges of ancient tin-works in its vicinity. We are informed, from records, that “all the old mines on Dartmoor, are on its western side towards the Tamar.” This is a curious circumstance. And there is no doubt but the traces of old tin-works are chiefly on the west side of the forest. Here are strong marks both of sluice and stream works. The boldest vestiges, also, of our ancient Cornish mines, are very near the Tamar. (c) It is natural, therefore, to conjecture, that the greater abundance of tin on the banks of the Tamar, would give a proportionate consequence to the adventurers of the neighbourhood; and that the weight of interest thus irresistibly acquired, would render their own district the principal seat of commerce. Others, indeed, reasoning differently, may imagine, that the frequentation of the Tamar by our tin-merchants, or the establishment of an emporium on the Isle of St. Nicholas, was itself the occasion of multiplying the tin-works in the neighbouring country; since the expences of carriage or conveyance must have decreased in proportion to the nearness of the commodity to the place of exportation; not to mention other advantages which would accrue from raising and preparing the tin, amidst the confluence of merchants and the fervor of commerce.—In the mean time, the situation of St. Nicholas in respect to Gaul, is surely preferable either to that of the Scilly Isles or of the Black-rock. To the Isle of Wight I shall not recur; as the trade in question was not with Hampshire but with Devonshire and Cornwall. But on this point, as singly taken

(a) Mr. Pinkerton is certainly correct in his idea, that the Cassiterides did not mean, exclusively, the Scilly Isles, but, also, Great Britain and Ireland.

(b) “From Plymouth Haven, passing farther into the countree, *Hengsten downe* presenteth his waste head and sides to our sight. This name it borroweth of *Hengst*, which in the Saxon signifieth a horse, & to such least daintie beasts it yeeldeth fittest pasture. The countree people have a by word that

*Hengsten-downe*, well ywrought,

Is worth London towne, deare ybought.

Which grew from the store of tynne, in former times, there digged up: But that gainfull plentie is now fallen to a scant—saving scarcitie.” Carew's Survey, p. 115.

(c) “By the ryver of Tamar from the hedde north north east yfuyng owrt towarde the fowthe, the contery being hilly, ys fertile of corne & gresse with sum tynne warkes wrought by violence of water. *Hengstun* beyng a by hylle, and nere Tamar, yn the east part, baryn of his self, yet is fertile by yelding of tynne both be water & dry warkes.” Leland's Itin. vol. 4, p. 113. (Oxford edit. 1769.)



taken, I lay no stress; though it may be adduced, with others, in favor of my hypothesis.—My last argument was drawn from the *Greek factory at the Ramhead* (near which St. Nicholas lies) as connected with the Greeks of *Marseilles*. The Greeks of the Ramhead had called this promontory *κρη μίλων*; they had given the name of *ταμαρος* (a) to the river, at the mouth of which our island is situated; and to the island itself they had probably affixed the appellation of *Ικτίς*. And nothing is more likely, than that this Grecian factory supported a regular correspondence with their brethren at *Marseilles*. As the communication, therefore, of the *Danmonii* with foreign merchants through the port of *Ικτίς*, was indisputably with the *Greeks of Marseilles* (for this is an historical fact, not an hypothetical position) I conceive it probable, that the port of *Ικτίς* was at the Isle of St. Nicholas adjoining to our Grecian factory of the Ramhead. Diodorus notices our tin-trade with *Marseilles* from the port of *Ικτίς*, at this very conjuncture: And, at this very conjuncture, a Grecian factory corresponding with the Greeks of *Marseilles*, were established at the *κρη μίλων*; close to which lay the Isle of St. Nicholas.—On the whole, I think, these concurring circumstances give a plausible air, at least, to my hypothesis: And I have stated my ideas merely as theoretical. At all events, I conceive, my readers will agree with me in opinion, that St. Nicholas hath as fair a claim to the commercial preeminence of *Ικτίς*, as either the Isle of Wight, or one of the Scilly Isles, or the Black-rock of Falmouth.

At this advanced stage of the British commerce, there were, doubtless, other marts of trade on the south-coast of *Danmonium*. Such was the case, also, on the north shore; whilst commercial settlements were formed on the *Jugum Ocrinum*, communicating with the country on either side of it. Among other ports was the *Ostium Iscæ fluvii*, immediately connected with the capital: and at *Helenis Promontorium*, *Ocrinum Promontorium*, and *Promontorium Antiwestium*, inferior factories, possibly, were established. (b) And, in the north of Devon, the Phenicians, we doubt not, were carrying on a trade of some consequence at *Hertland-Point*; whilst *Okehampton*, on the *Ocrinum Jugum*, was the principal link in the great commercial chain.

Who these foreign merchants were, that purchased the tin from the *Danmonians* in this island, and transported it to the coast of Gaul, and thence overland to *Marseilles*, the historian hath not informed us. Probably, the Greeks of *Marseilles*, at first, sent agents of their own to *Ικτίς*, to negotiate this business, but afterwards received the British tin, and other commodities, from the hands of the Gauls; since the conduct of such a trade over the continent of Gaul, required the assistance of its inhabitants. The Greeks of *Marseilles*, after they had begun to trade in this manner, could not expect to confine the British commerce to themselves. They had seen rivals in the Gauls, particularly the merchants of *Narbonne*, a rich and flourishing city, on the coast of the Mediterranean, not far from the mouth of the Rhone. After the division of the British trade between *Marseilles* and *Narbonne*, the merchants of Gaul opened several new routs for conveying their goods from Britain over the continent of Gaul, to these two great cities. They brought their goods from Britain up the river Seine, as far as it was navigable, and thence conveyed them, on horses, overland, to the Rhone, on which they again embarked them; and, falling down that river to the Mediterranean, landed them either at *Marseilles* or *Narbonne*. On their return, they brought goods for the *Danmonian* market from these cities up the Rhone, as far as it was navigable, thence overland to the Seine, and down the river, and across the channel to *Ικτίς*, and other parts of Britain. But, because so long a navigation up so rapid a river as the Rhone, was attended with great difficulties, they sometimes landed their goods at *Vienne* or *Lyons*, carried them overland to the Loire,

(a) Ταμαρος from ποταμος.

(b) Dr. Stukeley seems to insinuate, that there was a Greek settlement or factory at *Seaton*. "Just by the present haven wall, at *Seaton* (says Stukeley) is a long pier or wall jutting out into the sea—made of great rocks piled together, to the breadth of six yards. They told me, it was built many years ago by one Courd, once a poor sailor; who being somewhere in the Mediterranean, was told by a certain Greek, that much treure was hid upon *Hogsdon-hill* near here, and that this memorial was transmitted to him by his ancestors. Courd, upon his return, digging there, found the golden mine—and at his own expence built this wall, with an intention to restore the harbour. The people hereabouts firmly believe the story; and many have dug in the place with like hopes." This tradition reminds me of the old Greek pilot, who referred Mr. Anson to the days of his ancestors—pointing with conscious pride to the isle of *Tenedos*, and exclaiming—"there our fleets lay"—during the siege of *Troy*.

Loire, and down that river to Vennes, and other cities on the coast of Brittany, and thence embarked them for Britain. The trade, by this second route, was carried on by the Veneti, the best navigators of the ancient Gauls. A third route was from Britain to the mouth of the Garonne, up that river as far as it was navigable, and thence overland to Narbonne. The trade of Britain, however, was not long confined to Danmonium, after it came into the hands of the Gaulish merchants. It gradually extended to all the coasts opposite to Gaul: And the Belgæ and other nations, who possess these coasts, kept up a constant intercourse with the continent whence they came. (a)

In

(a) The following is an extract from Chapple's long digression on the British commerce—a digression from which he frequently digresses; "*such vagatory deviations*" serving, in his opinion, to relieve the tediousness of "*invariably plodding in the same dull track !!!*" "It may be proper to remark that although, in the course of our enquiries on this subject, we have supposed with Dr. Borlase, that the *Phœnicians* took those parts of *Devon* and *Cornwall* which produced tin to be *islands*, and included them as such, with those now denominated the *Scilly Islands*; yet this was only meant of the notions they might have of them at the time when they first discovered them; when they could know no more of *Britain* or its isles than the situation of those parts of the coasts on which they landed, or had observ'd from their ships; and could no more guess at their extent or connection, than the modern *Europeans* could, 'till very lately, whether *New Holland* or *New Zealand* were islands or continent. But we cannot suppose, that such expert navigators, as the *Phœnicians* undoubtedly were, could long remain ignorant that the eastern parts of the tin-countries, with which they must soon have establish'd a constant trade for that metal, were connected with, and parts of, a much larger tract of land than any of those little islands with which they had at first confounded them. And yet the *Greeks*, who were by them supplied with it, but were wholly unacquainted with the situation or extent of the countries whence they had it, might still continue the name they had originally adopted to distinguish them, and which became the common appellation of all places productive of tin; which metal was by the ancients taken to be a species of *lead*, and frequently so call'd. Thus *Mela*, speaking of the isles of the northern ocean, mentions some *Celtic* ones which, because abounding in *lead*, were all call'd by one common name, *Cassiterides*(1): And *Pliny* says,(2) the *Cassiterides* were so call'd by the *Greeks* from being fruitful in *lead*; meaning that white sort of *lead* (as they supposed it to be, tho' in reality a different metal) which *Cæsar* in his commentaries (speaking of the tin of the midland or interior parts of *Britain*) called *plumbum album*. That the *Phœnicians* themselves did not immediately know or distinguish the tin-country of the *Danmonii* from the *Scilly Isles*, as they were afterwards call'd, cannot be wonder'd at; tho' for the reason above suggested, we can't doubt of their being soon apprized of their being distinct and separate from them, and that they could furnish them with tin in much greater abundance than those detach'd little islands could produce. Other nations however, for above 500 years after this, knew very little of the *British Isles*, or whether *Britain* itself were really such or not: And tho' *Julius Cæsar*, at his invasion of *Britain*, appears to have been well inform'd of the extent of its southern coasts (for the account he gives of it differs but a very few miles from the truth, according to our modern maps, however incorrect in his other dimensions deduced from the random guesses of the inhabitants), and had been apprized of its having tin in its interior parts as above mention'd; yet he takes no particular notice of those islands which had long supplied the world therewith.—And tho' *Strabo*, who wrote 70 years after *Cæsar*'s invasion, in his account of the bearing and situation of the *Cassiterides* from *Gades*, plainly directs us, towards the Land's End in *Cornwall*, and the islands situate near it; and the number of the principal ones (of which, he tells us, all but one were inhabited) were not unknown to him (3); yet he appears ignorant of their real distance; of which he, in his third book,

only

(1) In Celticis aliquot sunt, quas, quia plumbo abundant, nunc omnes Cassiteridas appellant. Pomp. Mel. lib. 3. cap. 12.

(2) Cassiterides dicte a Græcis a fertilitate plumbi. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 22. "Itanai scilicet. quod plumbi species habebatur." Hiji. Comment. Dionys. p. 222. ed. 1679.

(3) He reckons ten of them lying close together: Αἱ δὲ Κατίτιδες δέκα μὲν εἰσι, κείνται δ' ἐγγύς ἀλλήλων, πρὸς ἄρκτον ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἀρτάβρων λιμένος πελαγίαι. μία δ' αὐτῶν ἑξημῶς ἐστὶ, τὰς δ' ἄλλας οἰκεῖν ἀνθρώποι ζῶσιν, &c. Strab. lib. 3. prope finem.—Cassiterides insulæ decem sunt numero, vicinæ invicem, ab Artabrorum portu versus septentrionem in alto sitæ inari. Una earum deserta est, reliquæ ab hominibus incoluntur, &c. Interp. Xylandr. And Camden, who doubts not but that these Cassiterides were those now call'd the Scilly Islands, observes, that there are really but ten of them of any note, viz. St. Mary's, Anneth, Agres, Sampson, Silly, Brefer, Russo or Trelew, St. Helen's, St. Martin's, and Arthur. Indeed he reckons 145 islands that go by the name of Scilly Islands, "all clothed with grass, and covered with greenish moss; besides many hideous rocks and great stones above water." But, as he had before intimated, this number 'tho' it exceeds that of ten, as reckon'd by Eustathius and Strabo, by above ten times as many) affords no good argument against their being the same with the Cassiterides of the ancients; since the same would hold equally good against the numbers of the Habudes and Orcades as reckon'd by Ptolemy. "The truth on't is (says he), the ancient writers knew nothing certain of these remote parts and islands; no more than we of the Islands in the Straights of Magellan, and



In what manner the commodities I have noticed, were conveyed from one district, or from one country to another, we may have casually observed : But it is a point, worthy a distinct

only says, they were to the northward of *Gades*, but out in the high seas, and here seems to have suppos'd them somewhere off that coast of Old Spain which was then possess'd by the *Artabri* and *Celtici Nerii* in the northern part of the ancient *Lusitania*, near the promontory of *Nerium*, now call'd *Cape-Finisterre* : But elsewhere (lib. 2.) he had directed us to a much more northerly situation of them. (1) *Mela* also, — who wrote about 20 years after *Strabo*, when the Emperor *Claudius* had just made his expedition into *Britain*, and was about to triumph for his success there, — declines giving any description of a country so little known to the *Romans* as *Britain* then was ; but only expresses his expectation of its being soon more certainly known, since the Emperor had, by his conquest of people before untamed, and of some 'till then unknown, open'd a way to further discoveries of what it was, and what it might produce. (2) — Yet it was not 'till 40 years after this, when *Agriicola's* fleet sail'd round it, that the *Romans* certainly knew it to be an island. After the coalition of the *Phœnicians* of *Gades* with their brethren the *Carthaginians*, that powerful nation in conjunction with them, must have continued to carry on the tin-trade with the *Danmonii* ; still carefully concealing it from all competitors. These they had taken every precaution to exclude ; and having long preserv'd to themselves the uninterrupted and unrivall'd enjoyment of this beneficial branch of their commerce under the protection of the *Tyrians*, would be (as we are assured they were) equally attentive to it in concert with their new colleagues and no less powerful protectors ; who could not but esteem the continuance of this monopoly a most important object of their national concern. And so solicitous were they to secure it, that when the *Romans*, after they became acquainted with navigation (of which they were wholly ignorant 'till engaged in the first *Punic* war, about 260 years before *Christ*), (3) sent out their doggers to watch and follow a *Phœnician* ship, with a view to a discovery of the place where they traded for this valuable commodity ; the *Phœnician* mariner perceiving their design, which it behoved him by all means to disappoint, would voluntarily run his ship on some shoal, to decoy the *Romans* into the like perilous situation ; which from their as yet imperfect skill in navigation might prove fatal to them, but from which he himself well knew how to disengage himself and his ship, with some present loss indeed, but little or no danger. For that he did not sink his ship, and himself and crew in it, (4) as some have groundlessly suppos'd, is sufficiently evident ;

the whole trade of New Guinea.' — See *Gibb. Camd.* 1112. ed. 1695. where he gives other reasons for supposing the Scilly Islands to be the *Cassiterides* ; but none inconsistent with our supposition, that the stannary tracts of Cornwall and Devon were included with them under the same denomination. Chapple.

(1) *Strabo*, in his 2d book here refer'd to, after describing the course of the navigation along the western coast of Spain to that of the *Artabri*, and then turning with an oblique angle eastward, 'till off the *Pyrenees* ; adds as follows : — Τούτοις δὲ τὰ ἑσπέρεια τῆς Βρετανικῆς ἀντικείμενα πρὸς ἄρκτον. ὅπου δὲ καὶ τὰς Ἀγλαΐδας ἀνίσχονται πρὸς ἄρκτον, αἱ Καττίσιδες καλεῖσθαι νοῦσι, περὶ ὧν καὶ τὸ Βρετανικὸν πᾶσι κληρὰ ἰδρυμένα. His occiduae Britanniae partes oppositae sunt versus septentrionem. Itemque Artabris versus septentrionem oppositum insulae Cassiterides, [quasi si stannarias dicas,] in pelago, & Britannico propemodum sitae climate. (Interp. Nylander) i. e. Opposite to these towards the north, are the western parts of Britain. Also over against the *Artabri* to the north lie those islands which they call *Cassiterides* (Attice *Cassiterides*), situate out in the main sea very nearly in the same climate with Britain. — This evidently points out to us the Scilly Islands, as no other will so well answer this description : And tho' *Strabo* might not suppose them so near that western part of Britain which he mentions, nor their being so exactly in the same climate and latitude, as they really are ; this is less to be wonder'd at, than that, from the intelligence he could then have concerning those British Isles, he should be enabled to give so true an account of them. Chapple.

(2) Britannia qualis sit, qualesque progere, mox certiora & magis explorata dicentur. Quippe tandem clausam aperit ecce principum maximus ; nec indomitum modo ante se, verum ignotum quoque gentium viciorum, propriarum rerum fidem ne bello infestavit, ita triumpho declaraturus portat." *Pomp. Mel.* lib. 3. cap. 8.

(3) *Ecb. Rom. Hist.* b. 2. ch. 9.

(4) If it could be so understood, it had been a more extraordinary instance of patriotic madness than that of *Curtius* himself ; who for the suppos'd good of his country leapt alone into the pit of destruction, without involving his slaves or dependents in the same perdition. This might be deem'd heroic in a Roman knight, who might promise himself immortal fame as the fancied reward of so much merit ; but it would have been condemn'd as the height of folly and most ridiculous knight-errantry in a *Phœnician* ship-master, to devote himself and his crew to the devouring waves to prevent the discovery of a late secret ; when, as none could escape to testify his patriotism, it would for ever remain doubtful whether his fate were owing to accident or design, and consequently could not insure him even the empty applause of his countrymen as a tribute to his manes — Could a Dutch trader to *Amboyna* be prevail'd on by the warmth of his patriotism to hazard, his own life at least, by a voluntary shipwreck, to secure the monopoly of the spice-trade ? If not, we have as little reason to suppose the monopolizers of tin would take any such desperate methods to guard against and preclude interlopers from having any share in it. For the dispositions of the modern Dutch and the ancient *Phœnicians* seem extremely similar, in respect to trade and commerce and the means of securing it ; and tho' neither might much scruple, on urgent occasions, to offer human sacrifices to *Plutus*, yet to make themselves the victims, merely to promote the advantage of others, and in total exclusion of their own, would be quite out of character. Avarice and selfishness are inconsistent with public spirit ; and tho' they may accidentally contribute to promote the public welfare, this seldom or never happens but when they are stimulated to it by interested views. We have heard indeed of a miser who died to save charges ; but this was to preserve his own board unobscured, not to increase the riches of the community. Chapple.



a distinct examination. We have already seen, that the ancient Britons were not unacquainted with the most perfect method of land-carriage yet discovered, long before they were

dent; since *Strabo*, from whom we have this account, immediately adds, that “preserving himself from shipwreck, he was afterwards compensated out of the public treasury for the loss of his cargo(1).” Hence we learn that the custom of the *Phœnicians* in such cases was, to run their ship aground in some shallow place, with which and its soundings they were previously acquainted, and could guard against its danger; and from which, after having drawn their competitors into the snare, such expert navigators knew how to get free, by throwing overboard a sufficient quantity of the lading to lighten the ship; and getting her afloat, to return with safety home; where they were sure to receive an adequate compensation, for the loss they had sustain’d by sacrificing the profits of such an interrupted voyage to the security of the trade. But notwithstanding these precautions, the same author assures us, the *Romans*, by frequent attempts of the like kind, at length discovered the situation of the *Cassiterides*; and having found their way to them, *Publius Crassus* afterwards came with the discoverers, and made observations on the tin mines here (then of no great depth) and the disposition of the people to peace; their attention to navigation as their leisure permitted, and their readiness to give directions to all who were inclinable to make this voyage(2). Who this *P. Crassus* was, whether some mariner of *Gallia Narbonensis*, or of what other parts of the Empire, and at what time he made this expedition hither in quest of our tin, we are not inform’d. All we can with certainty affirm is, that it must have been after the first *Punic* war; ‘till which time the *Romans* traded in foreign bottoms, having no ships of their own, and being ‘till then (as has been already observ’d) wholly unskill’d in navigation: And if *Crassus* was of *Gaul*, as it seems most probable he was, this discovery and examination of our mines by him and his co-adventurers, can’t be suppos’d to have been till after the third *Punic* war and the destruction of *Old Carthage* (in anno ante Chr. 144); perhaps not ‘till the conclusion of the *Allobrogic* war near 30 years after, viz. in the year before Christ 116, when *Narbonne Gaul* was reduced to a *Roman* province(3). And even this, was rather before than after any *Greeks* had sailed to *Britain*, if *Bochart* mistakes not, in supposing their first voyage to this island to have been in the time of *Ptolemy Lathyrus* King of *Ægypt*; who begun his reign (of 36 years) but the year after the commencement of the last-mentioned war, viz. an. ante Chr. 117; (4) in which, or the following year, the *Allobroges* (5) (who had invaded their *Massilian* neighbours then in alliance with the *Romans*) were totally subdued by *Fabius Maximus*. *Camden* however, (6) supposes the *Greeks* had visited *Britain* near 100 years before this, viz. in the 160th year before *Cæsar*’s invasion, that is, in the year before Christ 215; and others have brought them hither still earlier. But perhaps the time refer’d to by *Bochart* was when they made the first trading voyage to this island for tin: And this, indeed, we can hardly suppose to have been much earlier. For, had any *Greeks* been acquainted with our *Cassiterides*, and commenced any trade to them, at any time during the preceding century, it could not have been long concealed from the *Romans*, when they had once perfected themselves in navigation; to which they diligently applied themselves after the first *Punic* war, and quickly improved on what they had learnt of naval architecture from the construction of some lost *Phœnician* vessels accidentally driven ashore: After which, to what purpose would be the above mention’d precautions of the *Phœnicians*, to conceal from the *Romans* what (on the above supposition) was no longer a secret to the *Greeks*, nor could long be so to any maritime people. That the *Greeks* really traded with the *Britons* some time before *Julius Cæsar*, no-one doubts: But how long before his invasion, and at what time their knowledge of, and trade to this island commenced, and for what commodities they first traded here, whether for tin or what else,—the disagreement of authors concerning them has left very uncertain; and among a variety of opinions on these subjects, we can only judge, from selecting and comparing such authentic testimonies as seem corroborated by collateral circumstances, which to prefer.—*Dr. Borlase* (7), from *Herodotus* and *Aristotle*, supposes that the first passage the *Greeks* made into the Western or Atlantic ocean, was 550 years before Christ, when ‘the people of *Samos* sending a colony into *Egypt*, were driven by the winds down the Mediterranean, and quite through the Straits of *Gibraltar*’; about which Straits, he thinks, ‘they stuck and settled for some ages, without making further progress’: And that they ventur’d not into the northern seas, ‘till *Pylæas*, an astronomer of *Marseilles* about the time of *Alexander* the Great, undertaking a northern voyage, is said to have sail’d as far as the Arctic circle, where there is no night at the summer solstice: A circumstance which, to the unastronomic *Greeks*, must have seem’d not less wonderful (tho’ indeed more true) than many other strange things he pretended to have seen in those parts

(1) *Strabo*’s words are,—— αὐτὸς, ἐτάδη διὰ ναυαγίῃ, καὶ ἀπὸ λαβῆ δημοσίαν τὴν τμητὴν ὡς ἀπὸ λαβῆ φορτίων. which *Nylander* thus renders:—Ipse e naufragio servatus ex aerario publico pretium amissarum mercium recepit. lib 3. prope finem.

(2) *Strabo* ubi supra.

(3) *Ech. Rom. Hist.* b. 2. c. 13.

(4) *Prid. Coined.* Part 2. b. 5.

(5) The *Allobroges* were a people who dwelt at the foot of the Alps, to the southward of the lake of Geneva, in and about the countries now call’d Dauphine, Savoy, and Piedmont. Chapple.

(6) On the name of *Britain*, p. xxxi. *Gill. edit.* 1655.

(7) *Antiq. of Cornw.* p. 32 and 33.

were invaded by the Romans; since the Danmonians, after they had refined their tin, and cast it into square blocks, carried it to Lēis in carts or waggons.

As

parts in his history of *Thule*; for I take him to be the same *Pytheas*, whom *Strabo*, more than once stigmatizes as a propagator of known falsehoods. (1) Incited by his success, and conducted by his observations, the Doctor tells us, the *Greeks* were afterwards bold enough to attempt frequent voyages of this kind: On which he remarks, 'It is very strange therefore, if true, that the *Greeks*, who made a voyage thro' the Straits as anciently as *Alexander's* time, should not sail to *Britain* before the times above-mention'd to be fix'd for it by *Borchart*; in which 'if he is right' it 'will shew how secret the *Phœnicians* kept this trade'—meaning, I presume, the tin-trade: For the Doctor seems to take for granted, that the *Greeks* could have made no voyage to *Britain*, nor had any intercourse with its inhabitants, for any other purpose. But surely they might very early have had some knowledge of the situation of this detach'd part of *Europe*, from *Pytheas's* accounts of it or otherwise, and might discover, and even trade to, some of the *British* ports (perhaps for skins, which was one article of the *Phœnician* traffick here), without knowing where the *Cassiterides* were situated, or at what distance from *Britain*, or even suspecting them to be parts of, or appendages to it: These particulars being so carefully conceal'd by the *Phœnicians*, that the stannary regions to which they traded, were antiently supposed, by all others, to be in some unknown and very distant part of that wide ocean which bounded the western extremities of *Europe* (2) Wherefore, although we should admit the northern voyage of *Pytheas* to be in *Alexander's* time, and that some *Greeks* of *Maffilia* (now *Marsiler*), for such it seems they were, encouraged by his example might soon after make the like attempts, and find their way to some port or ports on the *British* coasts; yet we cannot from thence conclude, that they so early discover'd from whence the *Phœnicians* had their tin. Mr. *Carte*, indeed, (3) takes for granted, that their hopes of a share with the *Phœnicians* in this trade, was the motive that induced them to send their citizen, *Pytheas*, to explore these northern coasts: as if any *Greeks* (whether *Phœcian* colonists at *Maffilia*, or any other *Grecian* traders) had at that time certainly known that their tin came from *Britain*: Which, tho' he supposes this voyage to the north, and the discovery of *Thule*, to have been not above 250 years before *Christ*, above 70 years after the death of *Alexander*, there seems no good reason to believe they were assured of, or in what parts the tin-mines were, 'till about the time the *Romans* discover'd the navigation to them; which was probably above 100 years after the time he fixes for this *Maffilian* enterprise. For would the *Phœnicians* have madly exposed themselves to the extremest dangers, and all the horrors of shipwreck, as Mr. *Carte* acknowledges they did, to secrete from the *Romans* what they could not but know the *Greeks* had, on his supposition, discover'd before? Besides, it is improbable that the *Maffilians*, who constantly cultivated a firm friendship and alliance with the *Romans*, (4) had they discovered the situation of these mines from whence the *Carthaginians* derived so valuable a branch of their commerce, would

or

(1) *Strabo* (lib. 2.) informs us, that this *Pytheas*, tho' he had traversed but a part of *Britain*, pretended accurately to compare its dimensions and extent with those of *Thule*;—represented these northern parts as having neither land, nor sea, nor air; but some spongy matter like pulmo marinus, in which the earth and sea, and all hang suspended: That this matter is as it were the bond of the universe; inaccessible to travellers or sailors;—with other particulars equally strange and incredible.—But perhaps much of the seeming absurdity of these wonderful tales, may be charged on the then ignorance or misapprehension of his readers; who would be not a little startled at his representing the night as being, in the most northerly climate he visited, turn'd into day by an unsetting sun: The snow-topt mountain, hiding their heads in the clouds; from whence the delusions down their sides, alternately flowing, and again congel'd into the like glassy substance of which the ancients imagin'd the heavens themselves were composed; and which, with the multangular rocks and islands of ice surmounting the swelling waves of the surrounding seas, variously reflecting and refracting the solar rays, would from some distant points of view, exhibit the appearance of gilded clouds here and there interspers'd with the cerulean brightness of the firmament itself: And this seeming conjunction of heaven and earth and sea, with the intermediate air frequently fill'd with floating feathers of falling snows, if somewhat poetically described, or in that enigmatical style, by which the ancient *Greeks* were fond of disguising the most important truths in the garb of fiction and romance,—would induce the generality of his readers, who knew nothing of the effects of a northern perennial winter, to imagine he had confounded heaven and earth, air and water, and in short turn'd the world top-sy-turvy: And then, no wonder if some men of good sense and sound judgment, but unskill'd in cosmography, should censure his accounts of these inhospitable regions, as replete with incredible stories and palpable falsehoods. For the best writers, in those early times, knew so little of natural philosophy, geography, or astronomy, as to have but very imperfect notions of the apparent course of the sun, as seen from different parts of the globe; or how and from what causes the different degrees of his heat, or the contrary effects of cold, in different climates, were variously modified. Hence *Herodotus* seems to have understood literally, and of course disbeliev'd, what some had affirm'd of a people cover'd with feathers that every where surrounded them, and fill'd the air about them. And the same *Herodotus* ridicules the report of the *Phœnician* navigators (which however was certainly true), that when (about ann. ante C. 603) they first doubled the most southerly Cape of *Africa* (viz. of Good Hope), they had sun-rising at their right-hand when facing the sun's place at noon; which being contrary to constant observation in northern latitudes, those sailors, who had never before been south of the equator, could not but imagine that he rose in the west and set in the east. May *Strabo* himself, whose judgment and skill in geography is in general unquestionable, and who must be allow'd to have excell'd all that preceded him in that branch of science, absolutely denies the truth of their testimony concerning so strange a phenomenon, as he mistakenly took it to be: And to the like hasty and erroneous judgment in such matters, his censure of *Pytheas* may very probably be, at least partly, ascribed. Chapple.

(2) *Herodotus* in *Thal.*

(3) *Hist. of England*, vol. 1. p. 38.

(4) *Vide Polyb. lib. 3, and Strabo, lib. 4.*



As to their ships, the Britons are commonly represented as using vessels or boats, made of the flexible branches of trees, interwoven as closely as possible, and lined with hides. And, according to Pliny, Timæus described those boats of the Britons (in a history which is now lost) as a kind of wattle-work, covered with skins: Nor are those boats unnoticed by Cæsar, and other ancient writers. That the Danmonians were in possession of vessels of this description, I entertain not a doubt. The construction of these boats was oriental. And "a kind of boats, formed of slender rods joined together in the manner of hurdles and covered with skins," are still used on the Red sea. (a) That the Danmonians, however, were unacquainted with the use of larger vessels, before Cæsar, is a position to which I can never assent. Their voyage from the east to this country, could scarcely have been performed in vessels of so slight a construction as those already described. (b)

But,

or could have conceal'd it from those whom they justly esteem'd their best friends and most powerful protectors; and to whom they on all occasions readily gave all the assistance in their power in their wars with the *Carthaginians* and others.—Now the *Romans*, as we have seen, had never plough'd the ocean till after the first *Punic* war; and consequently could not excite the jealousy of the *Pænician* tin-merchants by attempting a discovery of this kind, or induce them to hazard the safety of their ships and the lives of their sailors; the more effectually to guard against it, 'till *an. ante Cbr.* 240 at soonest: When, being more solicitous to cope with the *Carthaginian* power at sea by a numerous fleet, than attentive to the construction of trading vessels, it is not at all likely they would attempt any thing of this nature, till the conclusion of the second *Punic* war had put them in possession of *Spain* and the islands in the *Mediterranean*. And even then, the revolt of the *Gauls*, and the continuance of the first *Macedonian* war 'till *an. ante Cbr.* 194; with the very short interval between that and the second; and the like between this and the third *Punic* war; and those intervals moreover employ'd in other wars of less note, *viz.* with the *Ligurians*, *Spaniards*, *Coriscans*, and others; must have too much engross'd the attention of the senate and the consuls, to admit of their advertence to commercial concerns. During these transactions, the *Roman* state, now growing up to the height of its glory and greatness, chiefly solicitous to have brave and well-regulated armies, and paying little or no regard to mercantile concerns, very little encouragement of even their domestic traffic could in such times be expected; much less the commencement of a foreign trade to a distant and undiscover'd country. That great body was as yet unanimated by the spirit of commerce. To check and restrain troublesome neighbours, and at length command and protect them; to humble the pride, and weaken the strength of dangerous rivals; to dethrone kings, and dispose of kingdoms, as best suited their own political or intereited views; to subdue, and to polish, the most savage and barbarous nations; to enlarge the boundaries and advance the grandeur of the empire; and to fill the public treasury, and enrich individuals with the plunder of captur'd cities and conquer'd provinces;—were the principal objects of their care and concern. Not that they were stimulated to great actions by a greediness of gain, but by a thirst after glory and honour: And though not ignorant that riches and power are mutually productive of each other, their aim was not so much an accumulation of wealth, as an extension of their power and dominion. Such immense riches as their rival state had derived from its extensive trade and commerce, and which rendered it so powerful as to dispute with the *Romans* themselves for the empire of the world, was to them merely adventitious; as being not the object they had in view, but accidentally resulting from that power and authority, which they had previously obtained." *Chapple's General Descript. of Devon*, p. 106 to 114.

(a) See Harmer's Observations on the Bible.

(b) "The poet Dionysius, having described all the nations of the known world, concludes with the *Indo-Scythæ*; of whom he gives a more ample, and a more particular account, than of any, who have preceded. He dwells long upon their habits and manners; their rites and customs; their merchandize, industry, and knowledge: and has transmitted some excellent specimens of their ancient history.

Ἰνδοὺ παρ ποταμὸν Νότιον Σκυθὰς ἐγκαίεσιν, &c. &c.

Dion. Perieg. v. 1038.

Upon the banks of the great river Ind  
The *Southern Scythæ* dwell; which river pays  
Its wat'ry tribute to that mighty sea  
Stiled Erythrean. Far remov'd its source,  
Amid the stormy cliffs of Caucasus:  
Descending hence through many a winding vale,  
It separates vast nations. To the west  
Th' *Oritæ* live and *Aribes*: and then  
The *Ara-cotii* fam'd for *linæ geæ*, &c. &c.

To 'num'rate all, who rove this wide domain  
Surpasses human pow'r: the Gods can tell,

The



But (to drop this idea) their connexion with the Phenicians for many successive ages before Cæsar, must render the above position at least improbable. The Phenicians, I need not repeat, were, of all the ancient nations, the most skilful navigators: They were famed both for the structure and for the management of their vessels. (a) Is it at all likely, therefore, that the Danmonians, so long conversant with the Phenicians, should have indolently rested in their little osier boats, whilst the lofty ships of the Phenicians were continually at anchor in their harbours? Is it possible, that they should have acquiesced from generation to generation, in a rude fishing vessel, when they might have ascended, whenever they pleased, the Phenician ship, and have thoroughly examined its construction? Can we conceive, that, exposed as the Danmonians were, in their frail barks, to the dangers of the sea, they could have been satisfied with such vehicles, even if none of a better construction had been ever presented to their observation? Gratified, however, as they were, with a full view of ships, both safe and commodious, do we imagine them so senseless as to stare only, with stupid wonder, at those ships? Had they wondered, their wonder would soon cease: Astonishment is a transitory passion: It does not last for ages. When the novelty, therefore, of the object was over, would not the Danmonians naturally begin to consider the Phenician ships as excellent models for imitation? And would they not proceed to construct vessels for themselves, after these models?

That

The Gods alone; for nothing's hid from Heaven.  
Let it suffice, if I their worth declare.  
These were the first great founders in the world,  
Founders of cities and of mighty states:  
*Who show'd a path through seas, before unknown:*  
And when doubt reign'd and dark uncertainty,  
Who render'd life more certain. They first view'd  
The starry lights, and form'd them into schemes.  
In the first ages, when the sons of men  
Knew not which way to turn them, they assign'd  
To each his just department: they bestow'd  
Of land a portion and of sea a lot;  
And sent each wand'ring tribe far off, to share  
A different soil and climate. Hence arose  
The great diversity, so plainly seen  
Mild nations widely severed.

Such is the character given by the poet Dionysius of the Indian Scythæ, under their various denominations. They were sometimes called *Phœnices*: and those of that name in Syria were of Cuthite extraction. In consequence of this, the poet in speaking of them, gives the same precise character as he has exhibited above, and specifies plainly their original.

Οἱ δ' ἄλλος ἐγγυς εὐντες, ἐπωνυμίην φοινίκας.

Upon the Syrian sea the people live  
Who stile themselves *Phœnicians*. These are sprung  
From the true ancient Erythrean stock;  
From that sage race, who first essay'd the deep,  
And waisted merchandize to coasts unknown.  
These too digested first the starry choir;  
Their motions mark'd and call'd them by their names."—Col. Vallancey.

(a) According to Sammes, the Phenicians had built great ships in the time of Solomon, and were accustomed to long and tedious voyages. "Now it is (says this author) that we hear of *Danaus*, and his great ship *Penteconteros*, or fifty oars, in which he arrived out of *Ægypt* into *Greece*, which voyage may be gathered out of an Inscription upon an old marble, part of which by time is worn out. It is thus.

Ἀφ' οὗ καὶ . . . η . . . . ὡς ἐξ Ἀιγύπτου . . . ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα  
ἔπλουσε καὶ ὀνομάσθη πενήκοντες καὶ αἱ Δανάε θυγατέρες  
... οὐν καὶ . . . ρα . . . α γείω καὶ Ἑλικὴ καὶ Ἀρχιδιχὴ  
ἀποκληρωθεῖσαι . . . . . αὐτ . . . καὶ  
ἔδυσαν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλφειοῦ ἑμπάρεα . . δι' τῆς Ῥοδίας ἔτη  
ΧΗΗΔΔΔΔΠΙΙ.

By the learned Selden rendered to this sense.

Since the Ship . . . came from *Ægypt* into *Greece*, and was called *Penteconteros*, and the Daughters of *Danaus* . . . and *Helice*, and *Archedice* chosen from the rest . . . and sacrificed upon the shore in *Para* . . . de *I Lindus*, a City of *Rhodes*. MCCXLVII."—Brit. Antiqu. Illust. p. 20.

That they were not unskilled in the mechanical arts, their chariot is a sufficient proof: On this point, we cannot hesitate. The application, therefore, of their talents to ship-building, was easy, and, I will add, unavoidable. Cæsar, it is true, has noticed the oser-boats only, of the Britons: And Cæsar's authority, as far as it goes, is valid. But Cæsar was not acquainted with Danmonium. The vessels he saw, he described: What he had no opportunity of observing, or of having satisfactorily attested, he left unnoticed. And so distant was Danmonium from the scene of his victories, that he probably met with no creditable people, who could answer his enquiries relating to the genius or customs of the western Britons. In short, I think, the silence of Cæsar as to this point, and the silence, indeed, of history in general, will furnish no argument against my opinion, that the Danmonians were in possession of vessels superior to fishing-boats, long before Cæsar's time. That the British boats should have been so much noticed by ancient writers, was, probably, owing to the singularity and novelty of their form: They were Asiatic; and, therefore, uncommon in the eyes of Europeans. (a) In the mean time, the British vessels of a better form, were more, perhaps, like the ships of other countries; and were, therefore, seldom mentioned. Though the larger ships of the Danmonians be not described, we have historical evidence, enough, I think, to prove that such vessels must have existed. To say nothing of the (b) "LONGIS NAVIBUS HAUD ITA MULTIS," in which the colonial voyage from S. Scythia was performed, it is a certain fact, that many of the Danmonians embarked for Ireland at the time of the Belgic invasion, that such a body of people crossed the seas as to form a colony on the Irish coast, and that this emigration was made with the greatest dispatch, whilst the Belgæ were overrunning the country. Not to notice the embarkation of troops from Danmonium on other occasions, this single expedition, I think (more than three centuries before Cæsar) should leave on our minds no mean impression of the Danmonian navy. That great numbers of people, furnished not only with voyaging stores, but with every thing necessary for an establishment in another country, should set sail from Danmonium, on the alarm of a hostile invasion, and consequently without time for much preparation, and that they should be conveyed in safety across the seas, and actually form a new colony on a foreign coast, is scarcely possible, unless we give them credit for having been good ship-builders as well as skilful navigators. They must have had capacious vessels in their docks: A colony, with all its provisions, in little oser boats—is ridiculous. With respect to the ship-building and navigation of the Greeks, who successively followed the Phenicians in trading to this part of the island, and probably in planting colonies here, there are certain facts on record, which cannot be disputed. We have it on the authority of Athenæus, that about two hundred years before Cæsar, the Greeks had made a rapid progress in ship-building and navigation. That famous ship which was built at Syracuse under the direction of Archimedes, is at once a proof of the proficiency of the Greeks in the maritime arts and of their connexion with Britain. According to Athenæus, this ship had three masts, of which the second and third were easily procured; but it was long before a tree for the main-mast could be found. At length a proper tree was discovered in the *mountains of Britain*; and brought down to the sea-coast by machines invented by a famous mechanic Phileas Tauromenites. This is a curious fact. And the mountains of Britain, I conceive, were the mountains of Danmonium. In other parts of the island, the Greeks had very slight connexions. It was with Danmonium that they traded: It was here, they had established their factory: It was here, they had fixed a colony. But, whether the timber for the mainmast of this Grecian ship were discovered in Danmonium or any

- (a) Primum cana salix, madefacto vimine, parvam  
 Textur in puppim, cæsoque inducta juvenco  
 Victoris patiens, tumidum circumnatat amnem.  
 Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoque Britannus  
 Navigat Oceano . . . . .  
 . . . . . rei ad miraculum  
 Navigia junctis semper aptant pellibus,  
 Corioque vastum sæpe percurrunt salum.

Luc. Pharfal. l. 4.

Fest. Avienus in Oris Marit.

See, also, Cæsar, p. 240. and Pliny, l. 4. c. 16.

(b) Saxon Chronicle, p. 1. They were but *few* ships: yet they contained a sufficient number of people to form a new colony in a very distant country—a proof that, these *few* ships must have been *capacious*.

any other part of the island, it is probable from this circumstance, that the art of ship-building had been communicated to the Britons. As we advance in the argument, the proofs become more convincing. We shall find them, indeed, irresistible. That the Britons were acquainted with ship-building and navigation before the time of Cæsar, appears, I think, from the following circumstances. Though the Veneti of Britany confessedly excelled all the continental nations in their knowledge of maritime affairs, and in the number and strength of their ships, yet, when they were preparing to fight a decisive battle against the Romans by sea, they asked and obtained auxiliaries from Britain. And this they certainly would not have done, if the Britons could have assisted them only with a few wicker-boats. The Britons, therefore, had, probably, ships nearly of the same form and construction with those of their friends and allies the Veneti. And the ships of the Veneti are described by Cæsar, as large, lofty, and strong, built entirely of thick planks of oak, and so solid, that the beaks of the Roman ships could make no impression on them. In that famous sea-fight off the coasts of Armorica, the combined fleets of the Veneti and the Britons consisted of two hundred and twenty of these large and strong ships. (a) To close the whole, let us recur to Ossian: There are passages, I think, in his poems, which must determine the controversy. The very name of the British prince who was believed to be the inventor of ships, and the first who conducted a colony out of Britain into Ireland, is preserved in these poems. 'Larthon, the first of Bolga's race, who travelled on the winds—who first sent the black ship through ocean, like a whale through the bursting of foam. He mounts the wave on his own dark oak in Cluba's ridgy bay—that oak which he cut from Luno, to bound along the sea. The maids turn their eyes away, lest the king should be lowly laid. For never had they seen a ship, dark rider of the waves!' This expedition of Larthon must have happened two or three centuries before the first Roman invasion; from which period the intercourse between Caledonia and Ireland was frequent: Hence the people of both countries must have gradually improved in ship-building and navigation. These arts were so far advanced in the days of Fingal, that this illustrious hero made several expeditions, accompanied by some hundreds of his warriors, not only into Ireland, but into Scandinavia, and the islands of the Baltic. We learn from the poems of Ossian, that the ancient Britons of Caledonia steered their course by certain stars, in their voyages to Ireland and Scandinavia. "I bade my white sails (says Fingal) rise before the roar of Cona's wind—When the night came down, I looked on high for fiery-haired Ul-crim. Nor wanting was the star of heaven: it travelled red between the clouds: I pursued the lovely beam on the faint-gleaming deep." In another passage of these poems, no less than seven of these stars which were particularly observed by the British sailors, are named and described, as they were embossed on the shield of Cathmor, chief of Atha. "Seven bosses rose on the shield—On each boss is placed a star of night; Can-mathon with beams unthorn; Colderna rising from a cloud; Uloicho robed in mist; Cathlin glittering on a rock. Reldurath half sinks its western light—Berthen looks through a grove—Tonthena, that star which looked, by night, on the course of the sea-tossed Larthon." When a fleet of the ancient Britons sailed under the command of one leader, the commander's ship was known by his shield hung high on the mast: And the several signals were given by striking the different bosses of that shield, which were commonly seven; each yielding a different and well-known sound. "Three hundred youths looked from their waves on Fingal's bossy shield. High on the mast it hung, and marked the dark blue sea.—But when the night came down, I struck at times the warning boss—Seven bosses rose on the shield; the seven voices of the king, which his warriors received from the wind, and marked over all their tribes."

After this deduction of the British commerce, from the earliest times down to the Roman Period, it is natural to enquire, whether this commerce was carried on by way of barter (the exchange of one commodity for another) or whether certain metals, as gold, silver, and brass, the great medium of commerce in almost every age, were adopted as the representatives of different commodities. The primitive mode of commerce was the exchanging of one commodity for another: But the great inconveniences experienced by those who carried on their trade in the way of barter, soon occasioned the invention of money. It should seem from a few scattered passages in ancient authors, that the Britons were unacquainted with money, or with its mercantile uses. Yet, that the Britons had

(a) Cæsar, lib. 3. c. 8, 9. c. 13, 14, 15, 16.



had the knowledge of (a) money, and that they used brass-money, is evident from this passage in Cæsar: *Utuntur aut æreo aut taleis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo.* (b) But Cæsar is here speaking of the Britons on the sea-coasts, particularly those of Kent, who imported their brass from the Continent. With the Danmonians, Cæsar had, at this time, little or no acquaintance. I only quote, therefore, his authority, to prove one simple fact, that the Britons knew the use of money before the time of Cæsar. For it is not probable, that the money in circulation among the people of Kent, should be confined to their own district. The principal trading towns in the island, were, doubtless, acquainted with money. Nor could the merchants of Exeter, in particular, be ignorant of its use. That money coined at British mints had been long circulated through the island, is plain from the Roman edict suppressing all such coins, and prohibiting the use of any money in Britain, but what was stamped with the image of a Cæsar. In the mean time, we are not to imagine, that the Britons used brass and iron money only; to the exclusion of those metals which were so obviously preferable for the mint. In our Danmonian mines were produced no small quantities of gold and silver. And that the Danmonians had gold coins, is plain from those of Karnbre, which Borlase has exhibited in his Antiquities of Cornwall, plate XIX, and which he has properly attributed to the Britons. In his Natural History of Cornwall, Borlase has also exhibited (as supplemental) several coins of the same kind, in plate XXIX. Of all these coins, I shall here insert my learned countryman's description, as I think they are particularly curious, and then offer both Borlase's and my own conjectures on the subject. "In the month of June 1749, in the middle of the ridge of Karnbre-hill, were found such a number of coins of pure gold, as being sold for weight, brought the finder about 16 pounds, sterling. Near the same quantity was found by another person near the same spot, a few days after; all which were soon sold and dispers'd: some were much worn and smooth'd, not by age, or lying in the earth, but by use, they having no alloy to harden, and secure them from wearing. Seventeen I exhibit in plate XIX. of different impressions, size, or weights; several others found at the same time and place, I have seen, but being of the same sort as these examples, I think it needless to lay them before the public. I range the rudest, and those which have figures most unknown first, (as others engag'd in the same subject have done) being, in all probability, the most ancient; the others follow according as their criterions seem to become more and more perfect, and modern. I mention their weight also, as a material circumstance, (tho' omitted by other authors) for classing them, and discovering what are, and what are not the same sort of coin. The first has some figures upon it which I do not understand; its weight is twenty-two grains. No. II. has some figures on one side, which I do not so much as guess at; on the other side it has the limb, or trunk of a tree, with little branches springing from it in one part; and what I take also for the body of a tree, with two round holes, or marks, where the limbs have been lopped off, and roots at the bottom on the other part: it weighs only 23 grains. No. III. has a figure, which, in the coin attributed to Cassibelan, (by Speed pag. 30) is more plain, and resembles two dolphins turning their crooked backs to each other; on the other side it has a plain large stump of a tree, with two branches breaking out on each side; it rises out of the ground, and stands between two smaller trees: it weighs 23 grains. No. IV. is quite defac'd on one side; but on the other, it has some parts of a horse, and some little round studs, or button-like embossments, both which marks will be particularly discours'd

(a) As to the antiquity of money, it was certainly in use in Arabia, when the book of Job was written, of which Moses is supposed to have been the translator; for in Job, mention is made of a species of money, called *Kesitab*. The feminine termination of this word in Hebrew, according to Bochart, implies a female lamb; but he clearly shews it "as a piece of money so called. In the time of R. Akiba, the Africans preserved this name for a coin. Cum per Africam peregrinaret, Obolum vocabant *kesitam*. (1) "The Hiberno Scythian or Irish name for money is *ke'ib*, *kees'da*, or *kees'ta*, in Persic *keeseb* (says Vallancey). The Irish word, I think, is derived from *ceas* or *keas*, ore, refined ore, or metal: whence *Co-Keas*, or the mountain Caucasus, remarkable for its mines. The famous iron mines in Armenia, are called *el-Kufes* by the Arabs at this day. The Chaldee *kesita* in Job, was undoubtedly the Scythian name for refined ore, i. e. money, and, as Bochart observes, had no references to lamb or kid." b. Cæsar, l. 5. c. 12.

(1) Bochart. Hierozic. v. 2. c. 43. p. 432. l. 20,

discours'd of when we come to explain the several uncommon figures which these coins afford us: weighs 26 grains. No. V. has one side effac'd; the reverse is a horse, betwixt the legs of which there is a wheel, and from it's back rises the stem of a spear, or javelin: weight 26 grains. No. VI. has the stem of a tree, with its collateral branches very distinct; in the middle, it is cross'd slopewise by a bar like the shaft of a spear; the reverse has the horse, the wheel, and spear, but somewhat differently plac'd on the gold. The weight is twenty-five grains and a half, by which I conclude, that the side which is defaced in No. V. was the same as in this coin, for the reverses are the same, and their weight corresponds to half a grain, which may be allowed for the greater use that has been made of this, than of the former. No. VII. has on one side some appearance of a human head, which side of the coins we shall henceforth call the *head*, as medallists generally do, to avoid a multiplicity of words; on the reverse the remains are so mutilated, that it can be only said, that this reverse was much ornamented, but what the ornaments were, is not to be discover'd. It weighs 23 grains. No. VIII. has the lines of a garland, or diadem on the *head*. The reverse has the *exergue* at bottom, supported by jagg'd lines interspers'd with dots, above which are some barbarous figures, which are to be explain'd as well as we can, and their orderly placing here, and in some of the other coins, accounted for in their proper place. It weighs four penny weights, three grains. No. IX. has a head much defac'd, but visible, as is also the outline of the neck, and the ear; behind the forehead, and nose, it has three semicircular protuberances; the reverse has the same figure as the reverse of No. VIII. but has more little round studs on it, (the die which gave the impression, being placed farther back in this, than in the former) and discovers therefore a circular figure, No. 7. with three pointed javelins No. 6. underneath it, which the other impression has not; but by the run of the die the former has one of the figures which is not in this. It weighs four penny weights three grains, which weight, and the reverse charg'd with like figures (though differently plac'd) shews that these two coins were struck at one time, by the same die, and are of the same value. No. X. has a laureated diadem, across which, at right angles, is a fillet, or rather clasp, and a faint appearance of a hook at the end of it, the rest defac'd. The reverse has a very distinct *exergue* at bottom; the same figures partly as No. VIII. IX. but the die was plac'd still farther back on the gold, therefore not altogether the same, the javelins, or spears (or whatever those pointed stakes signify) being in this coin cut off by a descending line, intimating that but part only of those instruments were to be exhibited. It weighs four penny weights two grains, by which it is probable, that it is the same sort of coin with the two foregoing, allowing one grain out of fifty for the wear. No. XI. has the laureated diadem and clasp, above which the hair turns off in bold curls; the reverse has the same charge as the three foregoing, but better plac'd, and it should be a coin of the same sort, but it weighs four penny weights and seven grains, so that it must have been much less us'd, than the others, if of the same time and value. No. XII. has on the head *several parallel lines fashioned into squares, looking like the plan of a town, of which the streets cross nearly at right angles, and the whole cut by one straight and wider street than the rest*. On the reverse are the remains of a horse with a collar or garland round his neck, and behind, something like a charioteer driving forward: underneath the horse is a wheel, and a few studs scatter'd near the extremities of the coin. One penny weight three grains. No. XIII. just shews the faint profile of a human face; the reverse a horse, a spear hanging forward towards the horse's neck, some appearance of a charioteer above the horse: it weighs only twenty three grains. No. XIV. has a laureated diadem round the temples, above which the hair turns back in large curls: the diadem has the clasp, or ribbon, which has a hook at the bottom of it, and on the shoulder is a *fibula* or button which tuck'd up the loose garment. The reverse has a horse with a wheel below it, and many small, and large studs above it. It weigh'd 25 grains. No. XV. exhibits a distinct human face in profile; the head is laureated, clasp'd, and circrated as the others, which plainly shews, that where there is only a simple laureated diadem now to be seen, as in Nos. X. XI. XIV. there the human face also was, though now worn out. The reverse has a horse, with a wheel below it, and crescents, studs, and balls above it. Weight 26 grains. No. XVI. is the best preserv'd coin as well as largest and most distinct, which I have seen of the gold coins found in Cornwall. The profile is well proportion'd, and neither destitute of spirit nor expression: and it is somewhat surprizing that an artist who could design the human face so well, should draw the horse so very indifferently on the other side. This head has two rows of curls above  
the



the laureated diadem, and the folds of the garments rise up round the neck close to the ear. The reverse, a horse, a wheel, balls and crescents, as in the rest. Weighs four penny weight, fourteen grains. No. XVII. is the same weight as No. XIII. and the horse is nearly of the same turn, but here it has a crest of beads or pearl for a mane, as No. XIV. It has also some appearance of reins (as of a bridle) under the jaw; the horse is better turn'd than in any of them. Behind the wheel, it has something depending like a pole, which reaches the ground; whether a reclining spear, or what their scythes might be fasten'd to, or any other part of the chariot is uncertain, but the charioteer is plain. I perceive no letters on any of them; some are plain, or flat; some a little concave on one side and convex on the other, but not remarkably so. Eight coins are here subjoin'd, from the cabinets of the curious, not yet publish'd, which may tend to illustrate the foregoing. The five following are copied from the collection of the Rev. Mr. Gifford, of Queen square, Ormond-street, London, and were in his possession before the gold coins above describ'd were found at Kairn-bre, but in what part of Britain they were found is uncertain. No. XVIII. on one side a head emboss'd; the reverse a very uncouth ancient horse with its head to the right hand; the other ornaments as in the rest: the use we shall make of this, shall be to explain the marks of those which go before, where, though the same, they are not so distinct, nor treated of by any author I have yet seen. Weighs four penny weight, one grain; a little concave on the reverse. No. XIX. bars, flakes, or fragments of spears, or javelins crossing irregularly; reverse a horse, with a spear leaning forth over its neck, the spear held (as it were) by an arm reaching forward; splinters or pieces of spears in other parts of the coin; a garland round the horse's neck, the mane made of a line of studs; a little convex on the reverse. Weight 29 grains. No. XX. a noble coin; the head is ornamented in the same manner as No. XVI. but has the clasp over the diadem much plainer; the hook at the bottom of the clasp also very plain, and shews the shape of this member, in Nos. X. XI. XIV. XV. where they are defective. It has more curls below the diadem, and the hair of the hinder part of the head seems traced in ribbons studded with pearl: it shews also more of the habit than No. XVI. but it has either lost or never had the profile, in which particular it falls greatly short of the other. The reverse is a horse in the same style, and surrounded with the same ornaments as No. XVI. the weight is four penny weight, nineteen grains, which is five grains more than the above coin, and if that difference may be imputed to the different use made of these coins, (a) they are of one age, were originally of one weight and value, and very likely of one and the same prince. No. XXI. the head defac'd. The reverse a horse well shap'd, and of neat design: underneath, is a star of five rays, form'd very artificially by the intersection of three equal triangles. (b) Both the horse and this geometrical figure, shew this coin to be much more modern than any of our Kairn-bre coins; it is a little concave on the reverse, and weighs twenty grains and a half. No. XXII. a well preserv'd face, and of elegant workmanship. In the reverse the horse is well proportion'd, has a charioteer behind it, pointing forward the spear, a wheel of dots under it supported by an *exergue*, and the chariot-wheel also close at the horse's heels: the mane of the horse is a line of beads or pearls. This coin is still more modern than the rest, and is of the same sort in all appearance, as that publish'd in the last edition of Camden, vol. I. tab. ii. No. XXX; though for want of the weight being specified, it can't certainly be affirm'd. It weighs 29 grains and a half. No. XXIII. is a coin from the cabinet of Smart Lethellier, Esq. of Aldersbrook in Essex. In the *head*, it has the laureated diadem with some curl'd hair above it, over which comes the clasp. Under the diadem seems the collar-ornament of No. XX. but out of its place; underneath are two large crescents, so that this side of the coin seems to be a collection of the ornaments of the *head* inserted together, and the face never intended. I find this coin very near the same as Dr. Plot's coin, (pag. 335. No. 21. Oxfordshire) who takes it to contain two faces of *Prasutagus* and *Boadicea*, but I see nothing tending that way. (c) In the reverse is a horse of the same

(a) There are four grains difference betwixt No. IX. and XI. which however are certainly coins of the same sort. (b) I find the same figure in one of the British coins publish'd in Dr. Battely's *Antiq. Rhutupianæ*. page 93. *Borlase*.

(c) The learned Mr. Walker (from whom Dr. Plot had this coin, which is also publish'd in Camden, Tab. I. No. 29.) I find of the same opinion, that it does not contain two faces: "I see no resemblance (says he, Camden page CXVI.) of one or more faces, I rather imagine it to be some fortification;" which latter supposition, I can't but observe, is as far wide of the truth as Dr. Plot's; as by comparing this coin with the others here produc'd, will readily appear. *Borlase*.



same style as No. XVII. but the wheel is larger, and the ears and tail of the horse more apparent, though of very clumsy design; the whole favouring of great antiquity, and shewing the low pitch of the art of coining, at this time, in the nation to which this coin belongs. But the greatest curiosity of this coin, and the reason, indeed, for which it is here introduc'd, is, that it is neither gold, nor wholly electrum, or any imitation of gold, but seems to be copper plated over with a mix'd metal in imitation of gold. No. XXIV. and XXV. are silver coins of the same kind, from the cabinet of the Rev. Mr. Wise, Radcliff Librarian, Oxford, and inserted here for confirming the descriptions that go before, as will be more particularly explain'd hereafter; they were found in the parish of Swaccliffe near Madmariton Castle, Oxfordshire, 1746." (a)——' There are many parts of our British coins, which, tho' faithfully enough copied by engravers, are yet wrongly plac'd in the plates, because, indeed, they did not know what they had copy'd. This is the reason that we find the diadem, sometimes horizontal, (b) at other times perpendicular; (c) whereas we all know, that this should rise sloping from the ear to the forehead. In Montfaucon's plate No. 16. the horse is laid on his back with his legs uppermost; and in No. 36. the horse's body is perpendicular, and so is the line of the *exergue*; which same fault is committed in placing the reverse of Plot's No. 21. page 335. plain evidences, that the engraver did not understand the figure, tho' he drew the size and shape, not knowing what animal it was, or whether an animal or not: and, whoever copy'd the fine gold coin in Camden's last edit. pag. 833, No. 21. (of the same age with some of those at Karnbre) most certainly did not know what figure he had before him, and therefore 'tis no wonder that the learned editor, depending on his engraver, should place the horse upon his back. There is one thing more necessary to be observ'd, in order to place these coins with propriety, which is, that several of our Karn-bre coins have not the horse on the reverse, (as No. VIII, IX, X, XI.) but instead thereof, have certain members, and symbols adjust'd together in such a manner as to imitate the shape of a horse, and become, when join'd together, the emblem, rather than the figure, of that creature, which the engraver knew no better how to design. These several symbols are not to be explain'd. but by the coins in which we find the same parts inserted in the composition of the entire figure in some, which in others are detach'd, and unconnected. The latter must derive their light from the former. For example. In No. VIII. you find three of the figures mark'd in the table of symbols (d) No. 1. In No. IX. there are four of the same symbols; in No. X. two, No. XI. four. What should be the intent of placing such figures, in such numbers on these reverses? Why, in No. XVIII. and XIX. we find the legs of the horse made in this unnatural fashion; and it is observable, that where the horse is not, there these legs (the most useful parts of this useful creature) are plac'd. They are four in number, in Nos. IX. and XI. and would have been also in the same number and place, in No. VIII. and X. (for by the weight, and symbols, these four must have been coins of the same sort, time and value); but that the mould in striking these latter, was misplac'd. (e) They are plac'd two and two, with a ball, or wheel between them, as in the coins which have horses entire. Between them the half-moon dips his convex part, something in the manner of the horses barrell, above which another crescent-like bunch forms the back; a round ball turns to shape the buttock, and on the forepart, a thick handle of a javelin slopes upwards from the breast to form the neck and crest of the horse. In coin XI. we find these symbols in full number, (i. e. four) very distinct, and as justly plac'd as the engraver's skill could direct. When these are plac'd double, as in coin XVII, they seem intended to denote there being two horses a-breast, as was the ancient custom of drawing the fighting chariots. Two little figures of this shape are also plac'd in the later coins. When, therefore, such figures occur in British coins, we need but refer to these of Karn-bre; and we find immediately, that they were intended for some parts of a horse. Round the horse's neck of No. XII. there is a garland, or bracelet, which in No. XIX. is also plainly to be discover'd. There is usually a circular figure under the belly of the horse, which in some, is a distinct wheel, as in coins V, VI, XII, XIX, XX, XXII, XXIII. and therefore in the rest where this figure is less distinct it must be deem'd an aim at, or rude imitation of the same thing. The wheel is to denote the chariot

(a) Borlase's Antiquities, p. 242 to 247.

(b) Plot Oxf. No. 21, pag. 335. (c) Wise No. 1. (d) plate XIX.

(e) These parts of the horse, (III.) are but very little better plac'd in coins XVII. and XXII. where the horse is entire: these last mention'd coins, therefore, are next in antiquity to No. XI.

chariot to which the horse belong'd. The learned Walker says, 'that the wheel under the horse amongst the Romans, intimated the making of an high way for carts, so many of which, being in the Roman times made in this country, well deserved such a memorial(a).' What the wheel signified among the Romans I shall not dispute, but it could not be inserted in the British coins (as he seems to imply) for that purpose; for there were no Roman ways made in Britain till after Claudius's conquest, and we find the wheel common in Cunobelin's coins, (b) and in Cassibelan's No. II. ib. in No. XVI, XVII, XVIII. and in Plot's 21; and also in the Cornish coins, which from all their characters appear to be older than the rest. The wheel is usually plac'd under the belly of the horse, but is sometimes found in two places on the same coin, (as in No. 9, and 32, of tab. II. in Camden) one above, and one below the horse, to denote (as I imagine) the two wheels of the *effeda*. One of these wheels (the upper one in No. 9. *ibid.*) Walker takes to be the sun. There are many balls, or globules, dispers'd in all the Cornish coins, which are of two sizes; those of the least kind are, or seem, merely ornamental, being strung in rows like beads or pearls, and serve now and then in a regular figure to form the mane of a horse, (as in No. V, XVI, XVII, XX, XXII.) the circumference, or out line of the wheel, (No. XXII. and Mr. Wise's Bodlean No. 2.) or a kind of bracelet, or garland, (two of which may be seen in one reverse of the Bodlean No. 11.) round the neck, or body of the horse. There is another round figure in these coins, which is of the middle size, and is a ring, or *discus*, either pierc'd, or emboss'd. They are larger in No. IX, X, XI, than the wheel itself, a disproportion owing to the rudeness of the art when first practis'd. When these are emboss'd, as I find them in a well preserv'd coin in the Bodlean cabinet, I imagine they are to represent either the shield, or rather the *lamina*, and may shew that they had iron plates, as well as rings that serv'd instead of money. In No. XX. some of these balls are plainly pierc'd; in No. 12. of the Bodlean they are plain, and plac'd where the roundness of the horse's body, shoulder, and buttock, made 'em fall in with the shape of the creature; there are others in the Bodlean collection, and in the reverse of Speed's Cassibelan, but no where more plain than in Dr. Plot's No. 21. (pag. 335. Oxfordshire) where there are five near the edge of the coin, and more, tho' of a smaller size, dispers'd in the *field* of the coin, not only of the reverse, but of the *head*. I am persuaded that the little annular figures will make the learned reader easily recollect the *annuli ferrei* of Cæsar, and as easily assent to their being inserted on purpose to represent the ancient money which the Britans had before they coin'd after the Roman and Grecian manner; and, perhaps, afterwards too, for a while, when the gold, silver, and brass currency fell short of answering the exigencies of the state. These rings are taken notice of by Cæsar, as made of iron, adjusted to a certain weight, and standard, and us'd instead of money, and the figures of them on these coins, where this symbol is pierc'd may confirm the reading of that passage, to be as in Plantin's edit. (lib. v. pag. 87.) '*annulis ferreis*;' as the emboss'd ones may in some measure assure us, that they us'd also *taleis*, or *laminis*, as we read it in others. Where there are many of these symbols, they should signify the plenty of money in the little kingdoms where they were struck. In many of these Karnbre coins, viz. VIII, IX, X, XI, XVI. and in No. XXII, we find a crescent, or some such figure, (No. 3.) and in the *head* of Dr. Plot's (No. 21.) there are three; what intended to signify, is uncertain. We know the crescent was among the most honourable badges of the Druid order, and from the moon at six days old, they regulated the beginning of their months, years, and ages, every thirtieth year; so that the moon was of constant and especial note among the ancient Britans: but whether it be really a crescent, or not, I do not pretend to decide. It might possibly be intended to represent the golden hook with which their priests with so much solemnity cut their divine mistletoe, or to record the hooks or scythes fastened to the axis of their chariots of war, for such they had, (c) and on these coins we find several allusions to this manner of fighting. Which of these suppositions is most likely, let the reader determine as he thinks best. There is a remarkable rectilineal figure which leans obliquely in a line nearly parallel to the crest of the horse, with which, or it's emblem, it is always combin'd: it is seen in No. V, VI. more uncouth still in No. VIII, IX, XI. but very distinct in

(a) Camden, pag. CX, and in CXV. On No. 2, and 3, he has an observation of the same kind.

(b) See Speed No. VIII, and XIII.

(c) "Dimicant (scil. Britanni) non equitatu modo aut pedite, verum et bigis et curribus Gallica armati. Ceyinos vocant, quorum falcatis axibus utuntur." Pomp. Mela lib. iii. c. viii.



in XIII. This I take to represent the spear, with which the Britans were so dexterous in fighting, from their chariots. In No. VI. it is plac'd cross the tree, out of which the shaft was made, and in gratitude perhaps to the tree, for affording the best shafts for these useful arms. In these coins then, the principal figure is the horse; the wheel, (emblem of the chariot,) constantly attends the horse; the spear is visible in ten of these coins produc'd, and in No. XXII. the human figure is plain, pointing forward the spear, or javelin, as if advancing to attack the enemy. In No. XIII. there are some traces of the same kind, and more rude attempts to delineate the same in No. VIII, IX, X, XI. for the spear has the same direction in all. In No. XVI. the charioteer is very apparent—in some winged like a victory—the bridle—and something like a trapping—a pendant or trailed spear, or scythe. To what other purpose then are these warlike things collected and inserted in their coins, but to signify, that the chief glory of the Britans was their skill in fighting from their chariots? The Britans (says Cæsar, lib. iv.) have this manner of fighting from their chariots; 'first they advance through all parts of their army, and throw their javelins, and having wound themselves in among the troops of horse, they alight and fight on foot; the charioteers retiring a little with their chariots, but posting themselves in such a manner, that if they see their masters press'd, they may be able to bring them off: by this means the Britans have the agility of horse, and the firmness of foot, and by daily exercise have attain'd to such skill and management, that in a delicacy they can govern the horses, though at full speed, check and turn them short about, run forward upon the pole, stand firm upon the yoke, and then withdraw themselves nimbly into their chariots.' The Britans being train'd to, and excelling all others in this peculiar manner of fighting, (Cæsar himself, more than once acknowledging the disorder, into which these *essedarii* had thrown the Roman soldiers) (a) had nothing more glorious to record in their coins than this artful and efficacious manner of combat; and no coins with such symbols, so likely to be of any nation as of Britain. Thence come the horse, the wheel, the spear or javelin, and the charioteer, and perhaps the hook with which their chariot was arm'd. In the first six Karn-bre coins here exhibited, there is no appearance of the human head. In No. VII. and VIII. there are some faint traits of a diadem. In No. IX. the profile of the face, the ear and clasp, and outline of the neck is plain, but the diadem, which was certainly there (as must be inferr'd from No. X. and XI.) is effac'd, and the coin has lost four grains more than No. XI. which shews that it has been so much more us'd. In No. X, XI, XIV, XV, XVI, the diadem is plain and strong. It is form'd of leaves which have this peculiarity, that they point downwards, whereas, in the ancient Roman and Grecian coins the leaves point upwards. There is another difference between the diadem in the Karnbre coins, and in the Greek and Roman; for, whereas, in the last mention'd, the fillet or ribband on which the diadem is grounded (or by which 'tis bound together) makes a very elegant knot behind the head, the British coins have no such thing, but have a straight bandage, or rather clasp which crosses the diadem at right angles, and was doubtless design'd (like the fillet of the ancients) to keep the diadem firm in its place, and close to the head. This is the meaning of that straight figure crossing the diadem in No. X, XI. and XIV. and XVI. of the Karnbre coins; but is most plainly visible in No. XX, XXIV, and XXV. with a hook or scroll at the end of it, and but for these well preserv'd coins, would have still remain'd uncertain and unknown. Above the diadem, the hair turns off in bold curls, sometimes in one tire or row, as in No. X, XI, XIV, XV, but in the larger coins in two rows, as No. XVI. and XX. (b) Round the neck, in No. XIV. the habit of the prince just appears; in No. XVI. a kind of scollop'd lace or ornament of embroidery; more of which is still to be seen in No. XX. In No. I, II, III, VI. trees are plac'd in the head part, (as was before observ'd in the description) but there are few if any rings or balls: the reason seems to be this; the riches of the country where these were coin'd, consisted in woods, (not in money) and therefore they took the tree for their symbol, as the countries abounding in corn took the *spica*, and those which had plenty of pearls took the *globulus*

(a) "Ordines plerumque perturbant." (lib. iv. pag. 83.) "Perturbatis nostris novitate pugna." ibid. lib. v. pag. 93. "Equites Hostium Esse-darique acriter prælio cum Equitatu nostro in itinere confixerunt."—"Novo genere pugnae perterritis Nostris." ibid.

(b) The Gauls were call'd Comati, from their long hair. The Britans had probably the same custom, for all uncultivated nations wore long hair, except the Alani. (Lucian Tox.) It was an instance of their wildness. *Berlafs.*



globules resembling pearl, and those which had plenty of gold and money, took the ringlets, or *laminae* into their coins. (a) The figure in the head of No. XII. has been before observ'd to resemble the ichnography of a city, and was probably inserted in the coin by the founder, to record the erection of some city: for that the Britans had such cities, is very plain from the noble ruins (containing in circuit about three or four miles) near Wrottesley in the county of Stafford, where (as Dr. Plot thinks) (b) 'the parallel partitions, within the outwall, whose foundations are still visible, and represent streets running different ways, put it out of doubt that it must have been a city, and that of the Britans.' (c) In the Natural History, plate XXIX. "Fig. v. and vi. are two gold-coins found at Karn-bre in the year 1749, with those published in the Antiquities of Cornwall. They seem both of the same die and value; but the impression differently corroded by time and use, may, by being exhibited in both, tend to their explanation. I can say nothing decisive as to the symbols, but I conjecture, that on the convex side there is the rude figure of a ship with two masts, and the sails spread; on the convex seems a representation of the terraqueous globe, encompassed in the middle with a zone *wavy*, which divides the upper from the under hemisphere. In the upper hemisphere are placed the sun and moon, in the under the lesser luminaries. Fig. vii. and viii. are two different heads from any already published in plate xix. of the Antiquities of Cornwall: the faces are bold, and not inexpressive, turned different ways; the reverses are charged with horses and wheels in the same style as most of those already published. Fig. ix. is not an ill fancied head; the diadem and its clasp very distinct and uniformly set, and the robing of the shoulder plain and indisputable. In the reverse, the body of the horse is remarkably slender; the engraver, as I apprehend, being more intent to express the expedition and swiftness, than the natural shape and proportion of the creature. The coins are of their real size and shape. I have only to observe, that Bouteroue's coins of the ancient Gauls have neither the weight nor true shape expressed, 'because either worn with use, or covered or eaten with rust,' as he tells us. Almost all, published by him of this kind have plain legends. They can give little aid therefore towards explaining this treasure of British antiquity found in Cornwall; but if one can make any certain conclusion from coins printed in such a manner, it must be that they were struck by a people well acquainted with the Greeks or Romans; they favour nothing of the antiquity, rudeness, and simplicity of those of *Karnbre*." (d) Such is Borlase's description of our Danmonian coins. "Having now described (says our author) the *Karn-bre* coins, and produc'd some others which may in some measure explain them, let us consider to what nation these coins are to be ascrib'd. As soon as the Gold coins, above describ'd, were found at *Karn-bre*, and got into the hands of the curious, it was by many imagin'd that they were foreign coins, and some thought that they were Phenician. To this opinion the reverse, having generally a horse upon them, gave at first some countenance, some of the Phenician colonies having chosen that creature for their symbol. The place where they were found seem'd to confirm this suspicion, Cornwall having been (from the first appearance of Britain in history) celebrated for its tin, which the Phenicians for many ages engros'd to themselves by their superiour skill in navigation. The only thing, then, that remains to be done in order to determine them to be Phenician, or not, is to confront the coins found in Cornwall with those confessedly of Phenician original, and consider whether coins of the same style have not been found in other parts of this our isle where the Phenicians never traded. Now the Phenician legends will always be known by their letters, when they exceed the Roman conquest of Syria (for after that conquest they used either Greek or Roman characters on their coins); but there is not one character to be found in these our Cornish coins. The ancient symbol of the Syrophenicians was the palm-tree, sometimes the *murex*, and of their western colony, Hercules's pillars; but there is no such thing on our coins. The Lybiphenicians about Cyrene took, indeed, the horse for their symbol; but this horse had either the whole palm-tree, or it's stalk standing by it, alluding

(a) Camden thinks, that tribute for woods was paid in such coin, and that tribute-monies had their impression from that destination. The reader may chuse which opinion he thinks most probable.

(b) Stafford. p. 394.

(c) Borlase's Antiquities, p. 258 to 263.

(d) Borlase's Nat. Hist. of Cornwall, p. 322, 323.

ding at once to their descent from the Syrians, and to the horse for which their own country, Africa, was always so famous, and for the taming of which they were indebted to their principal god, Neptune. With respect to the Phenicians of Carthage, they had the head and neck of a horse for their symbol, alluding to the fable of their being commanded by Juno to build their city where a horse's head was dug up. (a) Cadiz had her Hercules, his temple, and his pillars; but all these were modern and well executed, and of them nothing is to be seen in the coins now before us, which are neither well executed, nor have any reference, or relation, to the palm-tree, *murex*, bust of the horse, Hercules, or his pillars. But one argument, which will still weigh more than the above, is this, that coining money, came so surprisingly late into use among the Phenicians, that such skilful artists as they, and their colonies were, could not coin such artless money as ours is. Of the Phenician coins, (certainly known to be such) there are none extant more ancient than the time of Alexander the Great; (b) so modern are they that the Phenicians were many ages celebrated for their ingenuity and skill in other arts, before ever they coin'd money; and, besides, having borrow'd likely this art from the Grecians, (c) they cannot with any probability be supposed to coin money of so rude, and mean design as those of Karn-bre; arts among the Greeks being arrived, as we all know, to their summit in the time of Alexander the Great: history forbids us, therefore, to attribute such coins as what are now under consideration, to so polite and cultivated a nation as the Phenicians. Lastly, that they were not brought hither by the trading Phenicians, seems to be plain, because they are found, not only in Cornwall, but in Wales, and most parts (d) of Britain where the Phenicians never came, their trade being confin'd to Cornwall, (e) and their business, tin. As these coins cannot be ascribed to the Phenicians, so neither to the Greeks nor Romans. That they are not of Roman workmanship, the first sight of them plainly shews, much less can we attribute them to the Greeks, whose medals are still superiour to the Roman in force and delicacy. (f) They must be either Gaulish, therefore, or British; for people must be very fanciful indeed (and extremely unwilling, or rather determin'd not to let their own country rights be impartially weigh'd) who will look out for a foreign father of these coins among the Spaniards, or Germans. (g) That they do in a few particulars resemble the Gaulish coins must be allow'd; and for this, very good reasons can be given, without admitting them to be Gaulish. In the mean time, I must observe, that Cæsar's seeming to assert, that the Britans had no money in his time, having made several learned men think that we had no coin'd money in Britain before the Roman invasion, (h) and others being of a different opinion, (i) I will take all the care I can that the veneration which I have for the latter, may neither lead me blindly into their opinion, nor the respect which I have for some of the others, make me suppress what I think to be right. The reasons must be weigh'd, the passage of Cæsar set in it's proper light, and the reader must determine, '*Utuntur aut æreo, aut taleis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo.*' (k) The Britans, says he, use either brass money, or iron tallies instead of money. This is the plain grammatical sense of Cæsar's words, and in Plantin's edition, the words run thus, '*Utuntur autem nummo æreo, aut annulis ferreis, &c. pro nummo;*' by which it is plain, that according to Cæsar, the Britans had the knowledge of money, and that in the place he is there speaking of, they had brass money; from whence it may be infer'd, that the reason why they had not gold, and silver money there, as well as brass, was not because they were ignorant of the use of it (for the use of gold and silver money is much greater and more obvious, and convenient for exchange or purchase, than that of brass) but because doubtless they had none of these metals, and therefore could not coin money of them, but

(a) *Æn.* i. ver. 445.

(b) *Wife*, pag. 217.

(c) *Ibid*, pag. 218.

(d) 'Several gold coins of the same kind, and also a rough ruby were found not long ago in the Isle of Shepey.' Letter from S. L.

(e) "By Cornwall here, as oftentimes elsewhere, I mean all that anciently went by that name,—the south and western parts of Devonshire, as well as what is west of the Tamar." *Borlase*.

(f) *Mr. Jobert*, pag. 3. translated by Gale.

(g) *N. Salmon*, *Nova Angliæ Lustratio*, Lond. 1728, pag. 387, who thinks them coins belonging to the ancient Saxons.

(h) See *Moreton's Northamptonshire*, pag. 500. *Walker in Camden*, pag. CXIV.—See *Mr. Wife's* learned account of the Bodleian cabinet.

(i) *Camden*, *Plor's Oxfordshire*, chap. 10. The learned editor of *Camden*. *Notes ibid.* pag. 774. The late *Mr. Ed. Lhuyd*. *ibid.*

(k) *Cæf. Comm.* lib. v. *Janf. edit.* pag. 92.

but were oblig'd to be contented with coining the little brads they had, and endeavour to remedy the scarceness of their brads coin, by iron tallies, or rings of a certain weight. Cæsar is evidently here speaking of the maritime parts, (a) in which they might well use iron instead of money; for iron was found, says he, '*in maritimis*,' on the sea coasts: in the same place they had brads money, but their brads was imported, '*ere utuntur importato*'; (b) which argues, that the maritime coasts had no brads out of their own lands. Neither had they gold or silver in these parts, which is, doubtless, the reason that they did not coin any; for of the four kings, whom Cæsar mentions in Kent,—Cingetorix, Carnilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, we find not one coin which has any part of their name upon it; but this will by no means infer, but that the other petty kingdoms of the island, where these metals were, might have had gold and silver coins among them, altho' the other states, who had no such native treasures, might be without them; and that the other parts of this kingdom really had gold and silver coins, we shall soon find some very strong arguments to believe. It is plain, therefore, that what Cæsar says, related only to that little part of Britain, in which he pass'd the short time he stay'd in this island; all his whole account shews, that he pretended not to give any description of those inland parts which were at a distance from the seat of action; let us add to this, that if the Kentish men had any gold coin or treasure, they certainly took all the care imaginable to conceal it from Cæsar. But supposing that Cæsar had positively said that the Britans had no gold coins, or money among them; if by evidences, unknown to him, and since his time discover'd, it should appear extremely probable at least, (if not as certain as things at this distance can be made) that they really had such coins; his authority must give way, he must be acknowledg'd to have been mis-inform'd, and the greater degree of probability must determine our judgment. There are several coins preserv'd and publish'd in Camden, and Speed, which have been thought to bear the names of British princes; and I may add, that they have other evidences of their belonging to this island. Let us examine them. The first coin produc'd by Speed (pag. 29.) is that of Com. the reverse inscrib'd, Rex; and is supposed by him, with great probability, to be the coin of Comius, king of the Atrebatii in Britain, companion to Julius Cæsar in his invasion. I will only make one remark upon the reverse, which is, that the horse here is of much too good a design to be among the first essays of the British coining, consequently the Britans must have had coins, before this, or they could never have made this horse and rider so bold and shapely. The next coin in Speed, is that of Cassibelan, which he read CAS; but Moreton in his Northamptonshire (pag. 500.) reads it SCOV; the occasion of which difference, is this: Moreton began with the S, goes on to the C, mistakes the wheel (one of the British symbols) over the horse's head for an O, and takes the A without its cross-stroke, (as it was anciently written) for a V; so that Moreton's objection to Speed's reading proceeds from his own mistakes, and he concludes too hastily, 'That the Britans had not the art of coining till they learn'd it of the Romans, and that they did not mark their coins with the names of princes till the time of Cunobelin.' Speed's reading, then, remaining unimpeach'd, we have here a coin of Cassibelan, who was general of the whole war against Julius Cæsar, and cannot be suppos'd to have learnt any art from the Romans, having been engag'd continually in all the alarms of war from the time that they landed to their departure. In the head, (c) (or the inscrib'd side) the horse is much better turn'd than in our Karnbre coins, and therefore later; for arts and sciences must have time to ripen in such retir'd and uncultivated places as Britain; their beginnings will be rude, and the progress of every art towards perfection will be slow and gradual, especially, where no sister arts have been practis'd, and therefore, can't lend their helping hand to forward and cherish that which is newly introduc'd. The reverse of this coin confirms the foregoing observation, the ornaments of it being a kind of scroll-work, intermix'd with balls more uniformly dispos'd, and the whole better design'd than our coins, and therefore later. Cunobelin's coin is later still than that of Cassibelan,

(a) As appears by the whole passage. "*Britanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur quos natos in ipsa memoria proditum dicunt; maritima pars ab iis, &c.*" And then he goes on with the account of the maritime parts, till he comes down to *nummo*; then he passes on to the inland parts. "*Nascitur ibi plumbum album in mediterraneis regionibus, &c.*" (b) Ibid.

(c) It must be remember'd, that one side of a medal is call'd the head, whether it has a face on it, or not, and the other side is call'd the reverse.



Cassibelan, and more elegant, the horse has shape and spirit; and there is something Roman in the turn of the head; (a) but there is great difference in the countenance of this king's coins; some are rude, and of coarse design, as Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 11. which may therefore be safely pronounc'd to be coin'd in his first years, either before his intimacy with the Romans, or before he could get the artists into the ready and masterly way of designing; so that it may be infer'd from the coins of Cunobelin, that he did not learn, or first bring the art of coining from the Romans, but that having acquir'd some knowledge that way, he greatly improv'd this art. Even this king's coins have been disputed, and by some insinuated not to belong to the British king of this name, tho' his name be at full length upon four coins in Camd. tab. I. and upon three of the same in Speed; so that these scruples are apparently without foundation. The gold coin attributed to Caractacus by Camden and Speed, has the *sp.ca* well plac'd on the reverse, and in the head the horse in full speed, as well design'd as possible, and therefore seems a close imitation of the Roman manner. That of Venutius has nothing British in it, but that the curls of the hair are form'd of many contiguous circular rings studded with balls, which is indeed in the British style. (b) Tho' the coins of Cunobelin were at last so greatly improv'd by approaching to the Roman manner; yet these improvements seem to have been confin'd to his own dominions, for the coin of Boadicea, queen of Verolanium, (if it be of her) has nothing Roman in it, but the letters BUDUO in the head; the reverse is of the same style as those found at Karn-bre. (c) The silver coin ascrib'd to Arviragus, (d) has the British wheel form'd by eight detach'd studs, (e) but the horse is too good to be ancient. The next coin attributed by Speed to Galgacus, (f) but by Mr. Walker (g) to Cartimandua, has nothing of our coins, but the wheel form'd like a large ring under the horse. (h) As to the word Tascia found on many of the coins above-mention'd, whether it signifies the taxation, or tribute-money as Mr. Camden believ'd, or whether such coins of tribute were ever us'd, coins being the ensigns of liberty and power, not of slavery, as other learned men think, I do not here enquire, there being no such word on our Cornish coins. Let it suffice that here are several sorts of coins produc'd; we must next see whether we have not sufficient grounds to think them British, and yet, not the oldest of our British coins, and so trace up the art of coining among the Britons to its first simplicity, where we may possibly find reasons to place our coins of Karn-bre. Now, all these coins from Camden and Speed are found in Britain in several places, many in number, and the very same in no other country. (i) Their inscriptions, and several others which might here be mention'd, have either the first, or more syllables of the names of British princes, cities, or people, nay Cunobelin the whole name; why then should they not be British? (k) If there be honey enough in our own hive, what need have we to fly abroad, and range into the names of neighbouring countries and kings to find out resemblances in sound, which are not near so exact as what we find at home? Before we deprive our own country of the honour of coining the money found here, one would think it but reasonable that there should be produc'd from foreign countries, samples of the very coins we find in Britain, and in greater number, as being doubtless more plenty where they were struck, than any where else; but there is not one instance of any number of coins found abroad, which are of the same kind as what we find here; altho' in Roman coins, (which were not coin'd by little particular states, as the British must have been) there is nothing more common. It is very wonderful that all the Gaulish coins, (for instance) correspondent to ours in metal and workmanship, should be destroy'd, and not one appear, or be dug up in Gaul, whereas in Britain they are numerous, which makes the learned Mr. Wise, though dubious at other times, conclude very justly, that

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(a) See No. 8, 9, 10, in Speed, and 12, 13, p. 32.

(b) See the mane of the horse in No. XVIII. XVI. XIX. XXI. Venutius in Camden xiv. tab. I. in Speed xv. pag. 34. (c) Camd. tab. 1. No. 8. Speed No. 16, p. 34.

(d) Speed No. 17. Camd. ib. No. 25. (e) As in No. XX. and XXII. (f) pag. 35, No. 18.

(g) Camden pag. cxv. (h) Other Brit. coins may be seen in Camden, and Speed, but these may be sufficient for our purpose. (i) See Camden, pag. 110.

(k) It is held by some that there were no gold coins coin'd in England till Edward III. but this is probably a mistake, for in the Saxon and first Norman times vast sums were paid in gold. The annual tribute to be paid by the Welsh and Cornish to Athelstan, was 20l. of gold, and 300l. in silver, besides other things. And in domestday, particularly, we find gold in irgots, contradistinguish'd from gold coin, viz. Libras auri ad pensum.—Libras ad numerum.—Must we suppose that all this coin was of Bizants, or other foreign coin?

no country has a better title to the coining of them than Britain. (a) But, I don't know how it comes to pass, it is the unhappy fashion of our age to derive every thing curious and valuable, whether the works of art or nature, from foreign countries; as if providence had denied us both the genius and materials of art, and sent us every thing that was precious, comfortable, and convenient, at second hand only, and, as it were, by accident, from the charity of our neighbours. That the Britans had both gold and silver in their own country, is plain from Strabo and Tacitus; (b) and it is observ'd, so lately as Camden's time, that Cornwall produc'd both these precious metals; (c) and this is confirm'd by the reversion of both those metals to the Duke of Cornwall in his grants to the tinnors. Gold discover'd here I have seen, found among tin grains in the parish of Creed, near Granpont, in the year 1753; and both that, and native silver, the produce of a Cornish mine in the parish of St. Just, I have now in my keeping; and it must be allow'd, that people, who have materials ready at hand, will take the first hint of answering their necessities therewith. That the inhabitants of Kent, and the adjoining countries, had brass money, Cæsar plainly asserts, as we have seen before, and when one part of the island had experienc'd the use of brass money, and knew the art of coining it, the neighbouring states must have had very little communion with one the other, or been very void of understanding, if they did not perceive the equal and superior convenience of gold and silver money, and for their own sakes procure it to be coin'd wherever they enjoy'd the happiness of proper materials. And that the Britans had and us'd money coin'd at their own mint is really plain, because the Roman Emperours publish'd a severe edict to suppress all such coins, and to forbid the use of any money in Britain, but what was stamp'd with the image of a Cæsar. (d) If it be insinuated that the Gauls brought over this money to traffick withal, this is a circumstance which wants to be prov'd, nay wants probability, for it could not have escap'd Cæsar, and the gold coins must have been in greater plenty on the maritime coasts where he was, than in the inland parts, the merchants from Gaul coming to the sea-ports and coasts of Britain, and having nothing to do with the other parts of the island; (e) but Cæsar says, they us'd *æreo nummo*, and takes no notice of any gold coin in these parts, which I think may make us reasonably infer, that the Gauls did not bring over any gold coins for merchandize; much less still can it be imagin'd, that if the Gauls did bring over such coins, we should find them inscrib'd with names so like at least to the names of our princes and cities. If any of the same impression and legend with ours, found in many parts of Gaul can be produc'd, (which at present is far from the case) then let it be disputed whether the Gauls had these coins from us, or we from them, both sides standing upon even ground; but 'till then it is a great piece of partiality to foreigners, to deny the origin of these coins to our own country, and I am surpriz'd to find my countrymen so fluctuating, and indifferent, not to say careless, which way the beam may fall, in a point which concerns so much the history of medals in general, and affects the honour of their own country in particular. (f) "To settle the age of our Karn-bre coins is perhaps impossible, but that the Britans had and us'd coins of their own making, and that the Romans forbid the use of British money, has been observ'd before; for which prohibition there could be no reason if the Britans did not coin in a different manner from the Romans; therefore, this different manner of stamping their money, 'tis not so likely they should learn of the Romans, as that they had it before the Romans came; for after the conquest, the Romans, we find, insisted upon the head of Cæsar's being upon all their coins; therefore, that these Karn-bre coins are prior to the Roman invasion is extremely probable. Further; both the Gauls and Britans being invaded nearly at the same time, and by the same general; the first conquer'd, the other frighten'd; both of them would either have had some symbol of their subjection in their coins, if they had been struck under the direction of their conquerours,

(a) *Maximo sane numero in hac insula eruuntur, adeo ut nulla regio possessionis jure magis eos (nummos) sibi vindicet.*" pag. 228.

(b) "*Aurum et argentum fert Britannia.*" Strabo lib. iv.—"*Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium victoriæ.*" Tacit. vit. Agric. chap. 12.

(c) "*Nec stannum vero hic solum reperitur sed una etiam aurum & argentum.*" Camd. in Cornw.

(d) "*Cautum fuit Edicto Romanorum Imperatorum severo ne quis in Britannia nummis uteretur nisi signatis imaginibus Cæsarum.*"

(e) "*Neque enim temere præter mercatores illo adit quisquam, neque iis ipsis quidquam præter æram maritimam atque eas regiones quæ sunt contra Galliam notum est.*" Cæs. lib. iv. p. 76.

(f) Borlase's Antiquities, p. 247 to 254.



conquerors, or would have borrow'd at least somewhat more of the Roman elegance than what we find in the Cornish coins. The inscrib'd coins produc'd by Camden, and Speed, about the Julian age, confirm this conjecture, there being something of the Roman air, and regularity in all of them, but in ours nothing at all of that kind. There is one other use which I shall now make of the inscrib'd coins beforemention'd, and may contribute to settle some particulars relating to the age of these Cornish coins; which is, that these inscrib'd coins could not be the first coins of the British mint, and consequently, that the rude uninscrib'd money found in all parts of England are older than the inscrib'd, as favouring more of the beginning, and infancy of the art. The series in which money was first introduc'd, and arriv'd by degrees, to the Grecian and Roman perfection, seems to be this: first they weigh'd pieces of metal, then found out the way of impressing them differently, according to their weights, and the quantity and sort of cattle they would be taken for in exchange; so as to save them the trouble of weighing; (a) then they impress'd symbols of religion, war, arts, and philosophy, peculiar to their country; then came in the heads of demi-gods, and princes; and then inscriptions, more certainly to determine, the age, works, and persons, signify'd by the coins. As soon as the Gauls, or any other barbarous nations saw the great use of money, as it was manag'd among the more polish'd parts of mankind, 'tis natural to imagine, that people of authority would endeavour to introduce the same convenient way of exchange among their own people; but being hasty, and impetuous, to have the thing done, were not over nice in the choice of artists for doing it. What first and principally struck them, was the use of money; to have the money coin'd with beauty and impression, was what had no place in their first conceptions, nor enter'd at all into their design; hence came the first coins so rude and inexpressive; because the art, tho' at full maturity among the Greeks and Romans, was forc'd to pass thro' a second infancy among the Gauls, and like the gold that was cast into the fire, could not come out a better molten calf than the hands, which were employ'd, were able to mould and fashion it. The money, therefore, coin'd at first among the Gauls and Britans, could not but partake of the barbarity and ignorance of the times, in which it first came into use, and the figures must have been much ruder, and more uncouth than those of the inscrib'd coins. Those coins then, which are not inscrib'd, are most probably older than those of the same nation which are inscrib'd; inscriptions, or legends, being a part of elegance, which at first was not at all attended to; but which, after-ages constantly practis'd, consulting at once the convenience of their commerce, and the glory of their country. If this inference is right, our coins at Karn-bre, and the like sort in Plot, and Camden's English edition, are older than the inscrib'd ones produc'd by Camden and Speed, and consequently older than the Roman invasion." (b) Now, it is really surprizing, that after having so minutely examined these coins, and so clearly determined their antiquity, Dr. Borlase should have stop'd short in this place; without the slightest suspicion of a probability which their appearance hath very strongly suggest'd to me. That these very curious coins were British, and that they exist'd before the Roman invasion, hath been proved beyond a doubt. But we have as good reason to suspect that such coins were also prior to any voyage of the Phenicians to this island, whether trading or colonial. And having looked so far into antiquity, another glance will easily carry us to the period of the first peopling of the island. That the Danmonians were a people from the east, I have mentioned as a very probable opinion: And that these coins were, also, of eastern origin, may be concluded from several circumstances. In the first place, they were found in the country of the Danmonians, who were confessedly more like the eastern nations than any other race of people in this island. In the next place, they were found on Karnbre, in the middle of the ridge of *Karnbre-hill*—the consecrated mountain of the Druids. Karnbre, indeed, was the most remarkable place of the Druid worship in all Danmonium. It is possible, then, that these coins have some relation to the Druids. That they resemble the coins of the east, is evident from the very face of them. Many of the coins of India, at this present day, particularly the rupee, are nearly of the same size and figure: And, what is indeed a very striking resemblance, their symbols are exactly similar to those with which our British specimens

(a) The first money us'd in Rome was of plain copper, without any impression till the time of Servius Tullus, who caus'd them first to be stamp'd with the image of an ox, a sheep, a hog, whence it began to be call'd *pecunia a pecude*. Pliny.—*Jobert's Medals*, Engl. p. 35.

(b) Borlase's *Antiquities*, p. 256 to 258.



specimens are charged : In the mean time, we are assured, that these figures on the Indian coins are of great antiquity. The little round studs, or button-like embossments, which I have described, are the same on the rupee. Nor should I forget to mention, that the convexity of these coins is another point of similarity. And as to their quality, both the British and the Indian are of *pure gold*, with little or no alloy. Several of the ornamental figures are of a military cast—others of a religious. The trees are, probably, the oaks of the Druids : And the globular appearances are, possibly, representations of the sun and other luminaries—the great objects of worship among the people of the east. (a)

That Phenician and Greek coins have been found in Devonshire, I have been often informed ; though I have not been fortunate enough to meet with such specimens. (b)

Thus have I presented my readers with a description of the Danmonian commerce, shipping, and coins, from the very earliest times to the period of Cæsar's invasion. In some instances, perhaps, I have entered too much into detail ; in others, have been too much on the wing. But whilst I have endeavoured, in every instance, to exhibit clear views, I have seldom detained my readers long, except where the points were curious ; or rapidly led them from one topic to another, except where there was little matter for entertainment.

## SECTION IX.

### VIEW of the LANGUAGE and LEARNING of the DANMONIANS, during the BRITISH PERIOD.

- I. *The Danmonian or British Tongue, in its first stage—its affinity to the Irish and the Erse—Words, Compositions—The British, the Irish, and the Erse, immediately derived from the East—The Danmonian Language, in its second stage ; or the British-Phenician—Words, Compositions—The Danmonian Language, in its third stage, as enriched by the Greek—The Danmonian Language in its fourth stage, as corrupted by the Belgic—Under these modifications, the Danmonian Tongue entitled Cornubritish.*—II. *The Sciences and the Arts of the Danmonians.*—III. *Seminaries of Learning in Danmonium—Conclusion.*

THE general state of knowledge, at this obscure period, is a subject rather hypothetical than historical : The language, and the learning, however, of Danmonium, may afford room for curious investigation. The Danmonians have been represented by some authors, as a very rude people, yet possessing minds, like other savages, lively and vigorous, and capable of cultivation. But, whilst we are assured that a very large body of men were maintained at the public expence, in considerable splendor, for the purpose of disseminating knowledge, we shall not, perhaps, be disposed to credit all the accounts of Danmonian ignorance and barbarity. That the Druids were skilled in various learning, is evident from the attestation of the Greeks and Romans. And the learning of this venerable priesthood, must, undoubtedly, have influenced the great mass of the people.

The language of Danmonium seems to be the first object for consideration. It hath been commonly believed, that the original language of the Britons, was the same as that of the Gauls ; though few have properly discriminated between the south-western Britons, and the other inhabitants of the island. The ancient names of persons and places in Britain

(a) It should seem from the obscure notices of ancient writers, relating to the British exports and imports, that the first trade of the island was carried on without the assistance of money, and in the course of a regular exchange. But the gold coins of Karnbre (to throw nothing else into the scale) are sufficient to outweigh this opinion—an opinion so light, that it must fly up, and kick the beam !

(b) Several Phenician coins, I understand, were dug up, some years since, at Teignmouth ; whence the inhabitants conclude, that this place was frequented by Phenician merchants. One of these coins was casually inspected by the Rev. JOHN TEMPLER, of Lindridge, who regrets that he has now lost every trace of it. Had Mr. Templer been able to procure the coin, I should, doubtless, have been gratified with a sight of it ; since there is no gentleman in the county more sanguine than himself in wishing success to a History of Devon. To his various knowledge, indeed, I am obliged for most essential information : And, whilst I am pleased with his politeness, I cannot but admire his ingenuity.—I have heard, also, a vague report, that Phenician or British coins were found, at Exeter, a few years ago : But my enquiries for these coins have been, hitherto, fruitless.

Britain and Gaul, we are told, have an exact resemblance. This, however, is a mistaken notion. Not even the *name* of the aboriginal Britons was known in Europe. The numerous tribes or nations on the continent, who extended themselves gradually into this island, from various causes, carried with them, as was most natural, the *names* of their nations or tribes—such as were known afterwards to the Romans in Gaul and in Germany, by the Armorici, Belgæ, Brigantes, Allobroges, Icenî, and Morini: But among all the nations settled on the continent, or afterwards fixing themselves in Britain, there never was once heard of such a name as the *Danmonii*, or the *people of Danmon*. Nor was such a name as *Caernou* ever known in Europe: And no one can point out, I believe, in what part of the continent of Europe, any tribes of that name have settled, or were settled in those times, when the Phenicians first traded with the Aborigines of our island. (a) The few who give credit to the Saxon Chronicle, with respect to the settlement of the first colonists in the South-Hams, are of opinion, that one district there retains to this day some traces of their origin; and, consequently, may throw light on their language: It is the district of *Armine*, the very *name* of the country whence the Saxon Chronicle derives them. If we pass from the name of the nation (b) to that of their priesthood, from what European root can we satisfactorily derive the word *DRUID*? It clearly comes from *DARUI* or *DRUI*, still current in the east, and signifying a *priest* or *magician*. Sir William Jones describing the great empire of Iran, tells us, that the origin of the language of this Empire was Chaldaic; (c) as proved by the words *Shemiâ*, heaven; *Meyâ*, water; *Firâ*, fire; *Matrà*, rain; *Wertâ*, a rose: And the word *DRUI*, a magician, is also of Chaldaic origin.

But, in order to prove that the aboriginal language of Danmonium was derived from the east, let us recur to Ireland and Scotland. That the *British*, the *Irish*, and the *Erse*, are to be traced to one fountain, is universally allowed. In truth, they are known to be dialects of the same language. This is a fact which has never been disputed. If, then, we can clearly deduce, either the *Irish* or the *Erse* from the east, we shall establish the ORIENTAL ORIGIN of the British or *Danmonian* language. (d) That there was an eastern colony in *Ireland*, is evinced by the great affinity of the old *Irish* with the language of Hindostan, which is derived from the Chaldaic. Sir William Jones, and Col. Vallancey, have presented us with long lists of corresponding words, from the Hindostanic and the Irish languages. Sir William, as I have observed, describes an eastern empire by the name of *IRAN*: And *EIRIN* is the ancient name of Ireland. And “unless (says Col. Vallancey) there had been the closest connexion between the original inhabitants of *Eirin* or Ireland, and those of ancient *Iran*, it would have been impossible, that so great an affinity

(a) A learned correspondent observes: “The *Αυτοχθόνες* of the island settled chiefly in the west, and south-west, with whom the Greeks, and, before the Greeks, the Phenicians, maintained, at least, a commercial intercourse: And of both these people, some tokens yet remain in and about here, such as *κεῖον μεκωπον*, or the *Ramhead*; *Τοτοννη*, now *Totnes*, from the Greeks; and the Promontory of *Affarte*, now the *Start Point*, from the Phenicians. But who these *Aborigines* were, with whom the Greeks and Phenicians thus traded, is the question: They certainly did not come from the continent of Europe; and, probably, came from the east: They were known by the name of the people of (1) *Dan mon*, and afterwards called *Druids*; though this was rather an appellation given to their priests; and the word signifies, in the eastern language, a soothsayer or wife-man. Who they were, would take a volume to explain—what they were, is very concisely described by *Julius Cæsar*, in his account of Britain, and by *Strabo*. They, probably, came to Britain not long after the dispersion, when the Scoti came to Ireland and Scotland. The Irish were certainly *Baelim*, as all their customs and language evince. I should think the Aborigines of Britain were also of the *Catbite* race, though not of the tribe of *Baal*.”

(b) The name of one of our rivers, *Columb* or *Columba*, is synonymous with the Chaldaic *IONA*. And in *COLUMB-JOHN* or *COLUMB-ION* (so denominated from the river) we have the Chaldaic word itself.

(c) Rowlands, in his *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*, is of opinion, that the people at first spread over Great Britain and Ireland, and the adjacent islands, were not more than five descents from Noah. With this view, he endeavours to shew, that our language is one of the primary vocal modes produced among the builders of Babel.

(d) And consequently prove the ORIENTAL ORIGIN of the *Danmonians*.

(1) Why did Dan remain in ships? Judges v. 17. “The spirit moved him in the camp of Dan.” Judges xiii. 25. “The snorting of horses was heard from Dan.” Jer. viii. 16. “Dan and Javan occupied in thy fairs, &c.” Ezek. xxvii. 12.

affinity could exist between the languages of the old Irish and the *Sanſcrit*. In the mythology of the Bramins, *Syon* is the goddess of sleep—her festival is kept on the 11th day of the new moon in June—she is fabled to sleep for four months; to signify that the rainy season setting in for four months, the care of *Bisnoo*, the preserver, is suspended as immaterial, the rain securing their crops of grain. All this is an equivocation on the two Irish words *Suan* and *Soinion*, or *mor-joinion*: the first signifies *sound sleep*, the second *great rain and tempest*: and this again reverts to the Chaldean *Marbason*, a season so called, because of the great rains, i. e. *October*. Again, *Luke* is their goddess of all kinds of grain: her festival is kept in the month of August. *Unnunto* the unknown (god)—is in Irish, *anaibinte*. *Kartik*, the consecrated—Irish, *Creatach*.—*Sieb*, the destroyer (death)—Irish, *Sab* and *Saib*. And *Ogham* (as it will soon appear) is equally a Sanscrit and an Irish word. (a) With respect to the word *lgan* (in use, at this moment, in Devonshire, as well as Ireland) Vallancey makes these remarks. “Had Dr. Borlase been acquainted with

<i>Sanſcrit.</i>		<i>Irish.</i>
(a) Budh-dha	Supreme Being	{ Budh, the world and its creator
Crishna	Apollo	{ Buaidh, supreme, virtue, divine attribute
Gapia	Muses	{ Crifhean, the sun
Syon	God of Sleep	{ Gube
Suria	Phœbus	{ Suan
Baroon	Neptune	{ Soire
Kesée	Evil Spirit	{ Braine
Burt	A sacrifice	{ Kife-al
		{ Beart &c. &c. &c.

Col. Vallancey refers us, also, to the ancient Language of *Ægypt*, which is strikingly similar to the Irish. “If an affinity of language (says he) be admitted as a criterion of the truth of the Irish history, and of the ancient Irish being descended from those Scythians who had conquered Egypt, and thither carried their language, arts and sciences; there cannot be a stronger proof than the following list of words common to both. The Egyptian language is certainly one of the most ancient in the world, and in all probability an original or mother tongue, formed at the confusion of Babel—it is in a great measure preserved to our times in the present Coptic: Its structure and constitution, differ so widely from all the Oriental and European languages, that it is impossible to conceive it derived from any of them. (1) These words are taken from the *Nomenclatura Egypto-Arabica*, published by Kircher, and from the *Coptic Lexicon* of the learned Dr. Woide.

<i>Egyptiacè.</i>	<i>Lat.</i>	<i>Hibernicè.</i>
ath, partic. neg.		ath, ut in ath-rioghadh
aiai, <i>adauctio</i>		ai
al, <i>lapis</i>		ail
amoi, <i>utinam</i>		mai liom, <i>apud me</i>
amre, <i>princeps</i>		amir
amre, <i>pistor</i>		amra
an, partic. neg.		an
ani, <i>pulchritudo</i>		ah
anoni, <i>luxuria</i>		ana
aoun, <i>res molesta</i>		onn
aouo, <i>pignus</i>		urra
aouon, <i>aperire</i>		uinneog, <i>parva apertio. fenestra</i>
areh, <i>seruus</i>		aire
areghj, <i>terminus</i>		earrach
aghjan, <i>sine</i>		gan
ariki, <i>querela</i>		aireac
aso, <i>indulgentia</i>		{ eas boloid, <i>indulgentia, absolutio</i>
as ebol, <i>indulgere</i>		{ ead
ad, <i>præpos. neg.</i>		{ eaboloid, <i>absolutio</i>
bcl, <i>solutio</i>		{ bann
bol chol, <i>mitigare</i>		{ buathas, <i>victoria</i>
bàn, <i>sedus</i>		{ aoi
bòts, <i>bellum</i>		
ouoi, <i>persona</i>		

(1) Univ. Hist. v. 1. p. 512.



with the Irish MSS. He would have found that the *logan-stone*, which yet retains its name in the west of England, and as he confesses, is not to be explained in that or the Welsh

Egypt.	Lat.	Hib.
adooui, <i>mane</i>		ar doi
ash, <i>crucifigere</i>		aish, <i>funitio</i>
ashai, <i>multitudo</i>		eis
ashí, <i>pendere</i>		ais
baki, <i>urbs</i>		{ bocan, <i>domus</i>
bari, <i>navicula</i>		{ boctain, <i>ædificium</i>
bashi, <i>vacca</i>		baris
befnid, <i>ærius</i>		bois-ceil, <i>vacca sylvestris</i> , ceile, <i>sylvæ</i>
bél, <i>aqua</i>		bés, <i>pecunia æraria</i>
bel-ebol, <i>liquefcere</i>		} bial
bésh, <i>nudus</i>		buas
bir, <i>sporta</i>		barr, bearra, beart
highji, <i>nauffragium</i>		bach, long-bach, long, <i>navis</i>
bok, <i>servus</i>		beac, buacal
boki, <i>ancilla</i>		beac-arna
gallou, <i>vespertilio</i>		gallun, <i>passer</i>
ebol, <i>tam seorsim</i>		ar abol
eioul, <i>cervus</i>		ail
emi, <i>scientia, cognitio</i>		eamh, eamhainí
mok mek, <i>studium</i>		eamanmaca, <i>schola, collegium</i>
dod, <i>manus</i>		dod
erous, <i>responsio</i>		ar, <i>respondit</i>
dom, <i>adherere</i>		dom-lac, i. e. baine claba, <i>lac coagulaturæ</i>
erfei, <i>templum</i>		aifron
erto, <i>cubitus</i>		ortog, <i>pollux, parvus cubitus</i>
erfion, <i>vestis</i>		earafaid
esie, <i>elatis superbi</i>		eas, easlabra, <i>verba superba</i>
eimine, <i>meine, signum</i>		mionn, <i>signum, litera</i>
ermeine, <i>signare</i>		tiomna, <i>testamentum</i>
timeini, <i>ostendere</i>		tiomana, <i>tradere</i>
eida, <i>pascua</i>		iód, au-iód, an, <i>partic.</i>
ephleou, <i>vanitas</i>		feilios
enouoi, <i>curvus</i>		naoi, <i>navis</i>
esho, <i>supra</i>		uas, <i>cs</i>
ehrei, <i>supra</i>		ar
tiehrei, <i>nobilis, protector</i>		tria
eghjeou, <i>navis</i>		uige, uigh-inge, <i>classis</i>
thaibes, <i>victoria</i>		taibh, taibh real, <i>laurus victoriæ</i>
thal, <i>collis</i>		tul
thelel, <i>occidit</i>		teal-mac, <i>paricidus</i>
thas, <i>similitudo</i>		tais
thoud, <i>turbam cogere</i>		tuidme, <i>turba, conspiratio</i>
thou, <i>ventus</i>		rua, <i>boreas, doi, ventus</i>
thoud, <i>congregare</i>		teide, <i>congregatio, nundinæ mercatorum</i>
thod, <i>vinum aqua mixtum, miscere</i>		toide, <i>aqua vitæ, aqua mixta, Anglice toddy, toid</i>
		doid, <i>prædium commixtum, a joint farm</i>
thos, <i>finis, terminus</i>		tus
thems, <i>sepelire</i>		teim, <i>mors</i>
iten, <i>terra</i>		ith
ibi, <i>fitire</i>		ibh, <i>potus</i>
ioh, ioch, <i>luna</i>		eag
iot, <i>bordeum</i>		ith, <i>triticum</i>
piich, <i>dæmon</i>		pocan
kadmis, <i>morus Egyptiaca</i>		unde Cadmus
kaldas, <i>sanctitas</i>		keildei, <i>ceildei sanctus</i>
kame, <i>niger</i>		cama
kelghje, <i>angulus</i>		kealg
kadher, <i>prudens</i>		keadfaoi, <i>prudens</i>
kas, <i>frangere</i>		keas

Welsh dialect, is the Irish *Logh-onn* or stone, into which the *logh*, or divine essence, was said to descend, when the Druids consulted it as an oracle." But it was pretended, that the

Egypt. Lat.

kat, *intellectus*  
kel kil, *tintinabulum*  
logh, *cessare*  
ma, *da, date*  
met, *negativa*  
maniak-espe, *torques*  
mokh, *afflictio*  
nebi, *natate*  
neph, *nauta*  
neb, *dominus*  
pi-mounhou, *regio, pi est art.*

las, *pilas, lingua*  
chukon, *natura*  
ooch, *luna, domina maris*  
ke, *etiam*  
lemne, *portus maritimus*

tomi, *villa*  
rouchi, *nox, vesper*  
fobi, *efobi, sancti*  
nead, *regio a quo ventus spirat*  
niphoui, *cælum*  
niat, *intelligentia*  
os, *multus*  
oesh, *tempus*  
nout, *Deus*  
ouro, *rex*  
onoini, *citibara*  
outouet, *viriditas*  
ohi, *grex*  
rako, *adscribere*  
ran, *placere*  
rad, *t'rad, pes*  
rafh, *metiri*  
reim, *indigena, incola*  
remnakat, *intellectu præditus*  
res, *auster*  
re, *Sol*  
red, *red, oriri*

re, *facere*  
red, *idea, species*  
ribe, *linter nauticus*  
rokh, *incendium*  
fabe, *sapiens, sbo, doctrina*  
fai, *plenitudo*  
fad, *projicere*  
fack, *scriba, sachr.bad,*

Hib.

keacht, *intelligentia*  
keol, *keolin*  
leig  
mai, *mai dhuin, da nobis*  
mith  
muinke  
muc

} naob, *navis*

naobh, *naomh*  
muhan, *ut deas-muhan, regio australis. Desmond.*  
tua muhan, *regio borealis. Thomond. oir mu-*  
han, *regio orientalis. Ormond. iar muhan, regio*  
*occidentalis*

lis  
caichne, *caine*  
eag  
keo

Luimneach, *vel Limerick, portus maritimus in Hiber-*  
nia, i. e. Laimri-oike, *juxta aquam (urbs) vel*  
*regio juxta aquam.*(1)

tuam  
reagh, *nox*  
Sob-sgèul *historia sancta, sgèul historia*  
neid, *ventus*  
neamh. *Tibetanic, neam*  
nath, *scientia*  
os  
aos  
nodh, *supremus, nobilissimus*  
aire *princeps, Arab. har*  
aine  
uatat, *uathath*  
aoi, *grex, aoire, pastor*  
racam, *scribere*  
roinlin  
troid  
reis, *spatbalma*  
reim oilerac, *indigena*  
reimnacht  
reis, *septentrio*  
rê, *Luna*  
rad, *horizon, rad a dearglus, Aurora, i. e. oriens lus-*  
*minis rubicundi*

re, *factus*  
reit  
rab, *remus*  
rog, *pyrus*  
foib  
fai  
faidoir, *projector sagittarum*  
fack, *scribere*

*Nierophantis*, antiquum nomen Egyptiacum, Græcè *ἰσχυρογλαυμάτιος* respondens, videtur fuisse *Sach*, quomodo in versione librorum scripturæ Coptica, semper reddetur *γλαυμάτιος*, Scriba. Scripturæ peritus Linguae Egyptiorum *nabad* designatur *νοήμων* i. e. sapiens, intellectu pollens: dicuntur igitur

(1) Lamon, lomon, lomne, lemne, are original words for a large body of water. Hence our Lemmon and Loman, rivers in Devonshire.

the divinity communicated motion to this stone; whence the people of Devon use *logan* as synonymous with *moving*.

In

igitur ἡγερογχιμαυτες qui essent, ut loquitur Julius Firmicus, Sacrarum literarum periti, i. e. *sacrabat* (Jabloniky. Pant. Egypt. Prolegom. p. xciv).—Hibernicè *Seach-nab*.

## Egyp.

## Lat.

schai, *litera*  
se, *tertia persona*  
seini, *medicus*  
soli, *velum muliebre*  
dako, *perire*  
damo, *offendere*  
seth, *potens, validus*

deu, *ventus*  
phachairi, *veneficus*  
phette, *arcus caelestis*  
phro, *byems*  
pheriou, *splendidus*  
pholph, *verberare*  
phoir, *somnium*  
phorgh, *diviso*  
phodh, *sculptura*  
oik, *panis*  
op, *fors*  
shai, *nasus*  
sai, *festum, faire, festivitas*

shad, *secare*  
she, *lignum*  
sheebol, *exire*  
sheri, *filius, filia*  
shligh, *culter*  
shiai, *extensio*  
shala, *tristis*  
shiol, *gens, natio*  
shne, *rete*  
shok, *fodere*  
shot, *durus*  
shom, *aestas*  
eh an shom, *ver, initium aestatis*

phikohi, *cylindrus textoris*  
phos, *multus esse*  
phota, *anus, podex*  
chello, *senex*  
chellod, *vallis*  
ched-ched, *investigare*  
cheibi, *tegmen*  
chok, *militare*  
chem chem, *consilium*  
hel, halai, *velare*  
shap, *judicare*  
chesh, *cruciare*  
hli, *aliquis*  
hop, chop, *nuptiae*  
hra, chra, *facies*  
hob, *opus*  
hot, *navigare*  
hot, *oportet*  
ghal, *deponere apud aliquem*

## Hib.

scè, *libellus, scè na geug, litera ramorum*  
se  
seanam, *medicare*  
seól  
deag, *mors*  
oide, *praeceptor, dam-oide, magister*  
saoth, *homo generosus, validus, literatus.* Sethir  
sethreach, *homo validus.* Sith-be, *dux*  
dea  
pocaire  
feite  
suar, *frigidus*  
forai na grian, *ortus solis*  
bual  
foir  
fairke  
foda  
óg, *panis*  
upta  
sai-run, *nasus, run, facies*  
saoire, la saoire, *dies festivitatis, seire, festum, prandium*  
sadoir  
sac, *lignum, saor, carpentarius, i. e. fabricator ligni*  
shuibhal  
shar, *filius, shean shior, filius natu maximus, shear-each, filius equi*  
sleigh  
shi, unde shinin, *facere extensionem*  
salach  
siol  
shén, scén  
foc, *culter*  
sheod, *adamantibus*  
samh, sol, samra, *aestas*  
samh suinn, *finis aestatis, autumnus, ear an samh, ucr, initium aestatis*  
figheach, unde fighim, *texare, fighedoir, textor*  
fos  
putog, *rectum*  
cailleach  
calladh  
cead, *judex*  
caban, *domus (anglice cabin)*  
coga, *bellum*  
seim-loir, *conciliarius*  
eol-air, *accipiter, ealan, cygnus, eit-ile, volatus*  
seibti, *qui judicat, judex*  
ceasam  
eile  
coib, *dos*  
cru  
obhar  
cot, *barca navis*  
cait-fe  
geall, *pignus*

gho,



In the mean time, the *Erse* tongue differs so little from the *Irish*, that their common origin is plain : They are both equally derived from the east. That the *British* language, therefore, from its allowed affinity to both, is, also, oriental, seems to be a fair induction. \* But we have, hitherto, examined the British, the Irish, and the Erse as *oral* only : They should be considered, also, as *written*. Let us enquire in what characters these island dialects of the great Asiatic language were expressed, and whether any vestiges of such characters are traceable, at present, in Danmonium, in Ireland, or in Scotland.

With respect to the Danmonian *characters*, I have already had occasion to remark, that the Druids were not averse from committing their thoughts to writing ; as is generally supposed. Not that in matters of religious or political concern, they used a character which was intelligible to the vulgar. Like the priests of India, they had, doubtless, their secret letters, which the common people regarded as mysterious. Cæsar tells us (in a passage on which I have already commented) that the Druids "*publicis privatisque rationibus* [GRÆCIS] LITERIS utantur." (a) Here the word *Græcis*, in the opinion of the commentators in general, is supposititious. A learned antiquary makes the following remark on this passage. "We have said just now that the order of the *Druids* was prior to the existence of the *Greek* word Δῆς ; and yet some persons will be apt to infer, from this last sentence of *Cæsar*, that they both spoke and wrote the language. But we must not conclude from this place, (see *Camden's Britannia*, p. xiv.) that they had any knowledge of the *Greek* tongue. For *Cæsar* himself, when he wrote to *Quintus Cicero*, (besieged at that time somewhere among the *Nervians*) penned his letter in *Greek*, lest it should be intercepted, and so give intelligence to the enemy—which had been but a poor project, if the *Druids* (who were the great ministers of state, as well as of religion) had been masters of the language. The learned *Selden* is of opinion, that the word *Græcis* has crept into the copies, and is no part of the original. *Hottoman* and *D. Vossius* also reject it. And it was natural enough for *Cæsar*, in his observations on the difference between the management of their discipline and their other affairs, to say in general, that in one they made use of *letters*, and not in the other, without specifying any particulars. But if any man is of opinion that a word should be retained in this place, the emendation of *Sam. Petit* is very ingenious, that we should read CRASSIS instead of *græcis*—though not for the reason which he gives, because he conceived them to be rudely formed, and not equal to the elegance of the *Greek* and *Roman* characters ; but because they were the *thick square letters* which themselves had introduced from the east." I have already noticed some monumental pillars in Danmonium, which, possibly, may be relics of Druidism, inscribed with these oriental letters. That such existed in Danmonium, there can be little doubt. And the characters which Sir William Jones mentions as discovered on the walls of the ruined

Egypt.	Lat.	Hib.
gho, <i>annunciare</i>		goch-aire, <i>magister ceremoniarum</i>
ghaph, <i>hyems</i>		gamh-ra
ghin, <i>actio</i>		ghnim, <i>agere</i>
ghinnau, <i>visus</i>		gni
ghoi, <i>navis</i>		uige
ghiphe, <i>possidere</i>		gabh
ghro, <i>victoria</i>		cro
slak, <i>supplicium</i>		slacht, <i>adoratio</i>
gratia, <i>religio</i>		garait, <i>sanctus</i>

The Nomenclator in Egyptian and Arabic, whence most of these words are taken, is often quoted by the learned Dr. Woide, in his Coptic Dictionary. It was found by Petrus á Valle, in the year 1615, near Grand Cairo, in the hands of some peasants, who knew not its value. Peter transmitted it to Rome, where Kircher found it, and published it with a Latin translation. It contains, by Peter's account, many old Egyptian words, sacred and profane, now grown obsolete to the Egyptians themselves : But he can form no idea when it was compiled. It is a most valuable monument of antiquity. For, we know as little of the Egyptian dialect, as we do of their literary characters, as Count Caylus observes. (1) Before the beginning of this century, we were acquainted only with the Hieroglyphic. Since that period, many inscriptions have been found on the bandages of very ancient mummies, written in a *running hand*, or common character. One of considerable length has been engraved by the Count. The original is in the library of St. Genevieve at Paris, where I was indulged with the perusal of it."

(a) lib. vi. sect. 13.

(1) Antiquities, v. 1. p. 69.

ruined palace of Jemshid, correspond with the *crassis literis* of Cæsar.—But let us return to Ireland.

The *Ogham* writing of the ancient Irish, was, probably, the same as that of the Danmonian Druids. Colonel Vallancey has illustrated this point with his wonted learning and ingenuity. "The word *Ogham* in Irish, taken in a general sense, says Vallancey, signifies whatever is sacred, mysterious and sublime; purity of diction, eloquence; but is particularly applied to *sacred and mysterious writings*. Toland says, the word originally meant, the *secret of letters*, and from signifying the *secret of writing*, it came to signify *secret writing*. But *Ogham* or *Oghma* certainly signified learning, eloquence, sublimity of style in composition. Hence it became a proper name, in Irish, as *Ogma Grianan*, who was one of the first of the Chaldaean race. As a character, it was never used but in sacred writings, unless in an epitaph for the deceased, by permission of the Magi or Druids. From its uniform combination of straight lines, many have thought it was the same as the unknown characters of *Persepolis*. And the *Persepolitan* characters, in the opinion of the learned *Millius*, were sacred and mysterious. 'Cum Zoroastres placita sua coriis mandata, Persarum regi Gustasp tradidisset, illa certo loco inclusit, eique sacerdotes præfexit, prohibens, ne hæc sacra vulgo manifestarent: quare etiam sacerdotum Persarum cultui divino vacantium labia, linteo velata erant. Qui, de hodierno statu Persiæ atque religione, scripserunt, idem referunt. Quid, quod inscriptiones Persepolitanae, quæ adeo eruditos ex cruciaverunt, notæ quadam Hieroglyphicæ esse videntur, quibus Zoroastres, qui prope Persepolin cultum symbolicum condiderat, aliique Magi, præcipua cultus sui capita, profanum vulgus celare studebant.' (a) That learned Orientalist Sir William Jones (who, from his knowledge in the *Sanscrit*, has been admitted into the order of the *Brahmins*) in a late discourse to the Academy of *Calcutta*, adverts to the word *Ogham*. He proves it to be a pure *Sanscrit* word, meaning the *sacred or mysterious writings or language*, and used in that signification, in the books of the *Sanscrit*: He also observes, that the *Sanscrit* language, older than the *Hindu*, was the language of *Iran*, and of pure *Chaldaic* origin. He applies the use of this word *Ogham*, and the *ancient traditions of the Irish*, together with the authority of the *Saxon Chronicle*, to prove that these islands were first peopled by colonies from *Iran*, and that *their language, their customs, and their religion, were the same both in these islands, in Iran, and in Hindostan*—but—all originating in *Chaldea*. (b)"

After this examination of the primitive language of Danmonium, both as an *oral* and a *written* language, we might naturally enquire, in what points it resembles its eastern original. There are some authors who inform us, that like the *Chaldaic*, it is energetic and sonorous. Its phraseology is pompous: Its style metaphorical. (c)

OF

(a) Oratio de fabulis Orientalium, p. 77.

(b) "Iran and Iouran, the country of the Persians, and of the Turks. Persia and Oriental Turkey—applied by eastern historians to signify all upper Asia, India and China excepted." (Herbelot).—But the ancient Iran, I believe, was of greater extent. Sir William Jones, in the discourse above mentioned, proves from the books of the *Brahmins*, the existence of a first great empire (before the Assyrian) which he calls by the name of the kingdom of *Iran*; whence, he says, a colony emigrated to *Hindostan*.

(c) The several proverbs in the Cornish language, that have been transmitted to us, all favour of truth—some of pointed wit—some of deep wisdom. Take the following as specimens of the eastern manner: *Neb na gare y gwryn coll rethona*; He that heeds not gain, must expect loss. *Neb na gare y gy; an gwra dewceder*; He that regards not his dog, will make him a choak sheep. *Guel yw gnetka vel goafen*; It is better to keep than to beg. *Gurada, rag ta bonan te yn gura*; Do good, for thyself thou dost it. *Tau tawas*; Be silent, tongue. *Cowus nebas, cowus da, ka da wetb cowjas arta*; Speak little, speak well, and well will be spoken again. *Cowus nebas, cowus da, nebas an yearn yw an gwella*; Speak little, speak little, speak well, little of public matters is best. *Nyn ges gun heb lagas, na kei heb fverren*; There is no downs without eye, nor hedge without ears. (1)

Der taklow minniiz ew brez teeze gonvethes, avelen taklow broaz: drefen en taklow broaz, ma an gymennow hetha go honnen; bus en taklow minis, ema an gye fuyah hâz go honnen.

By small things are the minds of men discovered, as well as by great matters: because in great things, they will stretch themselves; but in small matters, they follow their own nature.

Gwra,

Of compositions in the Danmonian language, at this early stage of it, we might vainly search for any extensive relic, at this hour: Nor will the Irish or Erse present us with a single literary work of such high antiquity. There are, however, some Druidical verses extant. The Druids, after the manner of the Chaldeans and Ægyptians, delivered their instructions in verse. And the oldest kind of British verse has been called by the Welsh grammarians Englyn Milur—of which the following is a specimen:

An lavar kôth yu lavar guir,  
Bedh durn rêver, dhan tavaz rê hir;  
Mez den heb davaz a gallaz i dir.  
What's said of old, will always stand;  
Too long a tongue, too short a hand;  
But he that had no tongue lost his land. (a)

We

Gwrâ, O Mateyne, a tacklow ma, gen an gwella krêder, el boz pideeres an marudgyan a go terman; ha an tacklow a vedn gwaynia klôs theez rag nevera.

Po rez deberra an bez, vidn heerath a feu; po res dal an vor, na oren pan a tu, Thuryan, houl Zethas, go Gleth, po Dihow.

An beys yu cales kylden; *The world is an hard caravanjera.* Deu iuth ros flour hy hyufe; *God made a rose-flower of thy sex.*

(a) "The Druids couched their morality in triambics of rhyme, the better to imprint them upon the memory. They were above all things careful to inculcate taciturnity or secrecy into their disciples, that their doctrines might not become vulgar, and to secure to themselves, as much as might be, the credit of learning and wisdom. Their verses were filled with strong images of nature, after the Oriental manner; always concluding with some wise sentence founded upon long experience. And to these, in all probability, we are indebted for most of the proverbial expressions now in use. The following were collected and committed to writing by *Llewarch Hen*, a Prince of Cumberland, who lived in the year 590, and are purely *Venedotian*, or the *British of North Wales*. For tho' the Druids wrote nothing of this sort, yet the ancient Christians who succeeded them, did, and were careful of preserving what was good and laudable. They are inserted by Mr. Rowlands, in his truly valuable work of the *Mona Antiqua*, but without any translation; nor does it appear by his remarks that they were sufficiently understood by that (otherwise) very learned author. Two very worthy gentlemen, well versed in the language, have been consulted concerning the meaning of them; whose literal sense of them is given below. But we cannot be of opinion, with those gentlemen, 'that the first two lines of each triambic were never designed to have any connection with the third, but were intended merely to furnish rhyme to it.' Because, supposing the three first triambics to allude to the corrective discipline of the *Druids*, which cannot well be doubted, the connection is easy; and there is as much of it in these and the three last, as the oriental poets generally furnish.

## DRUIDICAL VERSES.

## I.

Marchweil Bedw briclas  
A dyn vynhroet o wanas,  
Nac addev dy rin i was.

## II.

Marchweil derw mwynllwyn,  
A dyn vynhroet o Gatwyn,  
Nac addev dy rin i vorwyn.

## III.

Marchweil derw deiliar,  
A dyn vynhroet o garchar,  
Nac addev dy rin i lavar.

## IV.

Eyri mynydd, Húdd efcyt,  
Odyd amdidawr o'r byt,  
Rhybydd i drwch ni weryt.

## V.

Eyri mynydd, pifc yn rhyt,  
Cyrcyht karw kilgrwm cwmclyt,  
Hiraeth am warw ni weryt.

## LITERAL SENSE.

## I.

Strong rods of green birch  
Will draw my foot out of the hold;  
Reveal not thy secret to a youth.

## II.

Strong rods of oak in a grove  
Will draw my foot out of the chain:  
Reveal no secret to a maid.

## III.

Strong rods of leafy oak  
Will draw my foot out of prison:  
Reveal not thy secret to a blab.

## IV.

Mountain snow, swift deer,  
Scarce any in the world cares for me:  
Warning to the unlucky saveth not.

## V.

Mountain snow, fish in a ford,  
The lean stag seeks the warm vale:  
A long'g for death saveth not.

VL Eyri

(a) Pryce's Archæol.



We have also some Druidical verses concerning the "*Fatal-stone*, call'd so, as suppos'd to contain the fate of the Irish Royal Family. On this the supreme Kings of Ireland used to be inaugurated on the hill of Tarah, and the ancient Irish had a persuasion, that in what country soever this stone remain'd, there one of their blood was to reign.(a)" The fatal-stone was enclosed in a wooden chair, and thought to emit a sound under the rightful king, but to be mute under one of a bad title. The Druid Oracle concerning it is in these verses :

"Cioniodh scuit faor an fine  
Man ha breag an Fais dine  
Mar a bh fuighid an Lia fail  
Dlighid flaitheas do ghabhail.

Except old faws do feign,  
And wizard wits be blind,  
The Scots in place must reign,  
Where they this stone shall find.(b)"

In the Erse language, the poems of Ossian, are deeply tinctured with the oriental genins. The following passages will give us a fine relish of the eastern manner. This address to the moon has an uncommon obscurity of allusion : "Whither dost thou retire from thy course, when the darkness of thy countenance grows? Hast thou thy hall, like Ossian? Dwellest thou in the shadow of grief? Have

#### DRUIDICAL VERSES.

##### VI.

Eyri mynydd, gwint ae tawl,  
Llydan lloergan, glaſs tavawl,  
Odyd dyn diried dihawl.

#### LITERAL SENSE.

##### VI.

Mountain snow the wind will disperse,  
Broad the splendent moon, the dock is green:  
Scarce a knave will want a pretext.

Descrip. of Stonehenge, &c. p. 64, 65, 66.

(a) "This stone was sent into Scotland, where it continued as the coronation seat of the Scottish kings; till in the year 1500, Edward the First of England, brought it from Scone, placing it under the coronation chair at Westminster. The Irish pretend to have memoirs concerning it for above 2000 years." Tol. p. 103.

(b) "After the example of the antients, (the Chaldeans, Egyptians, and Assyrians) the Druids compriz'd all the particulars of their religion, and morality in hymns, the number of which, as Mr. Martine(1) says, was so great that the verses which composed them amounted to 20,000. In justification of this part of their discipline, it must be observ'd that the subject matter of verses is easier learnt by means of the metre, and more easily retain'd, than what is express'd in prose. Of the particular sorts of verses which the bards us'd, there is an account in the ingenious Dr. John David Rhys's Rudiments, &c. of the British language; (2) and Mr. E. Lhuwyd is there of opinion, 'that the oldest kind of British verse is that call'd by Rhys's Grammar Englyn Milur, and that 'twas in this sort of metre the Druids taught their disciples, of which there are some traditional remains to this day in Wales.(3) Cornwall, and Scotland,' and a farther testimony the verses themselves bear to this truth, in that they generally contain some divine or moral doctrine.(4) As the bards (an inferior class of Druids) were remarkable for an extraordinary talent of memory; (5) this teaching memoriter, and by verse, was likely their office, whilst the superiours of the order were employ'd in higher speculations, or the more secret and solemn parts of duty." *Berlese's Antiquities*, p. 83, 84. "The sort of verse I find most common among our oldest remains, is that called Englyn Milur in Jo. Dav. Rhys's Grammar, p. 184. And as I have (tho' but rarely) heard the same in the shire of Argyle in Scotland, and also in Cornwall, I am apt to conclude it one of the most ancient, if not the very oldest sort of verse we ever had; and that it was in this sort of metre the Druids taught their disciples; of whom Cæsar says: *Ad hos magnus adolescentium numerus Disciplinæ causa concurrat.—Ii certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum, quæ regio totius Galliæ media habetur, confidunt, in loco consecrato. Huc omnes undique conveniunt; eorumque judiciis decretisque parent. Disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata, esse existimatur. Et nunc qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causâ proficiunt. Druides a bello abesse consueverunt, neque tributa una cum reliquis pendunt; militiæ vacationem omniumque rerum habent immunitatem. Tantis excitari præmiis & sua sponte multi in Disciplinam conveniunt, & a propinquis parentibusque mittuntur. Magnum ibi numerum versuum edificare dicuntur. Itaque nonnulli annos vicenos in disciplina permanent, &c.* Cæſ. de Bello Gall. l. vi. That this is ancient enough to have been the verse used by the Druids, is manifest from there being some traditional remains of it at this day, in Wales, Cornwall, and Scotland; though it be immemorial when any such were last made. And that it really was used by them seems also highly probable, as a great number of the Welsh Englyns of this sort have always some doctrine, &c. vine

(1) La Relig. de Gaul. iii. pag. 50.

(2) See Archæol. Brit. pag. 250.

(3) A. D. 1743. At Bala in Merionethshire an annual meeting and festival of the Bards is celebrated. There assemble together 60 or 70 harpers. In all this company of musical poets scarce fix of them can read, and yet some of them have such a poetic genius that their compositions have both spirit and invention.

(4) Lhuwyd. 251.

(5) Gahrachius's Hist. Poétique. lib. iii. chap. iv.

Have thy sisters fallen from heaven? Are they who rejoiced with thee at night no more? Yes, they have fallen, fair light! And thou dost often retire to mourn!"—Are we not instantly reminded of that grand apostrophe—"How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning?" The heavenly bodies appear to have been the common objects of veneration both in Scotland and in the east. The hospitality of an Arabian prince, is thus praised by a poet of Arabia: "The stranger and the pilgrim well know, when the sky is dark and the north wind rages, that thou art a sun to them by day, and a moon in the cloudy night." (a) In the same manner, Ossian: "He was like the strong-beaming sun." (b) The following image seems more in the style of an Arabian, amidst his thirsty deserts, than of a poet of the Highlands: "Before them rejoiced the king, as the traveller, in the day of the sun; when he hears, far rolling around, the murmur of mossy streams; streams, that burst, in the desert, from the rock of roes." (c) The traveller and the hospitable chieftain, were equally the theme of the Highland and the Arabian poet. And the warrior was described by both, in the same figurative terms: The Arabian warrior advancing at the head of his army, is "compared (says Sir W. Jones) to an eagle sailing through the air, and piercing the clouds with his wings." Thus the leader of Ossian, "comes like an eagle, from the skirt of his squally wind! In his hand are the spoils of foes!" (d) This allusion is frequent in Ossian. "From thy vales come forth a race, fearless as thy strong-winged eagles; the race of Colgorm of iron shields, dwellers of Loda's hall." (e) "ERIN (f) rose around him; like the found of eagle-wing." (g) But love was the most prolific subject. The poets of Arabia compare the foreheads of their mistresses to the morning, their locks to the night, their faces to the sun, or moon, their cheeks to roses, their teeth to pearls, hail-stones, or snow-drops; their eyes to the flowers of the narcissus, their dark coloured hair to hyacinths, their lips to rubies, the color of their breasts to snow, their shape to the pine-tree, their stature to the javelin. (b) And the blue eyes of an Arabian woman bathed in tears, are compared to violets dropping with dew. (i) And thus, Ossian: "His white-bosomed daughter, fair as a sun-beam!" (k) "No more I see thee, bright as the moon on the western wave!" (l) "That sun-beam! that mild light of love! It soon approached. We saw the fair. Her white breast heaved with sighs. The wind was in her loose dark hair! Her rosy cheek had tears." (m) "Her breast was whiter than the down of Cana—her eyes were two stars of light! Her face was heaven's bow in showers—her dark hair flowed round it like the streaming clouds!" (n) "Daughter of strangers (he said) young pine of Inishuna!" (o) And Malvina, lamenting over Oscar, says: "I was a lovely tree in thy presence, Oscar; with all my branches round me!" "Hunters, from the mossy rock, saw ye the blue eyed fair? Are her steps on grassy Lumon, near the bed of roes?" (p) "The daughter of Starno came with her voice of love—her blue eyes rolling in tears." (q) "She left the hall of her secret sign! she came in all her beauty, like the moon from the cloud of the east. Loveliness was around her, as light. Her steps were the music of songs. She saw the youth and loved him! Her blue eye rolled on him in secret!" (r) When we consider the

vine or moral, in the conclusion; the rest being often insignificant, and serving only as metre thereunto. And of this kind are those very ancient Epigr. called *Englynnyen* or *eiry*: as;

Eiry mynydh, guyn pob ty;  
Kynnevin bian a Xany:  
Ni dhaw da o dra Xyfy. (1)  
Eiry mynydh, guynt ac taul,  
Lhydan lhoergan, glis tavaul;  
Odid dyn diried, dibaul (2)  
Eiry mynydh hydh ym mron;  
GoXuiban guynt yuX blaen on:  
Trydydh troed y bet y fon. (3)

Dr. Pryce's Archæol. p. 54.

- (a) See Poems by Sir William Jones. (b) Ossian, vol. 1, p. 23. (c) Ossian, vol. 2, p. 152.  
(d) Ossian, vol. 1, p. 17. (e) p. 23. (f) *Eirin*, Iran, Ireland. (g) Ossian, vol. 2, p. 92.  
(h) See Jones's Poems, Essay 1, p. 168. (i) *ibid.* (k) Ossian, vol. 1, p. 23. (l) p. 56.  
(m) p. 276. (n) p. 24. (o) vol. 2, p. 146. (p) Ossian, vol. 2, p. 136. See Solomon's Song:  
(q) Ossian, vol. 1, p. 266. (r) *ibid.*

(1) — Melior vigilantia somno. (2) Homo nequam liis occasione non carebit. (3) Seni baculus, tertius pes est.



the difference of objects which nature presented to the view, in Arabia and in the Highlands, and when we reflect that the poets of both countries were alike remarkable for simply describing what they saw and felt, we must necessarily make allowances for much Arabian imagery not occurring in the Highland poetry. But, after these allowances, we cannot but admire the similarity of Ossian, to the eastern poets, in various illustrations of his subject, and see every where a strong likeness in their style and manner. The Arabs and the Highlanders not only resembled each other in their poetry, but in their attachment to the persons of their poets. (a) "The fondness of the Arabians for poetry (says Sir William Jones) and the respect which they shew to poets, would be scarce believed, if we were not assured of it by writers of great authority. The principal occasions of rejoicing among them, were formerly, and very probably are to this day, the birth of a boy, the foaling of a mare, the arrival of a guest, and the rise of a poet in their tribe. When a young Arabian has composed a good poem, all the neighbours pay their compliments to his family, and congratulate them upon having a relation capable of recording their actions, and of recommending their virtues to posterity." And thus, the Highlanders, fond of military fame, and attached to the memory of their ancestors, delighted in traditions and songs concerning the exploits of their nation, and especially of their own particular families. In every Highland clan or tribe, therefore, those who were qualified to transmit to posterity the actions of heroes, were as highly respected as among the Arabs. Ossian compares the "music of bards to the dews of the morning on the hill of roses."

Thus, in so late an age as that of Ossian, the Asiatic muse (b) illuminated the Highlands: yet Danmonium was fated to enjoy but a short time the pure splendor of eastern poetry. In the recesses of the Highlands, it was long preserved. But, Danmonium lost much of her primitive orientalisms, as she became the mart of commerce, or the seat of war. Her connexion with the Phenicians, was not favourable to literature.

The Phenicians, it is true, spoke nearly the same language as the people of Devonshire and Cornwall. The British, the Irish, the Erse, and the Phenician, were branches of the same oriental tree: They were dialects of the same Asiatic language. But the Phenicians, from their mercantile connexions and various intercourse with half the nations of the world, soon permitted their dialect to be corrupted by foreign words and phrases: In this adulterated state they introduced it into Danmonium.

About the time of the settlement, therefore, of the Phenicians in this western part of the island, we may fix the *second* stage of the British language, as spoken in Devon and Cornwall. There are many who represent the ancient language of Danmonium as no other

(a) Poems, p. 173.

(b) Dr. Knox (the most sensible, spirited, and elegant of all our English essayists) informs us, that "a resemblance has been pointed out by some ingenious critics between the Gothic and Oriental poetry, in the wild enthusiasm of an irregular imagination. And they have accounted for it, by supposing, with great probability, that in an emigration of the Asiatics into Scandinavia, the Eastern people brought with them their national spirit of poetry, and communicated it to the tribes with whom they united." There is no other way, indeed, of accounting for this resemblance. For, the Arabian or the Persian, "who is placed in a climate where the serenity of the weather constantly presents him with blue skies, luxuriant plantations, and sunny prospects, will find his imagination the strongest of his faculties; and, in the expression of his sentiments, will abound in allusions to natural objects, in similes, and the most lively metaphors. His imagination will be his distinguishing excellence, because it will be more exercised than any other of his faculties; and all the powers both of body and mind are known to acquire vigour by habitual exertion. He, on the other hand, whose lot it is to exist in a less favoured part of the globe, who is driven by the inclemency of his climate to warm roofs, and, instead of basking in the sunshine amidst all the combined beauties of nature, flies for refuge from the cold to the blazing hearth of a smoky cottage, will seek, in the exercise of his reason, those resources which he cannot find in the actual employment of his imagination. Good sense and just reasoning will therefore predominate in his productions. Even in the wildest of his flights, a methodical plan, the result of thought and reflection, will appear, on examination, to restrain the irregularities of licentious fancy." (1) Yet, the Scandinavian, the Highland, and the Danmonian bards, have all the lightness and fire of the oriental genius.

(1) See Knox's Essays (8th edit.) vol. 2, p. 331, 332.



other than *Phœnician*. (a) On this idea, they proceed to derive from the Phœnicians the name of the island itself, of this western tract in particular, of its rivers, its mountains, its vallies, and its towns, together with its natural and artificial productions. (b) Sammes, in his description of Britain, intimates, that the name (c) of Britain was given to it by the Phœnician navigators, signifying the *Land or Island of Tin*; which they called *Bratanac*, or *Baratanac*; and that this was agreeable to the custom of those merchants, who gave names to many places on the sea-coasts, in Ægypt, Africa, Gaul, and Spain—all the ancient names of which are of Phœnician extract or origin; though many of them were afterwards perverted by the Greeks to their own idiom. (d) Thus (according to Sammes) *Cornwall* is so named from *cern* or *kern*, or *cheran*; a Phœnician word for a headland, promontory, or point of land like a *born*. Cornwall has two such points of land—the promontory called *Bel ir* or *promontorium Elerium*; the other, *Meneg*, from the Phœnician word *Meneog*, a peninsula. And thus *Danmonium*, including Cornwall and Devonshire, comes from *dan* or *dun*, a Phœnician word for a *hill*, and *moina* signifying *mines*, in Phœnician, or minerals, that is to say, the *country of mines*. (e) It is to the *Phœnician* age, that most

(a) Dr. Pryce intimates, in his *Archæologia Cornu-britannica*, that the Cornish language was immediately introduced by the Phœnicians. This idea seems to be derived from Scawen's MS. to which the Doctor had access. It is there observed that the West-British tongue was most like the Phœnician—manly, thort, and expressive. "The Passion, a poem, written in Cornu-British, is now easily understood by the Welsh, from the intermixture of those idiomatic expressions, originally borrowed from the Phœnicians." Scawen's MS. as referred to by Borlase. Nat. Hist. p. 314.

(b) We should remember, however, that the Phœnician is derived from the *Chaldaic*, as well as the pure British—the language of the Aborigines of *Danmonium*.

(c) "Some have thought (says Borlase) that the Phœnicians—others, that the Grecians planted some of the sea-coasts; leaving colonies behind them: But the great uniformity to be observed among the ancient Britons, proves them to be of one original." That there was, however, a very striking distinction between the inland inhabitants and those of the maritime parts, Cæsar asserts upon the best grounds. And this position will be abundantly proved in the course of our disquisitions. With respect to the Phœnicians, Dr. Borlase asserts, in opposition to Sammes, that the discovery and colonization of the west by this people, has no other foundation than the names of places derived from Phœnician words.

(d) "*Britain*, the most renowned island of the whole world, was called by the ancient Greeks ΑΔΒΙΩΝ, afterwards it took the name of *Britannia*, but more truly, *Bretanica*, from the adjacent islands called, *Barat-anac*, or *Bratanac* by the Phœnicians, from the abundance of tynn, and lead-mines, found in them. It was alwaies esteemed a very considerable part of the world, even in the height of the *Roman* Empire, and much celebrated in the writings and monuments of the *Græcians*; and, as if the genius of this nation did prompt the inhabitants, and insensibly lead them to trade and traffick, we find that besides that, the island received its name from it, inasmuch, that, in the first ages, it was frequented by the ablest merchants, and skilfullest mariners, the *Phœnicians*; who carefully, and studiously concealed this treasure from the world, being exceeding jealous, least the source and head of their trade being discovered, the busy *Græcians* might put in for sharers: And least the fruitfulness of the soyl, the pleasant and delightful situation of the country, might tempt those of their own nation to neglect their barren soyl, and betake themselves to this more temperate and blessed clymate; we read, that, by a publick edict of those states, care was taken to prevent it, yea, all possible means used too, to stop the current which was visibly turning that way." Sammes, p. 1, 2.—"The reason that absolutely confirms me in the opinion, the *Scilly* Islands gave name at last to this great Island, that now alone keeps the name of *Britannia*, is, because *Pliny* writes, that this island was called *Albion*, when as all the islands adjacent were called *Britain*: so that we see the name of *Bratanac* first took place in the adjacent islands, before it came on the main land of *Albion*, but in succession of time the name gaining footing in *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, it prevailed at last over all the island, and the greater part swallowed up at last the name of the whole, although corrupted and distorted by the several dialects it ran through." Sammes, p. 43.

(e) "As the *Silures* derived their name from the *Phœnicians*, so likewise did the *Danmonii*, the inhabitants of *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, in which two counties the *Phœnicians* were very conversant, by reason of their abounding in tynn. Upon this account some have derived them from *moina*, in the *British* tongue signifying *mines*, but the question is, whence the *dan* or *dun* proceeds? for *Solinus* calls them *Dunmonii*; *Ptolemy*, *Danmonii*, and in other copies (as *Camden* faith) trulier *Danmonii*, although I think the transposition is very easie and usual, and hides not at all the original *dan* or *dun*. In the ancient *British* language, as also in the *Phœnician*, *dun* signifies a *hill*, and *dan* of the *British*, down of the *Phœnicians* and *Englist*, signifie low. Now whether we derive them from *dan*, from their low habitations in valleys, or, which is righter, from *dun moina*, signifying *hills of tynn*; I find

both waies that they are of a *Pœnician* derivation. Besides, this word *dun*, being a frequenter word in derivation, and extending to the language of the *Gauls*, who called an hill *dun*, I think more proper to derive *Dunmonii* from it, for from *dun*, a hill, many cities of high situation both in *Gaul* and *Britain* take their name, as *Augustodunum*, *Axellodunum*, *Juliodunum*, *Laudunum*, *Melodunum*, *Noviodunum*, *Sedunum*, *Vellarnodunum*. *Clitophon* expressly, *Lugdunum*, *Corvi Collem*, because it was placed on a hill; likewise *Andematunum*, with a *T*, in *Ptolemy*, the metropolis of the *Lingones*. The first country of the *Danmonii* westward is *Cornwall*, shooting into the sea, and running into a point of *Belirium*, the name of which country, if we examine the original of it, and what at this day it is called by the inhabitants, and the similitude it bears with other places, exactly agreeing in name and nature with it, we shall find it could be called so by none but the *Pœnicians*. To prove this, let us consider it is agreed upon by all hands, that it received its name from being like a *horn*, running smaller and smaller, with little promontories, as if they were horned on either side: And this is brought from *Korn*, plur. *Kern*, signifying *horns* in the *British* language. Now as this *Kern* or *Korn* is derived from the *Pœnician Keren*, signifying the same, so the manner of calling places after that sort came from them also, a thing so frequent in the eastern countries, to call any corner or angle made, by the name of *horn*; as for example, *Cyprus* called *Cerastis*, and *Κεραστής* in *Taurica Cherfone*; that we are not to doubt but *Cornwall*, called *Kernaw* by the inhabitants, proceeded from the *Pœnician* here. To give an instance, the city *Carnon*, as *Pliny* calls it, *Carna*, as *Ptolemy*, merely upon the account of its standing upon an angle, cut out by two high-waies that met there in a point on which *Carna* was built, one of which roads from *Mecca* leads to *Tasph*, the other to *Sanaa*. But this way of the *Pœnicians* was frequently in promontories whose *Pœnicians* *Karnatka*, afterwards mollified by the *Greeks* into *Κερατίας*, *Κέρας*, *Κέν*, and all this, from its having so many promontories, which by the *Pœnicians* were called *Keru*. That *Cornwall* was called *Kernaw* by them rather than the inhabitants, will appear: First, because there is no other promontory in this island so called, notwithstanding the *British* language was in use through the whole. There are other places that run into the sea as much like a horn as this, which, in my judgment, is an evident sign of the *Pœnicians* in this part of *England* above others. Secondly, because it is more natural to imagine, that sailors (to whom the shapes of countries appear at a distance, more than to the inhabitants) should give the name, than those that only ply'd upon the shoars in small *carrows*, or *leather* and *wicker* boats, as the *Britains* did. It is to be observed that *Meneg*, a part of *Cornwall*, which of the south sea does make another direct horn, is also of a *Pœnician* derivation, agreeing to that description Mr. *Camden* gives of it, viz. that it is a *Demy-Island*, *Meneg* of the *Pœnician* signifying *kept in by the sea*, and which he proves in the *Menna* which *Jornandus* describes out of *Cornelius* a writer of antiquities; so that to sailors afar off, *Cornwall* appears with two horns, striking itself into the sea, which part of *England*, I believe, was first discovered by the *Pœnicians*, who, without question, finding a world of *tynn* in them, secured them for themselves. And altho' *Meneg* is now destitute of all metalls, as long ago exhausted, yet that there were such mines in it, hear the same author: It has great store of *Mettal* Mines, very full of *grafs* and *herbs*, bringing forth more plentifully all those things which serve for *pastorage* of *beasts*, and *nourishment* of *man*. I will only mention one thing in this *peninsula*, which seems to me exactly to preserve its *Pœnician* name, and that is a fortification of *stones* only without any *cement* or *mortar*, lying as upon the lake *Leopole*, a fortification after the manner of the *Britains*, as *Tacitus* describes them, *radet & informe saxorum compages*, which was the way of the eastern nations, as the scriptures themselves inform us. This rude heap of *stones* the inhabitants call to this day *Ertb*, without giving any reason for so ancient a *rampier*, and of so great a compass as it is, so that none can induce me to believe but that it took its name from the lake on which it lies, for the *Pœnicians* call'd all *lakes*, *Arith*, so that this military fence called, as I have said, *Ertb*, I believe from thence received its name. There are many places in these two counties, *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, which retain exact foot-steps of the *Pœnicians*, that cannot be found any where else, which I shall omit as nothing easier than to fancy similitudes, especially where, perhaps, they will not be allowed of. The truth of *Pœnician* trafficks in these parts do not depend upon such conjectures, but evidenced by authentick histories, so that I will not mention *Godelcan*, a hill famous for the plenty of the mines of *tynn*, as Mr. *Camden* witnesseth, which plenty of that *mettal* is included in the very word it self, only here let me observe, that in the west and south parts of *England*, even where the *British* language prevails now, we find many places begin with *Pen*, namely, such as are of a high situation, which, without dispute, is an argument, that *Pen*, a hill in the *British* language, came from the *Pœnician Pinnab*, signifying the same thing, because we find it most used in those parts of *England* the *Pœnicians* frequented most; nay through all this island we shall scarce meet with any northward, when on the west and south coasts, we cannot go six or eight miles but we find them. To instance in the south-side of *Cornwall* only: *Penrose*, *Penfans*, *Pengerick*, *Penrose* again, *Penwarron*, *Pendennis*, *Penkeivel*, *Penwyn*, *Pentuan*, *Penrock*, to which may be added that infinite number of towns beginning with *Tre*, as *Treewose*, *Trenowik*, *Tregenna*, *Trevarweneth*, *Trevascus*, *Trenona*, *Trewaridreth*, *Trewworgan*, *Tregermin*, *Trelisick*, *Trefusts*, *Tregamian*, *Tremadart*, *Tregonoc*, which those very same parts can have no other account given of them, if they proceed not from the *Pœnician Tira*, and by contraction *Trz*, signifying a *castle*, so that



that they were forts built by them to secure their trade. Now give me leave to instance here in some *British* words that agree exactly with the *Phœnician*, which I shall put down in *English* characters, leaving the examination of the words, and the roots of them to the learned.

Brit.	Phœnician.	English.
<i>Crag</i> , or <i>Careg</i> ,	Carac, Crac,	A bill.
<i>Cern</i> , plur. <i>Kern</i> ,	Coran, plur. Kern,	A horn.
<i>Caer</i> , from whence came <i>Caerlŷle</i> ,	Caer, from whence Carthago,	A city.
<i>Get</i> ,	Gwith,	A breach.
<i>Caturŷa</i> ,	Kat-erva,	A troop.
<i>Penn</i> ,	Pinnah,	The cliff of a bill.
<i>Cum</i> ,	Cum,	Low.
<i>Dar</i> ,	Douna,	Down.
<i>Pel</i> , furthest off, whence Mr. } Camden brings <i>Belirium</i> ,	Peli,	To remove away.
<i>Meath</i> ,	Mawath,	A plain or valley.
<i>Ara</i> ,	Ahari,	Slow.
<i>Garw</i> , or <i>Garaw</i> ,	Garaph,	Swift.
<i>Dun</i> ,	Dun,	A bill.
<i>Bro</i> ,	Baro,	A country or region.
<i>Gwith</i> ,	Guet,	A separation.

Sammes, p. 58, 59, 60.

"The name of Danmon, the country or province of Devonshire now by a syneresis or contraction named Deneſheere was sometimes one and the same province with Cornwall, and so by all the old and ancient cronographers were reputed, and both by the name of Danmonia were called which is to say the country of valleys, which the old Britons, and now the Welsh (which be the remainents of the Britons) soe name it, which signifyeth deepe and narrow valleys. For the country is full of hills and mountaines. and where be many hills there consequently be also many valleys." *Hooker*, p. 1.

"And notwithstanding that the river of Tamer is the boundes and limitts betwene Devon and Cornwall saving that in some particular places the one borroweth of the other yet they both doe retain their old and ancient name in the Latine tongue with this difference the one being called the East Danmonia and the other the West Danmonia, but when these two were joynd in one it was much greater and did reach in length from the farthest parte and pointe of the Isle of Sillye in the west unto the confines and marches of Durotines and the Belgians in the east which is Dorset-shere and Somersetshere. For in times past some writers doe hold that Sillye was continent land with Cornwall, but by the violence of raging seas in proceſſe of time the land betwene them hath bin waſted and devoured. and whereof some instances be given, because in a faire summer and a sun shining day the seafayring men doe see and diſcerne sundry monuments of houses and churches vnder and in the water. And yet notwithstanding the open space and partition betwene them, they be both in one and in the same province, of Cornwall, and both it and the province of Devon be in one diocesse and vnder one and the same Bishop of Exceſter, these two provinces when they were both one they were also called Corinia and so named (as it is thought) by Corineus cofen vnto Brutus and a speciall man off account and of service vnder him, whom Brutus rewarded with this country at their first arrivall and landing in the same, And albeit some doe not allow this nor the history of Brutus to be true. yet forasmuch as antiquity hath left it vnto us for a matter of truth, it were against all humanity to deny the same and to derogate that credit which hath for ever hitherto bin received." *Hooker*, p. 2.

"It is obvious to vs in most authors, I mean Geographers and Historiographers, that either describe kingdoms or write their histories, that they are more troubled to search & finde their primitive names & whence they are derived, & the reason why they were first imposed then in any other matter although of far greater worth and consequence: This caused Plutark the great dictator of knowledge to complain in his preface to the life of Remulus, that the historiographers before him did much vary in their writings, by whome or for what cause the great name of the great city, Rome (in its time the glory of the whole world) was first imposed on it. Of such like we need not make search among other foreign writers, in regard it is soe apparently seene in this our owne country, whither you name it Albion, Brittain or England, whose fame is now farther spred then Romes in her greatness, about each of these 3 severall names, and the first plantation thereof many worthy wise & learned men haue long busied wearied yea clean tyred themselves, & yet in fine left it but vpon supposalls & vncertain conjecture. Let vs but seriously consider the alterations of names of such countries in the histories whereof wee are most conversant; And for our more assurance leaue poets & vncertain reporters, & such as come onely by tradition & solye observe how the countries cities and mountaines in the land of promise had their names altered from the time of Abraham; or when Moses wrote to the birth of Our Saviour (some 1500 of yeares) & from that age to this our time 1631 somewhat longer, & their with all the qualitie of the soyle, & wee shall finde much matter worthy our serious consideration & observation in the vicissitude & interchangeable course of places both in name & nature, which diuersly haue both with eyes & minde rightly considered in their late travells;



trauells; when they saw & endured the penurie & barrenness of that region, they could hardly bee induced to believe that that was the land that Jehova the great God of heauen had promised to his chosen seruant Abraham should flow with milk and honey for

That pleasant soyle that did euen shame erewhile  
The plenteous beauties of the bankes of Nile  
Void now of force or vital vegitiue  
Vpon whose brest nothing can line or thruiue.

As the diuine poet singeth: then who (if this world should continue yet the like time to come) will bee able to yield a reason why the ports, havens, islands and kingdomes in America haue their now denominations imposed by their late discoverers or latest conquerors (the antient being rejected & irrecoverably lost) as Peru, Florida, Virginia, and especially the land of famine and desolation which two may long within that supposed time bee made as habitable & fruitfull, or some way found as benefitfull as any the other. Why then should there bee a certain reason expected of the names & original of countries soe long since inhabited, & soe often changed and counterchanged by the vicissitude of inhabitants, as the Poet excellently saith,

Sith it befalls, not alwayes that his seed  
Who built the towne doth in the same succeed.  
And to say more, since vnder heauen noe race  
Perpetually possesseth any place,  
For when as wind the angry ocean moves  
Waue hunteth waue, & billow billow shoues.  
Soe doe all nations iustle each the other  
And soe one people doth pursue an other.  
And scarce the second hath the first vnhowfed  
Before the third him thence again haue roused.

And what hath beene left vs written worthy our vndoubting beleife (the sacred scriptures onely excepted) before the warrs of Thebes or destruction of Troy (which is supposed neer the time that Jeptha judged Israel), both which are deliuered vnto vs rather poetically, than historically; which doth embolden mee to demand this question with the poet Lucretius

Cur supra bellum Thebanum et funera Trojæ,  
Non alias quondam veteres cecinere Poetæ?

You cannot faile of a probable answer, that few languages had then characters; and few men were learned, and fewer writers in that age, and those few treated of matters of greater worth, and more needfull to bee knowne & perpetuated to posteritie and what was by them written (being in neither of the strong & durable substance of Seth his pillars to resist the two contrarie elements of fire & water) perished together in the great libraries. If the original of kingdomes, their primitive names, & the reason of those imposed denominations bee soe laborious to bee inquired after and soe difficult to bee found; much more industry will bee required, & much more obscure will it bee to find the same of subiected provinces within them. Of one of which (Devon I mean my native soyle) I intend by God's assistance (after my poor skill & reading) to shew you a slight superficial view.

— Dij cæptis —  
Aspirate meis —

Wherein if I shall endeavour to follow the poets good advice when hee saith—*Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit vtile dulci*; I hope that shall not discontent. And in such a confused chaos of varieties to intermix some inveterate traditions, somewhat differing but not disagreeing from the matter in hand together with a strang & pleasant tale, when I cannot shun it; with antient names, epitaphes or armories well neer buried in oblivion, matters non supervacual or unworthy to bee revived & kept living, (vnles wee would haue our owne name & remembrance to perish with our bodies) or some etymologies seeming strange & far fetcht, old or new, serious tryvial or curious, with plain descriptions of places: for these and such like matters may (without peradventure) more ease and recreate the wearied mind of the reader (that reads for recreation) with more delightfull content, for variety; then dislike the severe critick for simplicitie, vulgaritie or doubt of veritie: Some few things will occur in reading but much more varietie is to be added by searh, collection and industrious labour, wherein some suppositions are to bee pardoned if they err, (for hee that divineth in things of this qualitie vpon bare conjectures may as well shut short as overshut the markes hee aimeth at) if they bee not serious, but alleaged onely to furnish & beautifie the edifices as pictures and mapps in a gallery. Here you may converse with the dead (whose reliques long since dissolved to dust, will neither flatter nor accept thereof) see their obeliskes & monuments read their epitaphes (which shew vs either what they were and what wee shall bee, or sometimes what wee should bee) & see their actions registred or worthy to bee, to encourage their posteritie to imitation. But herein if any mans expectation bee vnstisfied, *sciant presentes et futuri*; that this poor cote was erected with brick burnt with stubble gathered with my owne handes in such barren fieldes as I haue travell'd over wherein those of whome I haue had any assistance (be it neuer soe slender) shall not be forgotten, but somewhere remembered, & their mite made a beazant. And if such (as vpon request) have refused to yield mee any assistance shall (as I am assured they will first of all) taxe mee

of negligence in forgetting them as I passed by, such I could wish to have more courtly & affability & not to presume to think they know others when they are ignorant of themselves, whom when they well know, not to chide up that knowledge nor scornfully to refuse to participate it to other, & to remember the old verse,

Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter

But it is high time to follow Diogenes counsell to shut the gate lest the towne run out, yet I shall desire if any thing found or seem to your vnderstanding contrarie to my intendment, that my vnskillfulness in regard of my willingness may have a mild & favourable interpretation: And in all serious matters of antiquitie those authors I have followed shall plead for my integritie. It is dull doubtfull and vncertaine travelling in an vnknown way without a guide, yet hee is droven to a far greater extremitie that at every crosseway of his journey is taught severall wayes by several guides. yet howsoever if you please to travele thither have with you about Denshire.

Whence Devonshire tooke denomination & what diuers names it hath had.

Deavonia, Devonshire, now by synæresis or abbreviation Denshire, a province of this little world of Brittain as Claudian said. Nostro deducta Britannia mundo. It was sometime one and the same province with Cornwall & soe by all ancient chorographers reputed & both included vnder the Latine name Damnonia; by Solinus Polyhistor, Dunmonia; by Ptolomeus, Damnonia, as derived from Monia, Mines, or from their habitation in low & deep vallies. These antient writers liued far remote, & could hardly have a true relation of travelers that onely touched at our havens; or traveyling through our country, vnderstood not the language, & perchance conversed with those which knew little of the etymologie of the name. I should rather therefore (in regard it is a worke of assistance & that I shall bee hardly able to master it by my owne strength) craue ayd of the Brittaines themselves which named it (& soe doe the Welsh which descended from them) Diffinint, Duffeneyn, or Dinnan, all which in one sense signifie deep & narrow valleyes; and doth in some sort expresse the nature & qualitie of the soyle; which is mountanous & hilly, & where the one is there must needes be the other, for there were neuer seene two hills without a valley. some in their private opinions may bee severally pleased with some one of these. others will derive it from the Danes & call it Dane's-shyre. but therefore as yet I could neuer find any probability, onely a sympathy of letters or a synonyma in sound, but not in signification; for it had this name long before the Danes arrival (not above one thousand yeares since) and they had little time of command here (much less of quiet occupation) to giue names to stirps or townes much lesse to countries. But all these (which serve to noe better purpose then to shew the vncertentie thereof) I will leave, & every man to his particular choice of them, I will bee free from all; nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri; and I hope I may be excused if I differ from others in this particular & offer my opinion or conjecture among this multitude: Soe I would call it Avon-shyr De-Avonshyre by abbreviation Denshir. Avon in the most antient speech of this land is a riuer and (taken generally as it signifies) is a name for all running wells, brookes, riverets, rivers and fleeting streames & waters. and this countrie abounding more in water springs & rivers that (as the prophet saith) cleave the earth, then any that I have heard or read off; I am induced to think it may with good reason take name from them as from mynes, valleyes, or Danes, for

Here many brookes as through the groves they travele

Doe sport for joy vpon the silver gavlle.

Deavon or Devon the country of riuers or waters, which is sooner granted with less alteration of letters by farr, then any of the other, & agreeth more fitly with the nature of our soyle & proprietie of language, and as the poet saith, conveniunt rebus nomina sæpe suis. And the light of reverend antiquitie & knowledge Mr. Cambden, proveth that the Gawlish and Bryttish speech was all one. Being soe, Diu in the Britthish speech signifieth with vs God, & Avon a spring or riuer, as Ausonius writing of a fountain neer Burdeaux, saith,

Diuona Celtarum Lingua, fons addita Divis.

Diuona in the Celtish words

A well sacred to God affourds.

Or a diuine riuer. there are alsoe diuers riuers in this kingdome, which haue noe other name at this present (nor cuer had) then Avon, the riuer. one of good note in Wiltshyre, that falls from Dorset into the ocean. another of that name which breaketh out of the earth at Avon Well in Leycestershire by Malmesburye called Avon the Lesse, passeth through Northamptonshire, & cleeveth Warwick, Worcester, & Somersetshire, running many miles ere it visit Bath & Bristol and there increaseth Severne. In Glamorganshire you haue a to .ne bearing the name of Aber-Avon; as if wee said the mouth of the riuer; and in Monmouth & Merioneth in each of them one of that name. And that work of admirable magnificence built by Cardinal Wolsey, in ostentation (as it was said) of his abundant riches, Hampton Court, now a royal palace of our Sovereigne, was first called Avon in that it stood on the river as Leland avoucheth—

Nomine ab antiquo iam tempore dictus Avona.

Hampton Court is the same

—In elder time that Avon had to name.

And as if it had not hyn soe onely in the Bryttish speech, wee find it also in the sherifdome of Sterling, in Scotland, that Hadrianus the Emperour or his adopted Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antonius Pius,



most of our antiquaries recur, in settling the etymology of British words. But the names of our rivers, (a) were certainly prior to the Phenicians—names, which they preserve to

Pius, or his Lieutenant Lollius Urbicus did for the defence of the country erect a wall of turfe which began as the Scots write at Avon (or the ryver Avon) that falleth into Edenborough Frith. And that it was soe in more languages, which haue little concurrence now with our speech (perchance antiently all one) in the kingdome of Ireland, in the counties of Corke & Waterford, ther runneth the ryver (now lately of vs called Broadwater but in passed times) Avon—more the great or broad ryver, on the banckes whereof standeth Ardmore, of which place & ryver Necham long since versifieth thus

Et vrbem Lymore pertransit flumen Avon—more  
Ardmore cernitvbi concitus æquor adit.

And as we say commonly in our vulgar phrase, when go you to the towne, not giving it any name, whither it bee London, Yorke, or Exeter, but meaning the nearest : soe wee alsoe say shall wee goe to the ryver (to Avon) whether it bee Thames, Ouse, or Exe. but to conclude all by the sentence of the dictator of knowledge, whose words I will onely exemplifie. Avon in the Bryttish speech (sayth Mr. Cambden) importeth a ryver, whereof Aventowne takes denomination, which is no more strange then in the same signification (to omit many other) Watertowne, Ryvertowne, & Bourne : and as the Latines haue, Aquinum et Fluentum. I am not so apelyke affected to this my conjecture as to applaud it ; neither haue I reason to feare opposition, for this aetiology can neither seeme harsh or absurd, in regard the words are soe consonant, & the name alsoe as a true picture doth plainly represent the things which in etimologies is chiefly required & sought after. Others haue alleaged the like of other countries, authors of great credit. Jvo Carntensis affirmeth that Aquitania (a great dukedome in Ffrance, well neer a third part thereof) tooke name de Aquis of waters. Junius main-taines that Denmark tooke denomination from Denne, firr-trees. Verstegan allegeth out of Engel-huius that the Saxons tooke appellation from their swords or knives, which the Seaxen or Seaxes (it was with such they made the massacre of the nobilitie vpon the plaines neer Amesbury). Another would haue soe named of Saxum, a stone, as stony-hearted. My conjecture may seeme as probable as either of these : but I can neither persuaade nor intreat, but leave it to your favourable opinion; hoping it shall seeme noe marvell or strange to see my blindness grope, sith those that see perfectly and are sharpest sighted cannot find a right way. It is alsoe written of the Bryttaines by Gylidas that they yielded divine worship to waters & riuers ; as in cold water or ordial tryall (as they termed it) for discouerie of witchcraft ; wherein their opinion was, that the element of water was soe pure, that it would not suffer itselfe to bee contaminated by receiving the bodies of any such vile & improbate person, though cast thereinto bound hand and foot ; but that the witch would swim ; for if hee sanck they were held guiltless & presently drawn on land. It is not for christians to make such vse of ryvers, or to trust them soe farr ; yet are wee to take it as a great blessing of the Almighty that wee haue such store, to enrich our grounds & as the kingly prophet sayth,

Hee sendeth springs into the brookes  
That runn among the hills  
Wherewith wild asses quench their thirst  
And all beasts drink their fills.

But yet it was not the Bryttaines alone that had their ryvers in this estimation, for the Germaines did the like of the river Rhyne, making it a judge in question of defiled wedlock : and those of Theffaly had the like of Pæneus for his pleasures profits & vertues. Julius Solinus ascribeth the like proprietie to a spring in Sardinia for the tryall of theft. for whofoeuer by oath denied the fact & washed his eyes with the water thereof, if hee swore truly his sight became the clearer, but forswearing himselfe, the culp was presently discovered by his blindness, & the delinquent was forc't to confesse the fact in darkness with lost of his sight. But in this ordeale triall (though the way bee spacious and pleasant) I will lead you noe farder. But leaving the better explanation of the name of Devon to him that can with Nautius Cotem novacula scindere ; and tell you how & when Deuon & Cornwall were diuided & sundred." *Westcote*, p. 1, to p. 7.

(a) The late Rev. Richard Lewis, of Honiton, in a letter to Dean Milles, dated June 20th, 1757, makes the following remarks on the names of our rivers, mountains, towns, and castles. " Mr. Baxter, in his most valuable glossary, would willingly believe, that all places of note in Devon and Cornwall, derive their origin from British fountains ; and I can't help thinking that he is for the most part in the right ; though in order to support his favourite system, it may be suspected that he sometimes impresses, as it were, words into his service. But though an unprejudiced reader cannot always subscribe to his opinion, yet he cannot chuse but admire his sagacity in languages, and his singular ingenuity in the derivation of words and account of places. This judicious author makes the knowledge of the British language so necessary an ingredient in the composition of an antiquarian, that without it, he thinks it impossible to investigate the meaning either of the antient or even the modern names of places. In his Epistola Dedicatoria, he observes, ' Vix opus esse videtur ut moneam Antiquario Britannico prorsus esse necessariam Britannicæ Linguae peritiam ; ob hujus tamen inciscitiam multi nec parvi nominis viri non raro in errores incidere.' The rules which Mr. Baxter has collected from



to the present hour; "still as they flow, referring us to that remarkable era in our history, when the British flag took shelter in their streams from the chace, or the British warriors

from his friend Mr. Lluyd, for the derivation of words, are almost an unerring guide for arriving at their true meaning. Now *places* take their names from *things* or *circumstances* coeval with the places themselves; seldom from any *modern improvements* in arts and sciences; seldom from things or circumstances of a *precarious nature*. They are generally derived from the names of the rivers near which they are situated. Sometimes, indeed, they are named agreeably to their situation, soil, &c. as Church Staunton or Stoneton, and Clayheydon, in Devon; where the name of the one parish is derived from the *clay* or *dirty soil* for which it is remarkable; and the name of the other from the number of *stones* or *rocks*, which are found in almost every part of it. But most places of any note in the kingdom are named from the *rivers* which run near them; as Exeter, Taunton, Dorchester, and many others. Exeter being the *Castrum*, *Arx*, or *Civitas* upon the *Exe* or *Ifc*: Taunton the town upon *Tone*, or the British word *Tais*: Dorchester the *Castrum* upon the *Dûr*. All which words, *Exe*, *Ifc*, *Tone*, *Taw*, *Dûr*, (1) and a great many more in the British tongue signify water or a river.

Of the Names of Rivers.

1. In the time of the old Britons, *Ifc*, *Afc*, *Efc*, *Ofc*, and *Ufc* (all which words signify water) were names of several rivers. The English or Saxons partly retained the same names, especially in the north, and partly changed them into *Ax*, as in *Axmouthe*, *Axley*, *Axholm*; into *Ex*, as in *Exmouth*, *Exeter*; into *Ox*, as in *Oxford*, or *Oufsford*; and into *Ux*, as in *Uxbridge*. These alterations were probably owing to the pronunciation of the Britons. The Saxons might fancy the British pronunciation to be too rough and guttural, and for the better sounds fake they very likely changed *Afc*, *Efc*, *Jfc*, *Uyfc*, &c. into *Ax*, *Ex*, *Ux*, &c. This is certain, that the Saxons, for want of understanding the British tongue, took the British *appellatives* for the *proper* names of rivers. Whereas the words abovementioned signify nothing but water, and retain the same signification, to this day, in Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland. 2. There are several rivers called *Taw*, *Tav*, *Tivi*, or as they were anciently written, *Tam* and *Tim* (from whence *Thames* and the *Tamar* in Devon). Now *Taw*, *Tav*, &c. signify only water or a river: *Tam* is certainly the same with *Ταμὸς* in the word *Ποταμός*. 3. Others are called *Guy*, *Uy*, *Uys*, *Ey*, *Y*, and *I*, i.e. the water in such a place; and they are as often the *final* syllables of our rivers as *Tav*, *Tiv*, *Tam*, &c. are the *initial* ones. 4. Others are named *Llhyr*, which word also signifies water. 5. *Clet*, *Cluyd*, *Clyd*, &c. are likewise proper names of rivers in Scotland and Wales; whereas they signify nothing more than a river or brook in general. 6. *Mar* and *Mor* signify a large brook or river, as well as the sea, and give names to several rivers in Wales. Lastly, some rivers take their denominations from the *colour* of their sand or gravel. Others are metaphorically denominated from the *nature of their current*, with regard to their rapidity, slowness, straightness, or windings. Others from some remarkable *trees* or *plants* growing on their banks. And others have no other name than that of the *village* they pass by.

Of the Names of Mountains or Hills.

The most common way of naming hills was by metaphors, drawn from the several parts of the human body. Thus some were called, *Y Voel*, bald-pate—*Y Benglog*, a skull—*Tal*, the forehead—*Cern*, one side of the face—*Ael*, an eye-lid—*Llygad*, an eye—*Rhyn*, a nose—*Genaw*, a mouth—*Pen*, the head—*Munugl*, the neck—*Guar*, the nape of the neck—*Braich*, an arm—*Bron*, the breast—*Keist*, the belly—*Clun*, the hip—*Cevan*, the back—*Yfflys*, the side—*Bontin*, the buttock—*Efgair*, a leg—and *Troed*, a foot.

Of the Names of Cities, Towns, Castles, and Villages.

1. *Tin* or *Din*, was, according to the *Guydhelian* British, *Tun* or *Dun*, and is so used by the Highlanders and Irish. The Romans, in their orthography of the word, agreed with them rather than us. They wrote *Uxellodunum*, *Neodunum*, and not *Uxellodinum*, *Neodinum*, &c. 2. *Maes* (a field or plain) was called *Magh*. This the Romans wrote *Magus*. 3. *Caer* is a town, which the Old English turned into *Caeffer*, and afterwards into *Cyster*, *Cyster*, and *Cbyster*; and is the same with the Romans *Castrum*. 4. *Tre*, though at first it signified only a *family*, denotes a *town*. 5. *Llan* or *Lan*, signifieth a *church*, though it originally denoted an *inclosure*. Lastly, the most general way of naming towns among the Britons was, as before hinted, from the *rivers* on which they were situated; as we find by the Roman towns in Wales, *Isca Legionum*, *Gobannium*, *Nidum*, *Leucarum*, *Conovium*, and *Segontium*, which were all made out of the British names *Uyfc*, *Kevni*, *Nedh*, *Llychur*, *Conui*, and *Seiont*.

These things being premised, I propose to mention some places from the head of the river *Otter* to *Ottertoun*, where it empties itself into the sea. And then beginning at *Exeter*, to pursue the sea coast

(1) *Afc*, *Efc*, *Ifc*, *Ofc*, *Ufc*, which the Saxons pronounced *Ax*, *Ex*, *Ox*, *Ux*. As also *Avon*, *Alain*, *Dur*, *Dwr*, *Trean*, *Trome*, *Guy*, *Uy*, *Uys*, *Ey*, *Y*, *I*. *Tam*, *Thame*, *Taw*, *Tav*, *Tiv*, *Tauy*, *Tivyn*, *Taun*, *Tone*. All which words signify water.

warriors were mulctured on their banks for fight." But, as the aboriginal Britons and Phenicians had one common origin, it is difficult to discriminate between the language of

coast as far as *Lyme*. The river Otter (as it is now called) rises in a parish called *Otterford*, in the county of Somerset, which is no more, in common signification, than the spring or fountain head of the river Otter. Now I would suppose the old British name to be *y Dregr*, the water, which the Anglo-Saxons afterwards softened into Otter. Camden, indeed, derives the name of the river from the number of water dogs, called *Otters*, which are found in it. But I cannot find that it is more peculiarly remarkable for this kind of animals than other rivers in this county are. The first parish upon this river is *Up-Ottery*, which according to the English name denotes its situation up the river. *Milban's-Ottery* is the next remarkable place on the river. From thence the river descends to *Honiton*, which, if there is any thing in the etymology of Mr. Camden, of the river, may be derived from the British words, *Cwn y Tun*, i. e. *Oppidum Caninae Aquae*: *Cwn* signifying dogs and the water. The only difficulty is about the *C's* being changed into *H*. And to solve this, it is to be observed, that such a change was very frequent from the British language into the Anglo-Saxon. See the word *Blis* in Ley's edition of Franciscus Junius, which is deduced from the Welch word *Cyblis*, according to Mr. Lluyd, *K* or *C* in *H* mutate, quam mutationem, says the editor, non infrequenter pluribus docet exemplis. *Qualia sunt Kellyn Holly—Korn, Hern, &c.* Below Honiton lies *Warrington*, in the parish of Bokerel. I presume it may be derived from the British words *lior Rhyr Tan*, *Oppidum ad nasum fluminis*, it being very remarkable that the ridge of hills running through Bokerel parish terminates above this village in the shape of a man's nose. Upon the river *Wey*, which falls into the Otter at Warrington, lies the parish of *Ashtcomb*, surrounded by Henbury fort, and the ridge adjoining, to the north and east, and the ridge in Bokerel, to the west and by south. I would fetch the original of this place from *As't. n, Cam*, i. e. *Supercilium vallis aquosae*; which answers extremely well to its situation. Below Warrington, the river Otter washes the parish of *Bokerel* to the south thereof; which word may be deduced from the words *Deu* or *De Pecuaria Vaccarum*, *Ker cervus* and *as't supercilium*, and signifies *supercilium montis juxta quod Pecuaria Vaccarum est vel cervorum Grex*. There being a ridge of hills running through the middle of the parish exactly resembling an eye lid. (See the word *Evium* in Baxter's Glossary). What favours this conjecture, is, that the greatest part of the parish is peculiarly fitted for a dairy; and that there was a noted park there in former times; and that Deer Park, is supposed to be the ancient lodge of this park. Add to this, that the deeds of Matthew de Buckington, were sealed with a deer's head, as his proper arms. Opposite to Bokerel, and the other side of the Otter lies *Gurriham*, through which is the road from Honiton to Exeter, where are evident remains of a Roman road. This word may be derived from the British words, *Guido Silva*, *y Aqua*, and *Ham vicus*, i. e. a town on a woody rivulet, which is very apposite to its situation. The chief objection which will lie against the British etymology of the above places is, that they cannot be supposed to be of sufficient antiquity to be entitled to such an extraction. The answer I would give to it, is, that there are so many marks of Roman antiquities in and near the said parishes, that as it is certain they were known to the Romans, so it must be probable, that the names had their existence in the time of the Britons. It is a thing not to be controverted, that the Romans left the British names of places as they found them: except that in places of note, they added a Latin termination to the old British word, and in other respects *Latinized* the same. Below Buckerel, at the head of a little rivulet, which falls into the Otter, is *Feniton*, which is certainly nothing else but a composition of *Pen*, *y, Tan*, i. e. *Villa ad caput aquae*. I own I cannot give a satisfactory etymology of *Ottery*; which, however, was anciently written *Auere*, as I find it in old maps. On supposition that this was its old name, it may come from *Mi Tan*, i. e. *Oppidum ad aquam*. I would willingly believe this town to be known to the Romans, on account of its vicinity to Woodbury and Balbury castles, of which hereafter. The river Otter leaving the last town, not far from which it runs, descends to *Harford*, which I would make to be *Uar*, *Fordh*, i. e. *Trajectus Aquae*. This is undoubtedly the place where the river is crossed in Antonine's Itin, from *Ilica* to *Meridunum*. Opposite to Harford, on the other side of the river, is *Fen-Ottery*, which lies under Woodbury-hill, above the Otter, which may not unaturally be deduced from *Pen y Dar*, i. e. *ad caput Aquae*. The river then passing through *Ottery*, empties itself into the sea. This place may probably be fetched from *y Dwar Tan*, i. e. *Oppidum aquae vel ad aquam*. I find this place in some authors is called *Articumba*, which may signify in the British tongue *Domus vel Villula aquosae vallis*, from *aur, ti, cum*. I would now beg leave to visit you at Exeter, and the favour of your company as far as *Lyme*, upon the sea coast, near which place you must necessarily travel in your own performance, if not in my route. This famous city is, as is agreed on all hands, the *Ilica Damnoniorum*, though some have injudiciously confounded it with the *Ilica Silurum*, which is *Cae'r Llew*, in *Penmouthshire*, in Wales. It is now called by the Welsh *Cae'r Iſt*, i. e. *Oppidum aquae*. And the county of Devon, *Damnant* (or *elit Daffniaer*, which signifies deep valleys) from whence *Damnonii*. The next town, which is *Teyſham*, and which Mr. Baxter erroneously supposes to be the *Meridunum* of Antonine, is, as the same author would have it, derived from *Keppe*, *Sea, Ham*, i. e. *Oppidum ad caput maris*—the word *Keppe* signifying in the British tongue,



tongue Caput vel vertex. Possit etiam, saith he, *Topesham* correpte dici pro *Toppsabam*. Not far from Topsham, on the river Exe, is *Limpstone*, which may easily be deduced from *Lim, vi, tun*, i. e. the town on a rapid stream. Below Limpstone is *Exmouth* (the *Uxelis* in Ravensas) i. e. *Iscæ Ostium*. The word *Ux. lis* being nothing else but *Ucb, ael, Isc*, Sive Super Supercilium Aquæ. Over against Exmouth, but something lower is *Kenton*, the Vercenia of the antients—the word Vercenia being as it were *var Kend, ui*, Sive super caput undæ, quod est prope amnem. De Ibrida voce, saith Baxter, Kenton; et Fluvius hodie dicitur Ken, ritu sequioris ævi. Crossing the river Exe again, we come to *Sidmouth*, above which is *Sidford*, and higher up *Sidbury*, called by the anonymous writer Tideris, forsan Britannis, saith Mr. Baxter, dicebatur *Tud, ar Tije*, sive populus vel curia ad Tifcam, ut et Sidbury and Sidmouth ibrida dicantur compositione. Notissimum est Dumnoniorum veteri Dialecto dici potest Sid pro Tid, Sicuti et Coes pro Coet. More to the east from hence is *Branscomb*, where three vales center near the church; through each of which very rapid streams run and unite there. So that according to Mr. Baxter's eighth rule, concerning proper names of rivers, it may be denominated vallis citæ aquæ, from *Bran*, a crow. He observes, that there is a brook of this name by Lan Gollen, in Denbighshire, whence the name of Dinas Bran: There are two or three more Brans in Brecknockshire and Carmarthenshire, so called from their swift current. Not far from hence is *Beere*, for which I can find no antient name. But I think it may consistently be supposed to be of antient note, and may be derived from *Ber, Rbui*, ac si dicatur, saith Baxter, crus Rivi. About a mile from Beere is *Seaton*, which was, undoubtedly, the Moridunum in Antonines iter a Calleva ad Iscam. It is so called from *Mer, y, Dun*, i. e. Oppidum magnæ undæ five maris; to which the present name Seaton exactly corresponds. Opposite to Seaton, on the other side of the river, is *Axmouth*, which is one of those places in which the Saxons changed the old British word *Isf* into *Ax*, and called it Axmouth, it being situated near the mouth of the river, i. e. near the point where the river discharges itself into the sea. If this place was a town in the time of the Romans (which is much to be doubted) its old name was probably *Uxelis*, which they made out as at Exmouth, from *Ucb, Ael, is*, that is, a town upon the brink of the water. A little to the north of Axmouth, on the *Celly*, which falls into the Ax, stands *Colliton*, which signifies a town upon the Hazle Brook, from *Collyb, y, Tun*. Below it is *Collyford*, i. e. Corylorum amnis trajectus. In the British tongue it would have been *Collb, y, Fordb*, a passage over an hazle brook or river. And now we are arrived at *Lyme*, which though it is in Dorsetshire, is yet so very near the limits of Devon, that I thought it no improper stage to rest at. This place is thought by Mr. Camden to be of no great antiquity. And yet from the great antiquary Mr. Lhuyd, we learned that the Britons called it *Lilbong Pordb*, i. e. according to Mr. Baxter, a port for the reception of ships. And though the town has been reduced more than once to a low ebb with regard to trade, yet it was probably inhabited in the time of the Romans. It took its name from the river *Lym* or *Lym y*, which runs through it: and accordingly the name which the Romans gave to it (if credit may be given to one of their corrupt itinera judiciously corrected) was *Limia*, which with the addition of a Latin termination is no more than the British words *Lym y*, i. e. a rapid stream. Camden, indeed, as I observed, informs us, that we scarce meet with the name of *Lyme* in antient books; which is very true; and from thence it may be concluded that it was not a port of any consequence till some time after the Romans left our island. However, Camden himself tells us, that R. Kinwif, in the year 774, gave in the following words, 'the land of one mansion to the church of Scireburn, near the western banks of the river Lym, and not far from the place where it falls into the sea, so long as for the said church, salt should be boiled there for the supplying of various wants.' From this old record it appears, first, that at *Lyme*, salt was made in the eighth century, and consequently that there must have been inhabitants to attend upon the business. Secondly, that the river was known by the name of *Lym*, which is British, and signifies rapid; that consequently this was a place, not only known to the old Britons, but probably inhabited by them, till the Romans drove them into Wales, Cornwall, and the northern parts of the kingdom. And thus, Sir, I have presumed, being confessedly a blind guide, to conduct you as far as *Lyme*, if your patience has held out to bear me company. A dry dissertation upon words is certainly of the opiate kind, unless it be to gentlemen who have a relish for antiquity. And from the little smattering I have in this respect, I have learned how necessary a virtue patience is, to make any proficiency in researches of this nature. If you have a mind to sleep, said a friend, get into a quiet room, take an ounce of Tom Hearne's soporific mixture, add to it a small quantity of Welch etymology, from the learned Baxter's Glossary, and work with it a right draught of scholastic nonsense upon absolute predestination, measured by an hour glass, and divided into ten equal parts; if you have not a comfortable rest before you come to tenibly and listly, I am much mistaken. However, I am not displeased with the little pains I have taken in enquiries into antiquities; much less, I imagine, can you be, who have collected materials sufficient to execute so general a plan as your queries bespeak your intended account of Devon to be. Nor indeed does the pleasure which attends this sort of study, arise wholly from the little knowledge which a man acquires of the geography of his own country, of the antient names of places, of their situation, &c. but from the light which such knowledge throws upon the history, the customs, and exploits of our ancestors; from the insight which it gives us into the great and surprizing alteration made on the face of things during a period of about 1700 years. The antiquities of Britain considered in this light, display a scene



which is worthy the notice of every thinking creature. In this light we observe not only the names of places altered, but the most magnificent works of power, the strength and pride of architecture humbled and reduced into rubbish and ruins. In this light we observe providence visibly interposing in the administration and revolution of affairs. In this light we observe the supreme Being either punishing or rewarding our ancestors, in proportion to their virtue or immorality; and leaving monuments of the divine mercy or vengeance in almost every age to this very day."

Mr. Chapple (who was furnished, soon after *his* undertaking was announced, with a transcript of this MS.) deserves, also, some attention as an etymologist. His etymologies are drawn from various sources. "We have some words (says he) of *British* extraction, from which language most of the names of the *rivers*, in this as well as other counties, are derived; so that, as Mr. *Whitaker* observes, (1) most of them retain to the present hour the names which were imposed upon them 2000 years ago. But in the derivations of many of our names, both of *rivers* and *places*, we must frequently content ourselves with probable guesses, rather than conclusive deductions from any certain principles: And the best etymologists have been accused (the learned *Baxter* particularly, and perhaps not unjustly) of being sometimes too fond of far-fetch'd and improbable derivations; of pressing words into their service, and deriving from them whatever might be agreeable to a favourite opinion; and in short, of substituting meer imagination or conjecture for regular analogy. It must however be allowed that etymologies have their use, and are far from being always frivolous and impertinent; and however uncertain and precarious when unsupported by collateral evidence, they frequently prompt us to further enquiries by which we are led to more certain truths, which either confirm the etymology by concurrent circumstances, or tend to detect our former mistakes concerning it. Again, the apparent mistake of any one person in the etymology of the name of a place, may induce another to attempt a correction of that mistake; in consequence of which he may hit upon the true meaning of the name, or at least a more satisfactory guess at it, than had resulted from the unsuccessful search of the former: And this may also be a sufficient apology for any attempts of this kind in the present work, and for this addition to the text of our author, who seldom meddled with etymologies. But as some who have been but little conversant in enquiries of this sort, may imagine, that such supposed derivations of the names of our rivers, wherein we occasionally have recourse not only to the *Wesph* and *Cornish*, but also to the *Irish*, *Erse*, and *Armoric*, and in some instances even the *Greek* language,—are rather too far fetch'd; and tho' they may acknowledge some of them to be appellations receiv'd from the *Britons* whilst in possession of this county, and before their expulsion by K. *Atelstear*, yet may be apt to ask, with what propriety we ramble into *Ireland* or *Scotland* in quest of explanations of *Devonshire* names; or consult the sages of ancient *Greece* on the denominations of places they never possess'd?—It may be proper to observe, in answer to such objectors,—that the affinity of the *Irish* and *British* languages is taken notice of by *Camden*, who makes no doubt but that the first inhabitants of *Ireland* came from *Britain*; (2) and among other evidences of it, mentions the many *British* words in the *Irish* tongue, as also their ancient names which shew themselves to be of *British* extraction: In short, as Mr. *Boswell* observes, (3) we are entirely obliged to the *Irish* language for the meaning of many words which are every-where found amongst us; from whence he concludes with *Camden*, that the *Irish* were probably once inhabitants of this island, and went from hence to *Ireland*. But I presume, the agreement of *British* and *Irish* words and names, no more proves *Ireland* to be peopled from *Britain*, than *Britain* to be peopled from *Ireland*; especially if the *Irish* have preserv'd (as they certainly have) the use and signification of many words which the *Britons* have lost." For the following etymologies, Mr. Chapple was chiefly indebted to Mr. *Lewis* of Honiton, and Mr. *Boswell* of Taunton, in a letter of his to *Walter Oke*, Esq. then of *Whitlands*, in *Axmouth*, *Devon*; which letter being in the possession of the Rev. Mr. *Mallock* of *Colyton*, he very obligingly favour'd me (says Chapple) with the loan of it, at the request of my worthy friend Mr. *Thomas Whitby* of *Axminster*, to whom I am moreover obliged for many interesting observations relative to divers places in that neighbourhood, and the procurement of others from his friends, which will be duly attended to in the particular descriptions of those places; the present subject of our enquiry being the origin of the names of our rivers. The old *British* names of rivers, *Ax*, *Isf*, or *Esf*, *Osfe*, *Ufe*, and *Uyfe*, (in Irish *Uisge*, Cornish *Ijge*, Armoric *Vijge*) which all signify *water*, were partly retain'd by the *English Saxons*; but for better sound's sake, and perhaps from a dislike to the rough and guttural pronunciation of the *Britons*, changed into *Ax*, *Ex*, *Ox*, or *Ouse*, *Ux* and *Uk*. Besides the rivers which thus derive their names from *British* words which signify *water* or a river appellatively, there are others of a second class, whose names are compounded of *British* words expressive of some qualities of their water, the velocity or direction of the current, colour of their sand or gravel, &c.—The names of those of a third class are either wholly of *Saxon* origin, or partly *British* and partly *Saxon*.—A fourth class of rivers are metaphorically denominated from the nature of the current only; of which we have also a few instances in *Devon*:—And lastly, others have no other names but those of the villages situated near them. Etymologists have mentioned other circumstances from which rivers take their names; but as these five classes include most, if not all those in this county, and which may on that account claim our notice, I shall here particularize

(1) See his *Manchester*, p. 218.

(2) *Gibson's Camd.* p. 966, 967.

(3) *Boswell's Method of Study*, vol. 1. p. 48.

particularize such of our *Devonshire* rivers belonging to each, as have hitherto occurred to me, in alphabetical order; adding some observations, conjectures, and queries, relative to the etymologies of their names respectively. But that such of them as are of *British* derivation may be the better compared with their supposed originals, it may perhaps be acceptable to some of our readers (however unnecessary for others) to be inform'd, in what respects the *Welsh* pronunciation of the vowels differs from ours.—Their A, as we learn from the Rev. Mr. *Richards* and other *Welsh* grammarians, is pronounced as A *English* in the word *man*; but is lengthen'd, by a circumflex, to the sound of our a in *ale*, *pale*, &c. Their E, if acuted, as E *English* in *men*, *ten*, &c. in some instances as e in *err*, *aver*, &c. and in others as ee in *check*; but if circumflex'd, as ea in the word *league*, or as e in *scene*, and sometimes as ea in *fear*, *dear*, &c. Their I, as our ee in *tree*, or as i in *thing*: Their O, as ours in the word *gone*; if circumflex'd, as o in *bone*: Their U, as our I in *this*, *bliss*, &c. and if circumflex'd, as our ee in *queen*, *green*, &c. Their W being also a vowel, and agreeing in sound as well as shape with the Greek *Omega*, is pronounc'd as o in the *English* pronoun *who*; but if circumflex'd, as oo in *root*, *boat*, &c. And their Y (which is likewise one of their vowels), in the Penultima, Antepenultima, &c. is found as u in the *English* words *turn*, *burn*, &c. but in the ultima, or in monosyllables (with a very few exceptions), as in the *English* *tin*, *skin*, &c. and if circumflex'd, as ee in the *English* *meek*, *seek*, &c.—To these rules for pronouncing their vowels, we may add, that among the consonants their Yd has the found of a hard *Tbeta*, or as *th* in the *English* *thou* and *that*; also that their F (being the *Æolic Digamma*) has the found of our V consonant, but when doubled (Ff) is soften'd into the found of our single F.—These extracts from the above-quoted author, and other writers on the *British* pronunciation, may suffice for our present purpose, without enlarging here on the various substitutions of one mutable consonant for another in that flexible language; tho' some instances of these may occur in our intended inquiries into the etymologies of the names of our rivers respectively, to which we now proceed.

I. Of the first class, viz. of names of rivers derived from *British* words signifying merely water or a river, this county affords us the following: *Arne* or *Erme*. Q. if *Iar* a river, (or perhaps only the prepositive article 1r) prefix'd to *am*, water? *m* in the *Latin* and ancient *Celtic*, according to *Baxter*, (1) making *o* in the *British* (or rather their *f* used instead of our *v*); so *Am* is the same as *av*, *Unda* vel *Ammis*. Or *Arne* may possibly come from the Cornish *Ara*, flow, and *am*, water; but Q. if this derivation can be justified by any remarkable tardity of its current? If so, this river belongs to the 2d class. Note, *Ara* in *Gothic* signifies water, and *Armor* in *Cornish* a wave; but neither of these seems applicable here, unless we might suppose the former join'd with the British *am*, when it has the same signification.—*Arey*, possibly *Awy-ter-y* the river of clear water, or clear-water river (see *Otter*).—*Avon*, *Aven*, or *Arvon*; *Avon* or *Afor* in *British*, signifies a river, as already observ'd; as do also *Avon* and *Auan* in *Cornish*, and *Avan* or *Abban* in *Irish*.—*Awtre*, see *Otter*.—*Ax*, from the old *British* *Afe*, which has been already shewn to signify water.—*Deer*, probably from the Cornish *Deura*, (a *Deur*, Br.) water; unless we suppose the Saxons call'd it *Deor*, from the swiftness of its current; and as such to be rank'd in the 3d or 4th class; but the former seems *p* eferable.—*Dewrith* or *Dowrich-Breck*, possibly from *Dewr*, and the old *British* *Ife*, or *Irish* *Uisge*. But if *Dewr-ife* be deem'd an unnecessary junction of two *British* words, both signifying water, (tho' there may be some instances of the like in other names of rivers,) we may suppose it a compound of *British* and *Saxon*, and refer it to our 3d class: If so, *Dewr* might have the addition of *Rieg*, a ridge, which not only signified the ridge of a hill, but frequently (as we may have occasion elsewhere to observe) a *ra's'd* military way; and this if *Rieg* be allowed a place here, is most likely to be its meaning, and that the brook having imparted its name with this addition, to *Dowrich* barton, which is water'd by it, might at length be imagined to have borrow'd that name from it; in like manner as will be hereafter observ'd concerning *Sturcombe* brook. What is here said of *Dowrich* brook, is equally applicable to the *Terridge* or *Tawridge*, changing *Dewr* for *Taw* or *Tau*, or else the D in the former into T; these being occasionally commutable letters in the *British* or *Welsh* orthography.—*Exe*; from the old *British* *Ife*, *Irish* *Uisge*, signifying water as before observ'd. (2)—*Forda* (or as sometimes called *Forder*); doubtless from the Br. *Fferdd*, a way or passage, with the addition of *da*, good; or else of *aw* water, or the *Irish* *Aba* a ford; denoting a shallow water, that admits of an easy passage through or over it; a fordable brook.—*Lewer*; from the Br. *Llyr* or *Lhrr*, water; for so it signified anciently, as well as the sea. (3)—*Ludbrook* and *Lyd* or *Lid*; perhaps from *Clyd*, a river or brook; (4) but if derived from *Llid* fury, or *Llwyd*, *Turbidus*, (5) or the *Irish* *Luath*, swift, or from the *Saxon* *hlydax*, tumultuous or noisy, they belong to the 2d or 3d class.—*Liff* or *Liff*; probably from *Llif*, (Cornish *Lye*, *Armoric* *Lisfar* or *Linsfar*,) a flux, flood or inundation, an overflowing of waters.—*Lyn*; *Llyn*, a lake, a pool in a river, and perhaps also a current. Note, *rivulets* are in *Devon* commonly call'd lakes.—*Oldye*; Q. if from *Welsh* or *Gweilgi*, which in *British* signifies a torrent as well as the sea? Its modern name, *Shob-brook* or *Shobbrook-Lake*, being of *Saxon* derivation, falls under

(1) See *Baxter's* Glossary, p. 222. Also *Lluyd* in *Baxter*, p. 222.

(2) There are some, who derive *Ife* or *Iffau* from *Kuan*, an elden tree—as the banks of the river *Exe* are said to have been once covered with elders.

(3) See *Lluyd* in *Baxter*, p. 266. (4) *Ibid.* (5) *Ibid.* p. 274.



under our 3d class, which see further on.—*Otter*, or (as call'd in some old maps, &c.) *Awtre*; *Camden's* supposition that it took its name from the number of Water-Dogs call'd *Otters* found in it (which supposes it *Saxon*), has been objected to, because *this* river is no more remarkable for these animals than any other; wherefore we may rather suppose (with the Rev. Mr. Lewis) its old name to be ? *Dur*, i. e. *the water*, which the old English Saxons, with little variation in the sound, afterwards call'd *Otter*: Or if its name should rather be spelt *Awtre*, Q. if it might not come from the British *Aweddawr*, which signifies *running water*, or *fresh water* ? or else from *Awy*, an old British word for a *river*, and *Ter*, *clean*, *pure*, *clear*; and so mean (*Awy ter*) the *clear river* ? Or if the Britons gave it a name expressive of that rapidity of its current which is observable in some places, it might possibly be some old *Celtic* word derived from the Greek *ὄτρυνος* *celer*, *impiger*; on which, as well as on the two former suppositions, it should belong to our 2d class; and according to the last its name spelt *Otrer*, tho' the first *r* would be lost in pronunciation. *Baxter* (1) takes it to be *Godre* or *Odre*, a *boundary*, and says, *Ottery* was formerly the limits of the *Dunmonii* or *Danmonii*; but others (as Dr. Borlase, &c.) think the river *Exe* was their boundary 'till K. *Albelflan's* time.—*Stour* or *Stour-combe* Brook; the *Combe* or valley through which it runs, probably had its original name from it; the brook itself being call'd *Stur* or *Stour*, a name given to several other rivers, from *Es dur* saith Mr. *Baxter*, (2) which answers to the Cornish *Es dour*, *the water*: The valley being thus denominated *Stour-Combe*, and the origin of that compound being afterwards forgotten, it was used to distinguish the brook running through it. Instances of the like might be given in other rivers and places. See *Dowrick*.—*Tamar* and *Tame* already accounted for; supposing the former to be a compound of *Tam* (which *Baxter* (3) tells us signified in the old *Celtic* the same as *aw*), and *Mar*, *Mer* or *Mor*, which, tho' when taken singly they generally mean the *sea*, yet, in the compound names of rivers, signify only *water*: But if, with Dr. Borlase (4) and Mr. Lewis, we suppose it to be rather *Tanmasor*, the *great river*, as being the largest that passes thro' any part of *Cornwall*, to which it is for the most part a boundary, it then belongs to our 2d class.—*Tavy*; it has been before observ'd that *Tavy*, *Teivi*, &c. signify *water* or a *river*.—*Taw*; from *Taw*, of the same signification with *Tavy*, &c. *ut supra*.—*Teign* (or as commonly pronounc'd *Ting*); may be the same as *Tair*, an old *British* word for a *river*; or rather perhaps derived from *Teg*, *fair* *clear*, *pretty*, &c. and *Afon*, a *river*, contracted into *Aun*; so *Teg aun* (since shorten'd into *Tegan* or *Teign*) denotes a *fair* or *clear river*, and so claims place in our 2d class. Either of these seems preferable to *Baxter's* *Ife tene*, or *Tenisca*, i. e. *Tenuis aqua*; (5) for the *Teign* is far from being a *small slender* stream.—*Tenny* or *Tinny*; perhaps from *Tain*, a *river*, or rather from *Tenau*, *slender*, with the addition of *y*, *water*; it being but a small and inconsiderable brook, at least 'till it unites with the *Thrusfel*: But if this last be right, this also should be rank'd in the 2d class.—*Wone* (more commonly call'd *Wondford Brook*); from *Afon* or *Avon*, Cornish *Avan* or *Auan*, a *river*; contracted into *Wan*, or *Wone*.—*Yeo*, *Ycau*, or *Yeato*, (the name of several rivers or brooks in this county and elsewhere, and frequently of farms which adjoin them,) signifies *water*; agreeable to the French *Eau* which the *Normans* (if they introduced it here at the conquest instead of *Saxon* *Ea*) seem to have pronounced *E-au* or *Yea*; to which the old British *aw*, *uy*, *eu*, (and we may add the Cornish *Ave*, and *awy*.) seem to answer; all which as well as the Gothic *Ara*, the *Islandic* and modern *Swedish* *Aa*, (6) and the *Saxon* *Ea* above mentioned, signify *water* or a *river*. We also learn that Mr. o *Halleran's* Antiquities of Ireland that *Aba* in Irish is a *ford*; and indeed it is chiefly to such small brooks as are *fordable* that the name *Yeo* (in *Devonshire* at least) is generally given.

II. We come now to the *Devonshire* rivers of the *second* class, viz. such whose *British* names express some quality of their waters, or circumstances relative to them; and among these (besides the *Arme*, *Lud*, *Lyd*, *Otter*, *Tamar*, *Teign*, and *Tenny*, above taken notice of as of the *former* class, but some of them, as there hinted, perhaps more properly belonging to *this*;) the following may here claim our examination.—*Beera* or *Beera-brook*; perhaps from the Cornish and Armoric *Bera*, to *glide* or *flow*; unless it may be rather derived from the *Saxon* *Beora* a *grove* or *plantation of trees*, and so mean a brook passing by or through some remarkable wood or grove; which supposition, if justified by its situation, would intitle it to a place in our 3d or 5th class.—*Cary*; possibly from *Garr*, the *bann*, the bending or bowing of the knee, and *uy* or *y* *water*; so *Garr-y*, in pronunciation soften'd into *Cary*, might mean the *knee-bent water* or *bending stream*; and such a bending this river really has, after its arrival at *Aspwater* in its course from *Beaworthy*; near which last, the old maps, as well as our author, place the head of its stream: But if its derivation from *Carog* (in Cornish *Karreg*) signifying a *brook* or *river*, be thought preferable, it should have place among those of the *former* class.—*Cater-brook* or *Katerbrook*, more commonly called *Cate-brook*, and by some *Katherine* brook; perhaps its true derivation may be from the Br. *Caeth*, *narrow*; and so *Caeth* or *Cate-brook* may mean the *narrow brook*.—*Credy*; or perhaps anciently *Cridian*, since the Saxons call'd *Crediton*, which had its name from it, *Cridiantune*; Q. if derived from *Grydian* or *Crydian*, *murmuring*? So *Crydian-y* might denote the *murmuring-stream*, and be afterwards contracted to *Crydyn* and *Credy*. Or it might come from *Cryd-y*, the *trembling* or *dimpling* water; or from *Craydr*, *wandering*; but the former seems most probable.

(1) See his Glossary, p. 187. (2) *ibid.* p. 110. (3) *ibid.* p. 28 & 132. (4) *Cor. voc. in Antiq. of Cornw.* p. 456. (5) *Baxt. Cluf.* p. 220. (6) *Vid. Dict. Islandicum Hicckii.*



probable.—*Claw*; possibly from the Br. *Claw*, *fast* or *swift*; or the Saxon *Clough* a *Cleft*.—*Clyst*; (1) we find mis-spelt *Cliffe* by *Speed* and others, and in most of our old maps. But its true spelling is certainly *Clyst* or *Clyff*, agreeably to its constant pronunciation. I take it to be derived from the Irish or Gwyddellican British *Leafg*, *stoutful*, *sluggish*; which was also the ancient signification of the Welsh *Llefg*, now used to signify *feeble*, *negligent*, &c. and with *cil* prefix'd, denotes a *feeble flight*, a *slow retreat*, &c. Hence the dull sluggish current of this river *Clyst* might well take its name; its flux being very slow, and almost stagnating in some places.—*Cherry-Brook* in *Dartmoor*; (from the Br. *Sirian*, a *cherry*); doubtless so call'd from the *cherry-colour* with which the reddish gravel and soil of its bed (visible enough in a sunshining day) seems to tinge its transparent stream.—*Cole* or *Coly*; Q. if not derived from *Chroyl* a rolling or revolving? *Culm*; probably so called from the Cornish *Cylm*, *swift*, *rapid*; which is agreeable to the general rapidity of its current.—*Derle*; perhaps from *Dwr*, water, and *ial*, pleasant; the *pleasant* or *agreeable* water: Or if, instead of *ial*, the Cornish *hel*, a *river*, be thought more eligible, it becomes *Dwr-hel*, the *river of water*, and belongs to the former class.—*Glaze* in the British and Armoric *Glas* signifies *blue*, *pale*, *green* and *gray*; and this river was probably so denominated from the colour reflected from its waters; whether from the azure tinge of its smooth stream in a calm clear day, or the obscurer gray of its ruffled waves in windy and cloudy weather.—*Goutsford*; perhaps from the Br. *Gwuydd*, swelling, and *Fford*, a way or passage; and so may mean a *ford* or *passable brook*, but liable to swell and overflow, as most small ones quickly do after great rains.—*Grindle*; possibly a compound of the Br. *Crown*, a *stoppage* or *obstruction*, and *Dal* which also signifies to *bind* or *stop*: Hence perhaps the Saxon *Grindle*, which likewise signifies an *obstruction* or *hindrance*; and the brook seems to have had this name from its being frequently render'd unpassable, by its own inundations as well as those of the river *Clyst* into which it discharges itself, which often obstruct travellers in the road from *Bishop's Clyst* to *Clyst St. George*, &c. even since the erection of the bridge called *Grindle* bridge; and to prevent accidents, they are now warned of their danger in time of floods, by graduated posts fixt at proper places to shew the depth, pursuant to the late Highway Acts. This seems to justify our supposed etymology of the name of this brook; otherwise we might rather derive it from the Irish *Ghrinníall*, 'the channel of a river'.—*Ken*; probably from the Br. *Cain*, which not only signifies *white*, *fair*, or *beautiful*, but also, according to *Llwyd*, (2) *Limpidus*, *clarus*, *illimis*; and so this river might take its name from its clear limpid stream; at least this seems more likely than any derivation from the British *Cefn*, or the Irish *Ceann* or *Keann*, signifying the *head* or upper part of a thing; which Mr. *Baxter* (I think wrongly) applies to *Kenton*, whose Roman name he takes to be *Vercenia*, deducing it from *uar kend in*, i. e. *super capite undæ*; and then supposes this river to take its name from it, whereas the river doubtless gave name to it, as well as to the parish of *Ken*, which being nearest its head might be more truly said to be *super capite undæ*; than *Kenton*; tho' this be indeed, as he explains it, *præpe amnem*.—*Lemmon*; Q. if from *Llynn* or *Llyfn* (Br.) a lake or meer, a stagnant water, and *afon*, *arvon* or *arwn*, a river, and so denoting the *sluggish* or *stagnant river*? Or perhaps rather from *Llam* (or its plural *Llammau*) *afon*, a stone or stones in a river to step over; for such this shallow and fordable brook has, in one or more places (if I am rightly inform'd) and this not far above its bridge; particularly where it is cross'd by a foot-path between that part of *Newton* call'd *Newton-Abbot* and the other part call'd *Newton-Busfel*, the former being in the parish of *Walborough* and the latter in *Higbweek*, to which two parishes this stream is for the most part a common boundary.—*Loman* or *Lumman*. This name of the river which discharges itself into the *Exe* at *Tiverton*, is, according to our author, comparatively modern; for he tells us its ancient name was *Suning*: But whether *Suning* or *Lumman* were its most ancient name, they having much the same signification, it might be known at different times, or by different people, by both or either of those names; *Lumman* being probably derived from *Llynn* and *afon* or *arvon*, meaning a *slow* or *sluggish river*; and *Suning* perhaps a compound of *Syn*, dull, *ny*, water, and *ing* or *yn*, narrow: So *Synny-ing* might mean the narrow, dull, or slow water; which is agreeable to the tardity of its current, it being (if I am rightly inform'd) no-where rapid, but its flux in general remarkably slow.—*Marles*; perhaps as *Marlas*, a river in *Caermarthenshire*, from *Mar*, water, (3) and *Allwys* or *arllwes*, poured out, cleansed or purified: Or as *Merlas*, which according to *Llwyd* (4) signifies *Aqua cærulea*, the sky-coloured water.—*Matford-brook*, which separates *Alpbington* from *Exeter*; *Mat*, as well as *Med* or *Mad*, according to Mr. *Whitaker* (5) (tho' he mentions not in what dialect of the British) signifies *fair*; and if so, this with the addition of *Fford* (denoting the way or passage through it, where now a stone bridge is also made) may signify the *fair ford*. *Mad* also in the old British signified *good*, *beneficial*, &c. and *Baxter* says, (6) *Mat* in the Armoric signifies *Bona* atque *Divitiæ*, goods and riches.—*Meavy* or *Mewy*; possibly from *Mwy*, enlarged or augmented, and *ny*, water. This brook, after it leaves *Dartmoor*, is increased by another rill from thence, which comes down from that part of the forest where *Siward's* cross stood; with which being united, it is call'd

*Meavy*

(1) The *Clyst* signifies properly in the British language, the ear: And the curve which this river forms in its course, much resembles the human ear. The British word *Leafg*, dull, slothful, has little resemblance to *Clyst* in sound; though its meaning answers to the sluggish current of the river.

(2) *Llwyd* in *Baxt.* p. 274.

(3) *ibid.* p. 265.

(4) *ibid.* p. 274.

(5) *Manchester*, p. 219. *Baxt.* Gl. p. 162.

(6) *Baxt.* Gl. p. 171.

*Meary water*, at least 'till it also joins that stream which comes down from *Eylsburrow*, and which has its confluence therewith not far from *Meary Church*, if it be not also to call'd lower down, before it takes the name of *Plym*; of which last Mr. *Donn*'s map makes it a principal branch, tho' omitting its name, and taking no notice of the rill from *Seward's cross* abovementioned.—*Moule* or *Mole*: As this river has no subterraneous passage, like the river *Mole* in *Surry*, to justify its taking its name from the animal so call'd, *Q*, whether it might not be some old *British* or *Celtic* word derived from *Μῦλλος*, i. e. *curvus*, *tortuosus*; and so have its name from the crookedness or turnings and windings of its channel? Or if the *British* *Mwl*, or Saxon *Mul*, a *Mule*, he rather prefer'd, (since *rapid* rivers, such as this is, sometimes have their names from swift-footed animals,) it then more properly belongs to our 4th class.—*Nadder-Water*; probably so call'd from its abounding with *water-snakes*; for *Neidr* in *Welsh*, and *Naddyr* or *Nadar* in *Cornish*, signify an *adder* or *snake*, and *Neidr y dwr* a *water-snake*.—*Ock*, may possibly be from *Osc* (water) as has been already observ'd, the *s* being lost in a rapid pronunciation, which would rank it in the 1st class; but more probably from *Arceck*, signifying *vigour*, *liveliness*, *vehemency*; which is very applicable to that river *Ock* which gives name to *Ockhampton*; but whether it be equally so to a river of the same name near *Abingdon* in *Berkshire*, I know not. But here are two separate streams, the *Ocks* or *Ockment* (the plural of *Ock*). Is it not remarkable that *Oczakow*, remote as it is, corresponds with *Ockhampton* in its situation on the *Ocks*?—*Ot-brook*; *Q*, if from the Irish *At* or *bat*, agreeing with the *British* *buedo*, a *swelling* (and this perhaps derived from *βιδέω tumeo*)? If so, it means the *swelling* brook; and this may possibly be preferable to its derivation from *od*, excellent.—*Plym*; *Baxter* (1) derives it from *Pilim*, which in the *Erse* or old *Scotobrigantine Irish*, he says, still signifies *volvère* to roll; and thinks the *Pileus* of the anonymous *Ravennas* should be writ *Pilinis*, or *Pilim* isc, i. e. *convolvens aqua*, the *rolling* water, denoting the impetuosity of its current. But *Q*?—*Rakern brook* rises in the forest of *Dartmoor*, and falls into the *Tavy*, not far above *Mary-Tavy*: Another such brook runs by, and gives name to, the parish of *Rackenford* in this county, anciently spelt *Rakerneford*, and in *Domesday Book* *Rachensforde*: Being both but small ones, the name may possibly be derived from *Rbegain*, to *murmur*, *mutter*, or *rebisper*, and so mean the *murmuring* brook.—*Redford* or *Reddarsford*; perhaps from the *British* and *Armoric* *Rbudd* (whence the English-Saxon *red*), *red* or *ruddy*; this brook being remarkable for the reddish colour with which its waters are tinged by the stones and gravel in its bed (as before observ'd in *Cherry-brook*), and *Ffordd*, the *ford* or passage through it. Note also, *Rhyd*, both in *Welsh* and *Cornish*, signifies a *ford*.—*Redlake*; possibly the first syllable of this may have the same meaning as in the last, and so want no further explanation; for *lake*, in *Devonshire* language (as has been already hinted) commonly means a small brook or rivulet. Or if its colour should not justify its borrowing this name from thence, it may be from the Br. *Rbedeg*, to *run* or *flow*; (thus *Dwr rbedeg* is *running water*;) Or else from *Rbua*d, *roaring*, if this torrent be really remarkable for its noise and rapidity; but *query* as to this?—*Tale*; *Q*, if from *Tau-ial*, the *pleasant* stream.—*Trushel*; *Q*, if from *Dwr*, *water*, and *Osgle* a branch? Or rather *Dwor*-is-tyl, the *water* below the steep ascent of a hill?—*Waldon*; perhaps from *Gwaswl*, *light*, *clear*; and either *Dwefn* (or *Down*, *Armoric*) *deep*; or else *Dawon*, or as shorten'd *Dawn*, which, as *Baxter* (2) informs us, signified in the old *British*, *Amnis*, a *river* or *brook*, and if so, *Gwaswl-dawn* or *Waldon* means the *clear river* or *limpid stream*.—*Wewer*; in *British* probably *Uy-aber*, compounded of *Uy*, *water*, and *aber* which properly signifies the fall of a lesser water into a greater, as that of the *Wewer* into the *Celm*; but as we learn from Mr. *Richards*, (3) *Aber* is in *North-Wales* used for any *brook* or *stream* whatever, and if so, this river belongs rather to our 1st class: In the old *Cornish* also, it signified the meeting of two rivers; but sometimes a *ford*, and also the mouth of a river. See Dr. *Borlase's* *Cornish Vocabulary*. *Wotes-brook*; possibly from the *Cornish* *Huedbyz*, *swollen*; or rather *Huedb*, a *swelling*, with the addition of *isc* *water*; the *swelling* water. (See *Ot-brook*.)—But as this rivulet rises in *Dar-meer*, (at the boundary of which forest it falls into the *Teign*) and might be supposed to be form'd by melted snow from the hills there, *Q*, if its derivation from *od* which signifies *falling snow*, with the addition of *isc*, *water*, may not be preferable to the former?—*Yail*, or *Yaall* brook; perhaps from *ial*, *pleasant*, and so means the *pleasant* brook; but if it be from the *Cornish* *Hail*, *Heil*, *Hel*, or *Eyle*, a *river* or *brook*, it more properly belongs to our 1st class.—*Yalm* or *Yealm*; *Q*, if from *Yau* or *Eu*, *water*, and *Llimp*, *smooth*? the *smooth* water.—*Yamer*; perhaps from *ial*, *pleasant*, and *Mor* or *Mir* *water*; if so, it should rather be spelt *Yalmer*, but the *l* melts away in pronunciation.—*Tary*; *Q*, if from the old *British* *Iar* or *Iear*, a *river*, and *teg*, *fair*, *clear*, *pretty*? So *Iar teg*, shorten'd into *Tary*, denotes the *fair* and *clear* river.

III. Having thus particularized those *Devonshire* rivers whose names belong to our 1st and 2d classes respectively, we come now to those of the *third*, viz. those which are either wholly of *Saxon* origin, or partly *British* and partly *Saxon*; with which we may also rank such as have *Roman* names with *Saxon* terminations, or the contrary: Of this class (besides those already refer'd to it), this County affords us the following.—*Bathern*, perhaps a compound of the *Saxon* *Bath*, *Balnium*, and the *Latin* word for *hot* baths, *Thermæ* (α ὠθεμυ calidus); and possibly, as the *Romans* seem to have

had

(1) *Eaxt. Cl.* p. 196.(2) *ibid.* p. 99.(3) See his *W. Dict.* in *Aber*.



had a station at or near *Bampton*, which is situated on, and takes its name from this river, they might also have artificial hot baths near it, and supplied with water from it.—*Burn* or *Burn*; Sax. *Burn*, signifying a *torrent, brook, or river*; also a *watery ditch*.—*Cran-brook*; probably from the old British *Crain*, to *fall down, roll, tumble*, and the Saxon *Broca* a brook or torrent. This rivulet gives name to a farm in *Moretonbampfhead*, near which it rises, and falls precipitately into the *Teign*.—*Dalc* or *Dalk*; Sax. *Dalc*, *recula*, a small matter or thing; so *Dalc-broca* may signify a small or inconsiderable brook, as this really is.—*Deanburn*; Sax. *Dæne-burn*, the *torrent in the valley*.—*Long-brook*; Sax. *Lang-broca*, needs no explanation.—*Lumburn*; perhaps from the Br. *Llynn* or *Lymne*, a lake or pool in a river, and the Sax. *burn*, a brook, or watery ditch; and so may mean a brook that has such pools or stagnant waters in it.—*Pullabrook*; from the Sax. *Pul*, or Br. *Pwll*, a pool, pit, or ditch, and *Broca* a brook. It receives a small rill called *Reddiford*.—*Shob-brook*; possibly *Shob-brook*, and so called either from the swiftness of its current, or from its abounding with a sort of trouts, in some parts of this county called *shots*: which derivation seems preferable to either *Shob-brook* or *Short-brook*. This brook doubtless gave name to the parish of *Shobbrook thro'* which it runs, but being afterwards supposed to take its name from it, is now commonly call'd *Shobbrook Lake*. See its other name, *Qulyc*, explain'd among those of the 2d class.—*Silver Brook*; so call'd from the colour or reflection of its water.—*Small-brook*; Sax. *Smæl-broca*; the propriety of this name is not less evident than its meaning, it being indeed a very small brook.—*Tedburn Brook*; *Q*, if from the Br. *Tywd*, sand, and the Sax. *Burn*, a brook or river? So *Tywdburn* shorten'd into *Tedburn* may mean the *Sand-brook*: Or it may be compounded of *Tutb*, a trotting or jogging pace, if agreeable to the motion of its current, and *Burn* as before. It runs into the *Culverley*, and is more likely to have given its name to the parish of *Tedburn St. Mary*, which is water'd by it, than to have derived its name from it.—*Torridge*, *Touridge*, *Tacowridge*, or *Turridge*; possibly from the British *Dzw*, water, and the British *if* or Irish *uisge*, which also signify *water*.—*Ug-brook*; probably from the Saxon *Wog*, *curvus*; so *Wog-broca* may mean the *crooked, bending, or serpentine brook*. This rivulet runs by, and gives name to, the seat of Lord *Clifford*, in the parish of *Chudleigh*.—*Walbrook* or *Wallabrook* and *Wellabrook*; from the Sax. *Weal*, *vertex aquarum*, or else from *Wælla*, *fons*: Brooks coming immediately from their fountain, and not yet joined with any other; and such those in *Dartmoor* so called, really are, but lose their names at their influx into the *Dart* and *Avon* respectively.—*Washburn*; either the old British *Uysc* or Irish *Uisge*, water; or else, *Bais* or *Pais* (the B and V being commutable letters), a *ford* or *shallow place* capable of a foot passage; with the addition of the Sax. *Burn*, a river.—*Wishford*; the first syllable of this, may have the same derivation as the last, with the addition of *ford*, a ford or passable brook. The same may be applied to that part of *Dalk brook* which gives name to the parish of *Washford Pyne*, it being there indeed *Uysc-Ffordd*, a ford or passable water.—*Womburn*; perhaps from the Saxon and old English *Wealm*, to *walm* or break forth as from a fountain; and *Burn*, a river: If so, it should be spelt *Walmburn*.—*Wrixel*; possibly from the Saxon *Wrixle*, vicissitude, an alternate change or mutation; perhaps from its swelling after every shower, and in the intervals reduced to a small rivulet: But *Q*?

IV. It now remains to take notice of those few rivers in this county which belong to our 4th and 5th classes, and have not been already specified. Of the 4th, viz. such as are metaphorically denominated from the nature of their currents only, I know of none but have their names either from some bird or swift-footed animal, or else from some missile weapon, to denote their velocity: of which we have the following instances.—*Chackrel*; *Q*, if not derived from the Br. *Cbwai*, swift, speedy, quick; and *Ciryll*, a sparrow-hawk?—*Culverly*; probably from *Culfre*, a dove or pigeon (for which the country-people in *Devon* still retain the Saxon appellation *Culwer*), with the addition of *bel* (Cornish) a river, and *uy*, water: So *Culverly* might be originally *Culfre-bel uy*, the dove-like river of water; and be so call'd (as is the *Dove* in *Staffordshire*) from a comparison of the swiftness of its stream to that of the flight of a dove.—*Dart*; this in the *Welsh* and *Armeric* has the same signification as the *Englisc*, a dart, and sometimes an arrow; and this river (as well as the *Arroo* which runs thro' part of *Worcestershire* and *Warwickshire*) was doubtless so call'd from the swiftness of its current. The chief river (for there are two or three others) of this name in *Devonshire*, rises in and gives name to *Dart-Moor*; and, in its course, to *Dartington*, and *Dartmouth*, where it discharges itself into the ocean. Probably its Roman name was *Darium*; and the *Durio Amree*, in the itinerary of *Ricardus Corinensis*, (as Dr. *Borlase* supposes,) should be *Dario amree*, and meant the passage over the Dart near *Ashburton*.—*Harburn*; probably *Hare-burn*, the *Hare-brook*; the swiftness of its current being compared to that of a hare.—*Harford Brook*; Sax. *Hare-ford*, a rivulet that runs into *Tedburn brook*: This *ford* doubtless derives its name from the same origin as the last.—*Sidde*, or *Syd*; probably from the British *Sætb*, an arrow; and if so, we cannot doubt but it had this name for the reason above given for that of *Dart*.—*Wolf*; Sax. *Wulf*. This little river, the velocity of whose current claims a name from that swift footed animal, passes by *Awliscombe* and *Buckerell*, and falls into the *Orten*.

V. Lastly, although it may be taken for a general rule, that where rivers and places take their name from each other, the derivations of the latter from the former are, for the most part, to be preferr'd to those of the former from the latter; since the rivers existed, and perhaps had distinctive appellations, before any towns were built on or near them; yet there are some instances of rivers



of the one and the other. From the Phenicians are deduced, also, the names of our towns, by many who reject the idea of a Phenician colony. (a) Sammes, (b) and others, derive *Caeriske* (c) and other names of Exeter from the Phenician. *Hartavia* or *Hertland*, doubtless comes from the Phenician Hercules. (d) In trade, the Phenicians were the first

which having lost their ancient names (if they ever had any), have borrow'd their modern ones from the towns or villages by which they flow: Among these, which are here distinguished as a *Fifth* class, we have in this county, the *Hayne*, *Holwgill-Brook*, *Priaton-Brook*, and perhaps some few others." *Chapple*.

(a) A colonial rather than a mercantile connexion seems to be implied in the following paragraph: "Tria promuntoria, *Helenis* scilicet, *Ocrinum*, et *Κερα μέλιπρον*, ut et nomina civitatum (such as *Termolus* and *Actavia*) GRÆCAM PHENICIAMQUE originem redolentia." Richard, p. 21.

(b) "When I considered, says Sammes in the preface to his *Britannia*, what *Leland* writeth of the British or Welch language, namely, that the main body of it consisteth of Hebrew and Greek words, I began to reflect with myself, how it should come to pass that the ancient Britains could have any commerce with the Jews, who were never known to send out colonies, and of all people in the world were most fond of their own country; certainly I concluded, this could proceed from no other root but the commerce of the Phenicians with this nation, who using the same language with the children of Israel in Canaan, even in those primitives were great traders and skilful mariners, and sent out their colonies through the world; and this Mr. *Cambden* himself touches on, where he gives the derivation of the British *Caer Eiske*, now *Exeter*. For *Caer*, to tell you once for all (says he) with our Britains is as much as to say, a city, whereupon they used to name *Jerusalem*, *Caer Salem*, *Lutetia* or *Paris*, *Caer Paris*, *Rome*, *Caer Ruffaine*. Thus *Carthage* in the *Punic* tongue was called, as *Solinus* witnesseth, *Cartheia*, that is, the new city. I have heard likewise that *Caer* in the *Syriack* tongue signified a city. Now seeing that the Syrians, as all men confess, peopled the whole world with their colonies, it may seem probable that they left their tongue also to their posterity, as the mother of all future languages.—What can be more plain than this; and yet this is but one example of ten thousand; but I hope that in the following discourse I have plainly made out, that not only the name of Britain itself, but of most places therein of ancient denomination are purely derived from the Phenician tongue, and that the language it selfe for the most part, as well as the customes, religions, idols, offices, dignities, of the ancient Britains are all clearly Phenician, as likewise their instruments of war, as slings, and other weapons, their fished chariots, and their different names, and several distinctions. Out of the same tongue I have illustrated several monuments of antiquity found out and still remaining in Britain, which can no other waies be interpreted, than in the Phenician tongue, where they have a plain, easie, and undeniable signification. And as to that concordance which was between the ancient Britains and Gauls in point of language and some other customes, I have shewn that it proceeded not from hence, that they were the same people, but from joynt commerce with the Phenicians."

(c) The Britons called *Exeter*, among other names, *Kaerpenbuelgoit*, or "the chief city in the wood: as appears by *Geoffry* of *Monmouth*. It was also called *Pennobeltcaire* or the chief city on the hill. The Cornish very lately called *Exeter* by the ancient names of *Pennecaire*, *Caireruth*, and *Cairiske*. *Pennecaire* signifies the chief city; *Caireruth* the red city, from the red soil on which it is situated, and *Cairiske* the city of *Iske*, or the river *Exe*, in British *Iske*.—"This city now the object of your sight, and the emporium of these western partes is very pleasantly seated on a hill (gently arising among hills with an easy ascent.) and therefore called *Penchayr* the head cyttie, *Penhalteayr* the principall or chiefe citie on a hill. It declines towards the south west parte after such a manner that be the streets never so fflowe, yet with one shower of raine they are presently cleansed and made f: rect, as is sung of *Hierusalem*,

For one fayre fflowd doth send abroad  
His pleasant streames apace,  
To fresh the city of our God  
And wash his holy place.

That it hath bin anciently called *Corinia* or *Corinea* is very apparent; but that it had its denomination from *Corineus* who vpon his arrivall with *Brutus* into this land was first created Duke of these two provinces, I cannot averr; for I have it not vpon such warrant as I dare trust;—for *Circæster* was also of *Ptolomye* called *Corinium* yet not from *Corineus*." *Wescote*, p. 73.

(d) "Not much distant from *Hertye Poynt*, or *Hercules Promontory*; which to derive down from *Hercules* that renowned tyrant-queller, would require more time and labour then I can well afford, yet for that divers will have it soe: I will deliuer the opinion of a much better man, even the dictator of knowledge *Reverend Mr. Cambden*, who I hope will yield them satisfaction to contentment, if not I confess I cannot. From *Cornwall* the first shoare in this shire (saith hee) that stretcheth out it selfe in length towards the *Severn* sea is by *Ptolomye* called the *Promontorie* of *Hercules*, & retaineth still some little smack of the name being at this day called *Hertye Poynt*: and hath in it two prettie towns *Herton* & *Hertland* famous in elder times for the reliques of that holy man

first to give names. Observing our *tin* in its native bed, they called it (*a*) *sean* or the *mud*. And it is asserted, that the British manner of fighting, the names of their war-chariots, and of their weapons of war, were all of Phenician origin—such as *Covin*, *Effeda*, *Rheda*. (*b*) This much for the *British-Phenician* of Danmonium.

The

man St. Neftan : in honour of whome was here erected a little Monasterye, by Githa wife of Earle Goodwine, who had this St. Neftan in especial reverence : for that shee was perswaded, that for his meritts her husband had escaped the danger of shipwrack, in a most violent & dangerous tempest : howbeit afterwards the Dynants (now Dynhams) that came out of Bryttaine in Ffrance (whose demesnes in fee it was) were accounted the founders thereof. The name of the Promontorie hath given credit to a very formal tale, that Hercules forsooth came hither into Brytaine & here vanquished I wot not what gyants : but if it bee true that Mythologers (or expounders of moral tales) tell vs & affirme that there was neuer any Hercules ; but that by him the power of human wisdom is understood ; whereby wee overcome pride, lust, envy, theft, & other such like monsters : Or if according to the divinitie of the Gentiles, by Hercules they mean the sunn, & by those 12 labours endured and performed by Hercules, the 12 signs in the Zodiack, which the sun in his yearly course passeth through : what it is they say let them look to it themselves : but for my owne part I willingly believe there was an Hercules ; nay I could bee content to grant with Varro, that there were of them 43, all whose acts were ascribed to that Hercules who was the son of Alkmene : yet can I not persuade myseife that ever an Hercules came hither ; vnles happily hee came sayling here over the ocean in that cup that god Nereus gaue him whereof Athenius maketh mention. But you will say that Ffranciscus Philolphus in his epistles & Lullius Gireldus in his Hercules auer noe less : I pray you pardon me, these late writers may moue but not remove mee ; considering that Diodorus Siculus who went on with the Greekish Historye in order, euen from the most remote & first records of all antiquity, in playn terms affirmeth, that neither Hercules nor father Bacchus went ever into Brytaine. I am therefore verily perswaded, that the name of Hercules came to this place, either through the vanity of the Greekes ; or from the superstitious religion of the Brytaines : for as these being most warlike nations themselves, had valiant men in marvellous estimation & admiration, and highly wondered at such as conquer monsters ; soe the Greekes againe, whatsoever was any where stately & magnificent, that they referred to the glory of Hercules. And because hee had been a great traueiler, such as travelled were wont to offer sacrifices to him, and to him likewise did consecrate the places of their arrivalls : hercof came Hercules Rock in Campania ; Hercules Haven in Lyguria ; Hercules Grove in Germanie ; hence likewise the Promontories of Hercules in Mauritania, Galacia, & Brytaine. Well, what Hercules soever hee bee, wee are escap't his fingers and clubb, and are cleer of him." *Westcote*, p. 160, 161.

(*a*) Whence the Cornu-british *sean*, of the same meaning. *Pryce*.

(*b*) But these are *Chaldaic* words : and they were used in Danmonium before the existence of our Phenician colony. The *Phenician*, indeed, was derived from the *Chaldee*, in common with the *aboriginal British*, the *Irish*, and the *Erfse*. The affinity of the *Phenician* with the *Irish* is proved, beyond all controverfy, by Vallancey, who hath given us a specimen of the Punic, (*1*) curiously collated with the Irish. A part of this collection is as follows :

*Punic.*

" Nyth al o nim ua lonath siorathissi me com syth.

*Irish.*

N'faith all o nimh uath lonnaith ! focruidhse me com sith.

O mighty Deity of this country, powerful, terrible ! quiet me with rest.

*Punic.*

Chim lach chunyth mum ys tyal myéthi barri im schi.

*Irish.*

Chimi lach chuinnigh ! muini is toil, miocht beiridh iar mo scith.

A support of weak captives ; be thy will to instruct me to obtain my children.

*Punic.*

Lipho can ethyth by mithii ad ædan binuthii.

*Irish.*

Liomhtha can ati bi mitche ad eadan beannaithe.

Let it come to pass that my earnest prayers be blessed before thee.

*Punic.*

Byr nar ob syllo homal o nim ! ubymis isyrthoho.

*Irish.*

Bior nar ob filadh umhal ; o nimh ! ibhim a frotha.

A fountain denied not to drop to the humble ; O Deity, that I may drink of its streams."

In this manner several other Punic lines are collated with the Irish ; and bear the same resemblance to it.

(1) From the *Pænuulus* of Plautus.



The *third stage* of the Danmonian language, may be said to commence with the *Greek* colony. As the *Greeks* extremely plumed themselves on their language, and were studious to disseminate the knowledge of it, there are many who think, that, even as a mercantile people, they left the more cultivated Danmonians in possession at least of the rudiments of their tongue. That a great number of *Greek* words were incorporated with the language of Danmonium, may be clearly shewn. (a) The names of (b) *Britain* itself; of the (c) *Cassiterides*; of several (d) promontories and (e) rivers in Danmonium; as well as towns and villages, are attributed to the *Greeks*. But the numerous (f) *Greek* words

in

(a) "Mr. *Boswell* asserts, that the *British* language bears a greater resemblance to the *Greek*, than any other whatsoever; and that there are more *Greek* words incorporated with it than there are *Latin*; from which, and other circumstances, he thinks it evident that a colony of *Greeks* were once here, and lived some time amongst us. *Camden* seems also to favour the opinion that the *Greeks* landed in and had some knowledge of this island; being supposed to have had colonies and plantations along the sea coast in most parts of *Europe*, *Britain* not excepted; or, according to Sir *Thomas Smyth's* supposition as quoted by him, that a great number of them fled hither for safety, when all *Europe* was embroil'd in war: However, he seems elsewhere partly to retract this, and gives it as his opinion that it was late before the name of the *Britons* was heard of, either by the *Greeks* or *Romans*. But whether we had any *Greeks* here or not, the mixture of *Greek* words in the *British* language, is a fact which *Camden* admits, and will hardly be denied." *Chapple*.

(b) See derivation of the names of *Britain*. *Borlase's Antiqu.* p. 3, 4, 5.

(c) The *Greeks* called the *Scilly Isles* *Cassiterides*. *Sammes*, p. 73.

(d) There were promontories in the *Taurica Chersonesus*, and in the island of *Crete*, which the *Greeks* called *Κεῖον μέλωπα*. In the same manner we have the promontory of *Κεῖον μέλωπον*, which I take to be the *Ram-Head Point*. *Helenis Promontorium* was also a *Greek* promontory.

(e) The *Clyst*, for instance, derived, perhaps, from *λίσσος*, it being a gently-flowing stream—or from *κλύζω*, not only because it overflows the marshes every spring-tide to a large extent, but also because the country lying much upon a flat the land floods, even in summer, frequently deluge the meadows for many miles together.

(f) "The foot-steps of the *Greek* language are evidently seen not only in particular *British* words, which agree in sound and sense, but in the very nature and idiom of the two languages. Some are of opinion, that the *Greek* characters were used in *Britain*, and that they were changed by the *Roman* conquerors, who alwaies were very careful to obtrude their language upon them whom they overcame, as a certain sign of dominion over them, and a surer union with such provinces; and this I am apt to credit, because *Cæsar*, after the conquest of the *Helvetii*, found their public records written in *Greek* characters. The ancient *Greeks* had but two and twenty letters, no more had the *Britains*, and as afterwards the *Greeks*, for convenience, did receive two more into their alphabet, so have the *Britains*. Moreover, it is to be observed, that the *British* letters agree exactly in sound with the *Greek*, as is most remarkable in *c* and *g* (not to instance in *d* and *u*) which *c* and *g* are alwaies pronounced by the *Britains*, as *κ*, and *γ*, and not as now they are before *i* and *e*, where *c* is pronounced like an *s*, and *g* like an *j* consonant. Of vowels, the *Britains* had anciently six, now they have added a seventh, *viz.* *a*, *u*, but this relishes of the *Teutonic*. Their consonants, after the manner of the *Greeks*, are divided into *semivocales* and *mutas*, and these again into *tenues medias* and *aspiratas*, which, in the flexion of nouns and verbs, pass one into another exactly after the *Greek* manner. *R*, in the beginning of words, is alwaies with an *aspirate*, as it is in the *Greek* tongue; out of which observations in the *British* and *Greek* language, I would note these things. First, that the *Druids* of *Britain* and *Gaul*, by the number of letters having only twenty two, as may rationally be supposed, after the manner of the antient *Greeks*, came into *Britain* very early, when the *Greeks* had not as yet learnt the use of their other letters, or if they had, notwithstanding they were not frequently known among them. Secondly, the *Druids*, using the same characters which were common in *Greece*, in the time of *Julius Cæsar*, it appears, that neither were they of so ancient a standing in this island and *Gaul*, as the first and primitive times of *Greece*, when the *Greeks* learnt their letters from the *Phœnicians*, and without doubt something nigh their character. Besides, *Pliny* observes, out of an ancient inscription in the *Greek* tongue, that formerly the *Græcians* had very nigh the same characters with the *Latins*; and if I be not mistaken, did write an *H* instead of their *aspiration*, after the manner of the *Phœnicians*: and if the *Phœnicians* did not themselves bring the use of letters, and the number of them into *Britain*, but contented themselves with trading only hither, yet I am sure the *Græcians* had not only the first number of their letters from them, but characters also, and as may be very rationally conjectured, might bring them into this island, after they had new modelled them, and before they had added any new ones to them. The true attaining to the just circumstances of time, as to the navigations of the *Phœnicians* and *Græcians*, makes much to the stating of the antiquities of *Britain*. But care must be had, that as we bring not the *Greeks* too early into

these



in the Danmonian language, very little altered by their transplantation into it, would be sufficient to throw an air of probability over the supposition of a Greek settlement at the

these islands, as by the more modern characters they used, do appear, so we must not assign the time, too late, of their discovering them, which their long settled customs in *Britain*, the great esteem they had gained with the islanders, the very idiom of the *Greek* language introduced, and their religious ceremonies and rites, though never so cruel, allowed and approved by the whole state, argues them of a very ancient standing in these parts, and that not suddenly, but by long use, and against much opposition, they were at last admitted and entertained. Seeing we have here spoken of the concordance of the *British* tongue with the *Greek* idiom, it will not be much out of the way, if we take notice, that as the number of their letters agree exactly with the *Phœnicians*, though we will not suppose them to have received them immediately from the *Phœnicians* but the *Græcians*, so there are a world of words in the *British* language, which agree exactly with the *Syrian* or *Phœnician* tongue; for, I verily believe, that the extream number of aspirations, and guttural pronunciations, were peculiar to no western nation, but only the *Britains* of *Armorica*, and *Wales*, and the *Iris* (which may well be supposed to be peopled out of *Britain*, or else to have been traded unto by the *Phœnicians* themselves) is an evident sign of the *Phœnicians* once conversing in these islands; for it is to be observed that the eastern languages, and that they as well as the *Greeks*, contributed much to the making up of that language which was used here in *Cæsar's* daies, and since, the mixture of the *Saxon*, *Roman*, and *Norman* tongues, only excepted. But to return to the *Greeks*; besides the peculiar conformity of idiom, which the *Britains* have of their language in general with the *Græcians*, it is to be observed, that the numerals of both nations are most the same, where sometimes our *Britains*, sometimes they of *Gaul*, have the greatest resemblance. As for example, I will set down in order.

<i>British.</i>	<i>Greek.</i>	<i>English.</i>
Un.	Ἐν,	One.
Daw; Armorican, Dola,	Δύω,	Two.
Tri.	Τρεῖς,	Three.
Pedwar,	Τέτραρες; Æol. Πέτρες,	Four.
Pumpy, Armo. Pemp.	Πέντε, Πέμπτε,	Five.
Chuech, Armo. Huch.	Ἑξ,	Six.
Saith.	Ἑπτὰ,	Seven.
With, Armo. Eith,	Ὀκτώ,	Eight.
Naw,	Ἐννέα,	Nine.
Deg,	Δέκα,	Ten.
Un ar deg,	Ἐνδεκα,	Eleaven.
Deuddeg,	Δώδεκα,	Twelve.
Ugain,	Ἐικοσι,	Twenty.
Cant,	Ἑκατόν,	A Hundred.
Mil.	Χίλις,	In the Latin <i>Mille</i> , a Thousand.
Myrdd,	Μυριάς,	A Million.

Most of these may be easily supposed to come from the *Greek*; if we consider how variously that language alters the letters of foreign words it receives. And if any think, that some of these may better be referred to the *Romans* than *Græcians*, as *Un*, *Daw*, *Tri*, *Cant* and *Mil*. I shall answer them in Mr. *Sheringham's* words, *That besides these so like the Greek numerals, the Britains have no other to express themselves by.* But if these words were lately introduced, it behoved that the old terms should have remained in their writings, as the Old *Saxon* and *Latin* words, though out of use, remain still in the writings of the ancients; But I fear by his words lately introduced, he supposes the objection made, as if they were brought in later than *Cæsar's* daies, perhaps by the clergy of *Rome*, otherwise it is not improbable but they had some of these from the *Romans*, although there be no mention of any ancienter words of the same signification in their old poets, because they have no writings of such antiquity, and numerals are (of all other words) used according to the acception of the present time. But the greatest argument, in my opinion, that the *Britains* had not any of them from the *Romans*, is, because that the *Armorican* *Britains* in *Gaul*, who fled over (not long after the coming of the *Romans*) into this island, cannot be supposed (in so short a time) to change so considerable a part of their language, do notwithstanding keep the same numerals as our *Britains* of *Wales* do, setting aside some small variation, as *Dola* for *Daw*, which is rather to be attributed to a difference in dialect, than that they had them from the *Greeks*. But, besides the names of numerals, the *Britains* have in their language a whole lexicon of words, whose original is undoubtedly

*Greek*;

κεῖα μέλιτων, had we no other testimony to support the fact. It does not appear, that half so many words in our language are derived from the Latin as from the Greek. Yet the

Greek: I will put down some examples out of Mr. Sberingham, which he collected, most of which, as he writeth, hath no synonymous words to express them.

<i>British.</i>	<i>Greek.</i>	<i>English.</i>
Άγος,	Ἄγος,	A neighbour, or that which is near at hand.
Άλλ,	Ἄλλο,	Another.
Άν,	Ἄμφι,	Round about, of all sides, or of all parts.
Άντιωπν,	Ἀνένω,	To defend, or afford aid or assistance.
Άν,	is a Particle privative, as it is among the <i>Greeks</i> .	
Άρτι,	Ἄρτιο,	A bear.
Βλοεψ,	Βλαίσις,	A flammerer.
Βροχι,	Βρυχώ,	More cruel, hasty, or unruly.
Εαδε,	Καετρός,	Strong, or valiant.
Εαρθυ,	Καθάρειν,	To purge, or clear.
Εασματ,	Κύσμημα, ἢ Κόσμο,	An ornament, garnishing, or decking of any thing.
Εαυλ,	Καυλός,	Grewel, or pottage.
Ειβ,	Κίβιο,	A shell, or cabinet.
Ελαιατ,	Χλεαρός,	Warm.
Ελεερ,	Κλεῖθρον,	A rafter.
Ελσδ,	Κληδών,	Praise, or commendation.
Ενιθιο,	Κνήδω,	To strike.
Ενοι,	Κνάω, εἰ Κνήδω,	To bite, or gnaw.
Εεψσι,	Δέσις,	A petition, or request.
Ειλις,	Δήλο,	Manifest.
Εορ,	Ἰδωρ,	Water.
Εεψι,	Δεῦς,	An oak, or grove of trees.
Ειδα,	Ἰδίο,	Proper, or particular ones own.
Ελιν,	Ἰλένη,	A cubit.

The Particle *Er* increaseth his signification, as *Ἐρι* doth among the *Greeks*.

Εττο,	Ἐτι,	Yet.
Εαελυ,	Φηλέν,	To err.
Εαιρ,	Φύριον,	Fairs.
Ελαω,	Φλάω,	A cut.
Εορριωρ, fur,	Φάγ, ἢ Φάρο,	A thief.
Εααν,	Γέρων,	A crane.
Εεπλεισο,	Γιγγιρίζειν,	To tickle.
Εαλεν,	Ἄλς, Ἄλο,	Salt.
Εαυλ,	Ἥλιος, Ἄλιος, Ἄεολ.	The sun.
Εμεδ,	Μέδω,	Mead, or metheglen.
Εμς,	Μάε, Ἄεολ.	A mouth.
Εοεοιο,	Μουζω,	To mock.
Ει,	Νάι,	We.
Ευδδω,	Νήδω,	To spin, or weave.
Εορθωγς,	Πεθεμευς,	A ferry-man.
Εεχεχαιν,	Ῥέχρειν,	To sneeze, or snort.
Εηην,	Ῥίη,	A hill.
Εεβαν,	Σάπων,	Soap.
Ειριγ,	Σηρικόν,	Silk.

And thus *ad infinitum*, but let these few examples suffice to shew the agreement of the *British* language with the *Greek*, which could proceed from no other cause than some plantation of *Greeks* in this island." *Samuel*, p. 83, 84, 85, 86, 87.

A friend

the Romans traversed almost every part of Danmonium, and settled here long after the Greeks. If, then, the Greeks were trading voyagers only, is not this a very singular circumstance?

A friend of Carew, "one Master Thomas Williams," was of opinion, "that the Cornish tongue was derived from the Greeke: And, besides divers reasons which hee produced to prove the same, he vouched many words of one fence in both; as for example:

Greeke.	Cornish.	English.	Greeke.	Cornish.	English.
<i>Teino</i>	<i>Tedna</i>	Draw	<i>Kyon</i>	<i>Kye</i>	Dogge
<i>Mamma</i>	<i>Mamm</i>	Mother	<i>Kentron</i>	<i>Kentron</i>	Spurre
<i>Episcopos</i>	<i>Escoppe</i>	Bishop	<i>Metabyo</i>	<i>Metborow</i>	Drinke
<i>Klyo</i>	<i>Klowo</i>	Heere	<i>Scapbe</i>	<i>Schaptb</i>	Boat
<i>Didaskein</i>	<i>Datbisky</i>	To teach.	<i>Ronchos</i>	<i>Ronchie</i>	Snorting, &c.

This language is stored with sufficient plenty to expresse the conceits of a good wit, both in prose and rime: yet can they no more giue a *Cornish* word for *eye*, then the Greekes for *ineptus*, the French for *stand*, the English for *emulus*, or the Irish for *knaue*. Others they haue not past two or three naturall, but are fayne to borrow of the English: mary, this want is releevd with a flood of most bitter curses, and spitefull nick-names. They place the adiective after the substantiue, like the Grecians, &c." See Carew's Survey of Cornwall, p. 55.—If the reader cursorily inspect the following list, he will see many words that speak a *settled people*—a *colonial*, not a mere *commercial* establishment.

Ebron,	<i>the sky,</i>	Βροντη,	<i>tonitru.</i>
Echrys,	<i>a blasting,</i>	Κριζω,	<i>stridco.</i>
Fflur,	<i>brightnes,</i>	Φλεγω,	<i>to burn.</i>
Plananth,	<i>a planet,</i>	πλανη.	
Skez, (1)	<i>a shadow,</i>	} σκια,	<i>umbrā.</i>
Scod,	<i>a shade,</i>		
Taran,	<i>thunder,</i>	ταρασσω.	
* * * * *			
Alfa,	<i>high cliff,</i>	αλφς,	
Alfton,	<i>high-cliff-hill,</i>	αλφτος,	
Antron,	<i>a promontory,</i>	αντρων.	
Ik,	<i>a creek,</i>	ικω.	
Porth,	<i>a port,</i>	πορθμος.	
Ryn,	<i>a nose,</i>	} ριν	<i>a nose.</i>
Rhyn,	<i>a promontory,</i>		
Rynen,	<i>a billock,</i>		
* * * * *			
Tam,	<i>a river,</i>	ποταμος. (2)	
Dour,	<i>water,</i>	υδωρ.	
Kren,	<i>a spring,</i>	κρηνη.	
* * * * *			
Caul,	<i>cabbage,</i>	καυλος.	
Dryft,	<i>an oak,</i>	Δρυς.	
Neonin,	<i>a daisy,</i>	νεος.	
* * * * *			
Arth,	<i>a bear,</i>	αρκτος.	
Garan,	<i>a crane,</i>	γρεξανος.	
Kei,	<i>a dog,</i>	κυων.	
Murrian,	<i>an ant,</i>	μυριος,	<i>infinitus, whence μυριμος, an ant.</i>
Ren,	<i>the mane of a horse,</i>	ρεω,	<i>to flow, to spread.</i>
* * * * *			
Cara,	<i>to love,</i>	} καρις.	
Karadow,	<i>belovcd,</i>		
Karenza,	<i>love,</i>		

Fledgiow,

(1) From *skez*, a shadow, comes *skezy*, shadowy, or fleeting like shadows. Whence the Devonians and Cornish say, that people chasing one another, or passing in quick succession, are *skeking*.

(2) Hence Tamar, or Tam-mawr, the great river, the largest in Cornwall.



circumstance? Should we not suppose in this case, that the *few* Greek expressions, accidentally adopted from the conversation of merchants, would have been soon lost amidst the

Fledgiow,	{ children, whence fledged; perhaps from	{ Φλαζω,	
	* * * * *		
Dzoules,	{ a fiend, or a deformed man person	{ δουλος,	a slave.
Forrior,	a thief,	Φαρ.	
	* * * * *		
Crene,	trembling,	{ κρηνη.	
Crenna,	to tremble,	{	
Dacron,	tears,	Δακρυα.	
Flaw, (1)	a cut,	Φλαω,	frange.
Gyleisio,	to tickle,	Γιγυλιζειν.	
Klowo,	to bear,	κλυω.	
Methow,	{ drink, hence Medhdas, drunkenness,	{ μεθυ.	
		{	
Mufac,	stinking,	Μυσος, crime, wickedness, and Μυσαζω,	
Moufegy,	loathsome,	to spoil, to foul: Whence Μειπτων,	
		a kind of mess made of garlick, and	
		other stinking ingredients.	
Poan,	pain,	ποινη,	pæna.
Renki,	to snore,	ρεγχειν.	
Ronkye,	snoring,	ρογχοσ.	
Rhedec,	swiftness,	ρεω.	
	* * * * *		
Ate,	bate,	αλη,	damage, loss.
Carthu,	to clear,	καθαρος.	
Dathisky,	to teach,	Διδασκειν.	
Deyfis,	a petition,	Δησις.	
Dillis,	manifest,	Δειλος.	
Eiddio,	proper,	ιδιος.	
Faellu,	to err,	φαλλω,	hence falladou, falsehood.
Hezuek,	ease,	Ησυχια.	
Hyrch,	to command,	αρχη.	
Moccio,	to mock,	μοκιζω.	
Ny,	twice, us,	νυι.	
Tin,	terrible,	Δεινος.	
	* * * * *		
Theu,	God,	θεος.	
	* * * * *		
Choarion,	sports,	χορος.	
	* * * * *		
Ancar,	an hermitage,	αναχωρεω,	recede.
Bochim, (2)	the house of oxen,	Βας.	
	* * * * *		
Airos,	stern of a ship,	from αιρω,	to unmoor, to set to sea.
Skath,	a boat,	σκαφη,	a skiff.
	* * * * *		
Elin,	a cubit, an angle,	Οληνη.	
Fer,	a fair, (3)	{ φερω, to carry, whence φερα, a fairing, and φορος, tribute, taxes, a market.	
		{	Ferna,

(1) Hence "Flaws of winds"—a common expression in Cornwall.

(2) The Bochim of Scripture is well known: And it is remarkable that there is a Bochim in Britany as well as Cornwall.

(3) Hence the Furry-day of Helston, commonly deduced from ferix: But ferix comes from the same root.

the Roman conquests and settlements? And should we not expect to meet with a much greater number of Latin than of Greek words? Even if the Greeks had been posterior to the Romans, merely as traders to Danmonium, we should have looked for more of the Latin than of the Greek, in our language; whilst we considered the provincial spirit of the Romans, and their establishment in this island for centuries. Admitting the reality of a Grecian colony in Danmonium, we are almost surprised at the predominance of the Greek over the Roman: For the Greeks in this island were for ages, prior to the Romans. But without admitting the reality of a Grecian colony, this predominance can never be accounted for: A Grecian colony, therefore, must have existed in Danmonium. My argument, however, does not depend merely on the *number* of Greek words: The *little alteration* they have undergone, in general, in consequence of their insertion into our language, seems a striking fact in favor of my theory. I need not insist on this point: From the list of Greek words given below, my readers will judge for themselves. Many of these words are pure Greek, retaining their original sounds, without the slightest variation. There is another argument in favor of this colony, from the *quality* of the Greek words. Had the Grecians been only *traders* to this island, the words they might have scattered here, would have been chiefly of a mercantile complexion. But examine the lists below: There such words occur, as could not have been casually dropt into the language by a few merchants: They relate to the *ordinary affairs* of life. They carry conviction of a familiar intercourse between the Greeks and Danmonians: They, evidently, imply a settled people. In the mean time, the Danmonian language resembles the Greek in many particulars. It is a circumstance worthy notice, that many Danmonian words which are not obviously deducible from the Greek, have yet a *Greek termination*: And many, though neither deducible from the Greek, nor having a Greek termination, are but *mere echoes to this sonorous tongue*—which seems to intimate, that the Danmonians, imitating the Greeks *ore rotundo*, were ambitious of forming their words after the Greek model. And this must argue the closest intimacy between the Greeks and the Danmonians. (a) It is to be observed, also, that like the Greek, there are numerous (b) *compound words* in our language, equally as expressive as the Greek. And our language,

Ferna,	merchandise, wares, goods,	φερνη,	a wife's portion.
Halan,	salt,	αλς.	
Kentron,	nails,	κεντρον.	
Kasmai,	an ornament,	κοσμος.	
Nyddu,	to spin,	νηθω.	
Plenkos,	planks,	πλεκω,	to join.
Seban,	seap,	σηπαν.	
Syrig,	silks,	σηρικον.	
Tedna,	to drave,	τεινω.	
Tine,	{ to tine the fire, i. e. to light the fire,	{ τινθαλεις,	calidus. (1)
Tribeth,	a brandiron,	τριπες.	

(a) With respect to Cornubritish words of *Greek sound*, such as the following, are profusely scattered through the Vocabularies of Borlase and Pryce: Gockorion, *foolish people*; Guarimon, *theatres*; Guirion, *a man of veracity*; Nenpynion, *the brain*; Doroffen, *a mole-hill*; Fellores, *a woman-piper*; Palores, *a chough*; Eirialdan, *a bonfire*; Splan, *splendor*.

(b) Such as *Bartine*, or *the bill of fires*—the Cornish for *fire* being *tan*; *Boscawen-rose*, *the house in the elder-tree-valley*; *Boleit*, *the dairy-cot*; *Carminow*, *the little city, from car and minow or minys, small—hence minows*, the small fish that abound in our streams; *Caer-edris*, *the learned city*; *Cut-tayle* (in Calstock) *the wood near the river*; *Crugfellick*, *the barrow in open view*; *Colhlwyn*, *a grove of hazel*; *Delabel* (in St. Teth) *the house in the clayey soil*; *Dinemour* (from *din* and *mor*) *a fort at the sea—whence Moridunum*; *Dinsul*, *a sunny bill, or a hill dedicated to the sun*; *Gundron*, *the down's-bill*; *Keneggy*, *the mossy hedge by the water*; *Kuzkarnnahuilan*, *the lapwing's rock by a wood*; *Leskard*, *the castle court, from its castle, one of the ancient seats of the Dukes of Cornwall*; *Mis-guerdiu*, *the month of black storms, i. e. December*; *Nanladron*, *the valley of thieves*; *Pendarvis*, *head*

of

(1) Hence *tinder*. "Tine the flant lightning." Milton's *Paradise Lost*, B. x. l. 1075.

language, like the Greek, abounds with *expletives*: Like the Greek, it has many *redundancies*: And in its (*a*) *idioms*, it is often similar to the Greek. On viewing the intermixture, therefore, of the Greek language with the Danmonian, we are struck by the number of Greek words, by their *undisguised* appearance, and by their *quality*; whilst, in our language, the *terminations* and *sounds*, *compounds* and *expletives*, *redundancies* and *idioms*, which resemble the Greek, are no less remarkable.

Whether, at this stage of the Danmonian language, the Greek characters were adopted or not, in *writing*, is a point which I shall not, at present, discuss. The "*Græcis litteris*" of Cæsar, is a dubious passage. *Græcis* is dismissed by many of the commentators as an interpolation: And, if there were any epithet, I think *Craffis* was the word.

The *fourth* and last *stage* of the Danmonian language, must be fixed at the time of the Belgic and other European settlements on our island. But on this topic I shall not enlarge. (*b*) The different tribes from the neighbouring continent, brought with them, undoubtedly, a barbarous tongue, which greatly corrupted the languages of Danmonium.

The language of Danmonium, then, from its first existence in the island to the time of Cæsar, seems to have undergone various modifications. Originating in the east, a daughter of the CHALDEE, it was nearly coeval in these islands with the *Irish* and the *Erse*, of which it was a sister dialect. And we termed it the *British* tongue; as spoken in South-Britain. But in South-Britain, it was adulterated with various mixtures. In the western parts of South-Britain, Devon and Cornwall, we have seen it corrupted by the *Phœnician*, the *Greek*, and the *Belgic* and other *European* tongues. In the mean time, it had spread from the west over the remaining part of South-Britain. In the interior parts, it was comparatively pure: On the coasts, particularly the Kentish, it had lost its primitive color and its original flavor. At this crisis, *three* several dialects seem to have prevailed in South-Britain—the dialect of those *aboriginal Britons*, who, at the invasion of the Belgæ, had fled from Danmonium into the centre of the island; the dialect or jargon of the *Gauls* on a great part of the *coasts* of South-Britain; and the dialect of the *Danmonians*, or of the *people of Devon and Cornwall*.

The *dialect* of Danmonium, then, (derived from the Chaldee, and blended with the Phœnician, the Greek, and the Gaulish) may be termed in contradistinction with the *two other dialects* of South Britain, the CORNU-BRITISH or the CORNISH tongue. (*c*)

I have

*of the oak field*; Penmennor, *the principal mountain*; Polwhcle, *the pool-work*; Poughill (Pougill) *the country frequented by gulls*; Roscorla, *the valley of the sheep-fold*; Rosevallen, *the apple-valley*; Sulleh, *the rocks of the sun*; Trehane, *the old town*—in Probus, the seat of one of the most respectable families in Cornwall; Trevagheon, *giant's-town*; Tre'r-druw, *the Druid's-town*; Tremadah, *the town of extasy*; Trembleath, *the wolf's-town*.

(*a*) "The *Cornish and Devonshire* tongue seems to retain the footsteps of the most ancient *British* language, and has in it the very *idioms* of the Phœnician and Greek nations." Sammes' *Britan*. p. 4.

(*b*) "The greatest argument produced to make this island peopled from *Gaul*, is the confinity of language between the ancient *Britains* and *Gauls*. The confinity of language between the ancient *Britains* and *Gauls* proceeds not from their being one nation, but from the *Græcians* and *Phœnicians* who traded to both, and the words produced by Mr. *Cambden* for that purpose, I shall shew to be most of them *Phœnician*, some *Greek*, and as for the rest they have little analogy one with another, and that which is, may proceed from the invasion of *Britain* by the *Gauls*, and the intercourse of *Druids* in both nations." Sammes, p. 11.—"If we take away the words which were introduced into *Britain* and *Gaul*, either by the *Phœnicians* or *Greeks*, or last of all by the *Romans*, possibly no two languages may be judged more remote than theirs was, and then Mr. *Cambden's* large catalogue of words will be reduced to a small number indeed." Sammes, p. 90.—"That *Britain* could not have been peopled from *Gaul* (says Sammes) Cæsar methinks makes it evident—where he says, that the inlanders reported themselves to be *Aborigines*—which they could not have done, had they agreed in language with the maritime *Gauls*. It would be vanity in any country, to pretend a different original, and not to speak a different language, the chief criterion." Sammes, p. 10.

(*c*) "The most material singularities in this tongue are, that the substantive is placed generally before the adjective; the preposition comes sometimes after the case governed; the nominative, and governed case, and pronouns, are oftentimes incorporated with the verb; letters are changed in the beginning, middle, or end of a word, or syllable; some omitted, some inserted; and (much to the commendation of this tongue) of several words one is compounded (as in the Greek) for the sake of brevity, sound, and expression. (1)" Borlase's *Nat. Hist.* p. 314.

1) Of which see Lhuyd's *Archæologia*, p. 225, &c.



I have now sufficiently descanted on the language of the Danmonians.

How far the *sciences* and the *arts* were cultivated at this period, in Devonshire, can only be learnt from our observation of the Druids. That the Druids applied themselves to (a) astronomy and geography, Cæsar and Mela assure us: But what proficiency they made in these studies, is a subject of dispute. Mr. Chapple (as we have seen in his account of the Cromlech) represents the Druids as deep astronomers. Their mode of computing time was certainly remarkable. *Spatia omnis (b) temporis* (says Cæsar) *non numero dierum, sed noctium finiunt: et dies natales, et mensium et annorum initia sic observant, ut noctem dies subsequatur.* This is one of the most extraordinary of the Druidical usages. It evidently speaks the high antiquity of the Druids; whilst it discovers a tenet of this venerable priesthood, that in the beginning of the world, the night was anterior to the day. The Druids believed, that before the creation, one universal darkness prevailed, and that the day sprung out of night; and, therefore, computed by nights and not by days. This agrees with the Mosaic-history; and thus the Hebrews computed time. When "in the beginning God created the heaven and the earth, *darkness was upon the face of the deep*:" And "when God divided the light from the darkness, *the evening and the morning were the first day.*" (c) Does not this strongly favour of the oriental? Was there any such custom among the continentals of Europe? Was there any such custom even in Italy, the peculiar seat of superstition? The Druids (and British Princes) were also acquainted with the virtue of simples, and skilled in the application of them to the body. Thus we see a Caledonian chief, in the poems of Ossian, "who had searched for the herbs of the mountains, and gathered them on the secret banks of their streams, and whose hand had closed the wound of the valiant." And of another, it is declared, "that to close the wound was his—he had known the herbs of the hills, and had seized their fair heads on high as they waved by their secret streams." Medicinal Botany, indeed, was engrafted on the stock of the British religion: And the Druids were at once our physicians and our priests. The *samol*, probably the *seamar*, or wild trefoil (what the Irish Britons wear at present in their hats on St. Patrick's day)—the *vervain*—the *selago*, a kind of favin—and the *mistletoe* of the oak—were the favourite plants of the Druids in medicine as well as in religion. Anatomy was another science with which the Druids are said to have been acquainted; though I can scarcely conceive, that they applied their anatomical knowledge to medical uses. Yet the Druids of Danmonium were famous in medicine—not less so than the physicians of Persia. In the mean time, the Druids attended greatly to physiology. They searched into the secrets of nature. They speculated on the essence of God, the origin of all things, the dissolution of the world. Their doctrines relating to the immortality and transmigration of the soul, which were taught by the Brachmans, and are still maintained by the priests of India, are manifest proofs of their religious learning. With respect to the *imitative arts*, it appears that the Druids were versed both in *painting* and *poetry*. Their picture of Hercules Ogmius, as described by Lucian, displays their delicate refinement in emblematical representation; whilst it marks the affinity of their genius to the Asiatic: And their attachment to the sublimer poetry, seems to prove their superiority to every European people. But some engravings on the British coins are unequivocal testimonies of the taste of the Britons for engraving. The war-chariot I have mentioned, was *designed* by a Briton—it was *sketched* out by a British hand, and *engraved* upon a British coin. This is a proof of some degree of proficiency made in the *elegant* as well as *mechanical* arts.

For the instruction of the Danmonians, in those parts of their knowledge which they thought proper to communicate, the Druids instituted seminaries of learning, and were themselves

(a) That the Brachmans are well acquainted with astronomy, appears from M. Le Gentil's account of a Voyage to India. The Indians on the coast of Coromandel, express their knowledge, we find, *in verses or allegorical symbols*; and the explication of the characters is often difficult and doubtful, on account of the incapacity of the interpreters. The curiosity of M. Le Gentil was excited by the accounts he had heard at Pondicherry, of the astronomy of the Tamoul Indians; and nothing could equal his surprize, when he saw the facility with which one of these Indians calculated, in his presence, an eclipse of the moon (which he had proposed to him) with all the preliminary elements of that phenomenon, in three quarters of an hour. (b) lib. 6.

(c) Genesis, c. 1. This circumstance escaped not the observation of Richard. See p. 9.

themselves the teachers of the British youth. And some solitary cavern, or karn, or sacred wood, was commonly the place of instruction. That our Danmonian leaders were not illiterate, must follow from the necessity of their attention to learning; since no person, we are told, who had not been educated under a Druid, was qualified for public employments. It has appeared, that the Druids instructed their disciples in verse; which the latter were not allowed to commit to writing, lest they should render the Druidical wisdom familiar to the public eye, or trusting too much to what they had written, suffer their memories to be impaired for want of exertion. Such are Cæsar's, and such are, doubtless, the true reasons which induced the Druids to lay this injunction on their scholars. Yet there are several antiquaries, who assert, that the Druids prohibited all kinds of writing. The Druids were accustomed also to convey their instructions to their disciples through the medium of allegorical picture; and this with the true oriental spirit. Such, then, was the learning of the Druids, diffused in a certain degree among the superior ranks of the Danmonians. To enquire into the personal history of any learned men among the Danmonians, during this obscure period, would be idle and absurd. It is satisfactory enough, at this early stage of literature, to shew, that the language of the Danmonians, in general, was respectable; and that their knowledge (*a*) was by no means contemptible.

## SECTION

(*a*) Not contemptible, indeed! Let us close our view, with some remarks of Col. VALLANCEY on the LEARNED and INTELLIGENT people, whence they sprung; and with an extract from Sir WILLIAM JONES's *Asiatic Researches*. "The S. Scythians of the Saxon chronicle (says Vallancey) were originally seated in Mesopotamia, Shinar and Armenia, and had settled in Egypt, Palestine, and Phenicia, whence they emigrated to Spain, and lastly to the *Britannic Isles*." "The true *Scuthai* (says Bryant) (1) WERE UNDOUBTEDLY A VERY LEARNED AND INTELLIGENT PEOPLE; but their origia is not to be looked for in the north of Asia; or the deserts of Tartary. There was a country named Scythia, *far in the east*, of which little notice has been hitherto taken. It was situated in the great *Indic Ocean*: and consisted of a widely-extended region, called SCYTHIA LYMYRICA. (2) Though the inhabitants of this country were unknown for ages, there was a time, when they rendered themselves very respectable. For they carried on an extensive commerce, and WERE SUPERIOR IN SCIENCE TO ALL THE NATIONS IN THEIR NEIGHBOURHOOD; and this was long before the dawn of learning in Greece; even before the constitution of many principalities, into which the Hellenic state was divided. As they are represented of the highest antiquity, and of great power, and as they are said to have subdued mighty kingdoms, and to have claimed precedency even of the Egyptians, it is worth while to enquire into the history of this wonderful people. To me then, it appears very manifest, that what was termed by the Greeks *Συθηα Συθηια Συθηια*, was originally Cutha, Cuthai, Cuthica, and related to the family of Chus. He was called by the Babylonians and Chaldeans *Cuth*, and his posterity Cuthites and Cutheans. The countries where they at times settled, were uniformly denominated from them; but what was properly stiled Cutha, the Greeks expressed with a Sigma prefixed. Epiphanius has transmitted to us a curious epitome of the whole Scythic history. Those nations, says he, which reach southward from that part of the world, where the two great continents of Europe and Asia incline to each other, and are connected, were universally stiled Scythæ, according to an appellation of long standing. These were of that family, who erected the great tower called BABEL. They were the Cuthite Shepherds, who came into Egypt, and many of them settled in ARMENIA." In another place, Bryant says: "We may, I think, be assured, that by the term *Scuthai*, are to be understood *Cuthai*. They were the descendants of Chus, who seized upon the region of BABYLONIA and CHALDEA; and constituted the first kingdom upon the earth. Among themselves their general patronymic was *Cuth*, and their country *Cutha*. They were an ingenious and knowing people, as I have before observed; and at the same time very prolific. A large body invaded Egypt, when as yet it was in its infant state, made up of little independent districts, artless and uninformed, without any rule or polity. They seized the whole country, and held it for some ages in subjection: and from their arrival, the history of Egypt will be found to commence. The region between the Tigris and Euphrates, where they originally resided, was stiled the country of the *Chafdim*; but by the western nations CHALDEA. It lay towards the lower part of the Tigris to the west, and below the plain of *Shinar*. This country is said to have been also called *Scutha*; and the author of the Chronicon Paschale mentions *Scuthæ* in these parts, who were so called in his days." (4) "If I mistake not (says Vallancey) the *Scuthæ* were so named from their being the first navigators—this is the character given of the *southern Scuthæ* by Dionysius."

(1) Mythology, vol. 3, p. 135, &amp;c.

(2) Ptolem. Geogr. L. 4. p. 121.

(3) Mythology, vol. 3. p. 175.

(4) Bryant says, that Noah left the Scythian Armenians his ritual books, which only priests, and that only among priests, might read.



## SECTION X.

## VIEW of the PERSONS and POPULATION of the DANMONIANS, during the BRITISH PERIOD.

I. View of the Persons of the Danmonians—*Cæsar's distinction between the maritime Britons from Gaul, and the Aborigines—the Aborigines of Danmonium, resembling the Irish and the Highlanders, in stature, bodily strength, fair complexion, and red hair—in these points more like the oriental nations, than the Gaulish tribes.*—II. Phenicians, Greeks, and Gaulish tribes.—III. Populousness of the Island, at the close of this Period.

IT seems to have been the opinion of Tacitus, that, among the great variety of contingencies, which act both upon the body and the mind of man, the climate hath not the slightest influence. Agreeably to this notion, an analogy hath frequently been formed between the air and soil of a country, and the bodily and mental constitution of its inhabitants. The Britons, in particular, have been represented wild as the winds that howled around them—and rough as their native hills. But this is, for the most part, a picture from

Dionysius.”—Let us now turn our attention to Sir WILLIAM JONES. At the opening of the sixth discourse, (5) on the Persians, delivered 19th February, 1789; the president, Sir WILLIAM JONES informs his audience that he turns with delight from the vast mountains and barren deserts of *Turan*, over which he had travelled last year with no perfect knowledge of his course, to pursue his journey through one of the most celebrated and most beautiful countries in the world; a country, the history and languages of which he had long attentively studied, and on which he might, without arrogance, promise more positive information, than he could possibly procure on a nation so disunited and so unlettered as the *Tartars*. He proceeds to describe the situation of *Persia*, as it is improperly called by Europeans; the name of a single province being applied to the whole empire of *Iran*.” Having finished his preliminary remarks, he adverts to a variety of topics, among which the *ancient languages*, and the *primeval religion and characters of Iran*, have a considerable share of his attention. He concludes his discourse, by recapitulating the principal positions, which he has endeavoured to establish: “Thus has it been proved by clear evidence and plain reasoning, that a powerful monarchy was established in *Iran* long before the Assyrian, or *Pisîndâdî*, government; that it was in truth a Hindu monarchy, though, if any chuse to call it Cussian, Casdean, or Scythian, we shall not enter into a debate on mere names; that it subsisted many centuries, and that its history has been ingrafted on that of the Hindus, who founded the monarchies of *Ayôdhyâ* and *Indrapresthâ*; that the language of the first Persian empire was the mother of the Sanscrit, and consequently of the *Zend*, and *Parî*, as well as of Greek, Latin, and Gothic; that the language of the Assyrians was the parent of Chaldaick and Pahlavi, and that the primary Tartarian language also had been current in the same empire; although, as the Tartars had no books or even letters, we cannot with certainty trace their unpolished and variable idioms. We discover, therefore, in *Persia*, at the earliest dawn of history, the *three* distinct races of men, whom we described on former occasions as possessors of *India*, *Arabia*, and *Tartary*; and, whether they were collected in *Iran* from distant regions, or diverged from it, as from a common centre, we shall easily determine by the following considerations. Let us observe, in the first place, the central position of *Iran*, which is bounded by *Arabia*, by *Tartary*, and by *India*; whilst *Arabia* lies contiguous to *Iran* only, but is remote from *Tartary*, and divided even from the skirts of *India* by a considerable gulf: no country, therefore, but *Persia*, seems likely to have sent forth its colonies to all the kingdoms of *Asia*: the *Brâhmans* could never have migrated from *India* to *Iran*, because they are expressly forbidden by their oldest existing laws to leave the region, which they inhabit at this day; the *Arabs* have not even a tradition of an emigration into *Persia* before *Mohammed*, nor had they indeed any inducement to quit their beautiful and extensive domains; and, as to the *Tartars*, we have no trace in history of their departure from their plains and forests, till the invasion of the *Medes*, who, according to etymologists, were the sons of *Madai*; and even they were conducted by princes of an Assyrian family. The *three* races, therefore, whom we have already mentioned, (and more than three we have not yet found,) migrated from *Iran*, as from their common country; and thus the *Saxon* chronicle, I presume, from good authority, brings the first inhabitants of Britain from *Armenia*; while a late very learned writer concludes, after all his laborious researches, that the *Goths* or *Scythians* came from *Persia*; and another contends, with great force, that both the *Irish* and old *Britons* proceeded severally from the borders of the *Caspian*; a coincidence of conclusions from different media by persons wholly unconnected, which could scarce have happened, if they were not grounded on solid principles!”



from fancy. (a) Whether, however, this connexion between the climate of Britain and its inhabitants be admitted or rejected, we would wish to be acquainted with the real character of both. Yet, here, ancient authors are again at variance. Whilst Diodorus intimates, that the air of this island is cold, (b) Cæsar talks of the milder temperature of Britain as compared with Gaul, and Tacitus particularly notices the softness of our climate. (c) With respect to the first Britons, Diodorus calls them *αἰσχροὶ καὶ γρηῖν*; and Tacitus says: "BRITANNIAM QUI MORTALES INITIO COLUERINT, *indigenæ adveſti*, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum." (d) For the persons of the Britons, Cæsar's report is, that "those who lived nearest Gaul, were very like the Gauls; probably owing to their being descended from the *same original stock*, and their dwelling almost in the same climate." (e) Here Cæsar establishes a clear distinction between the maritime Britons and the Aborigines. He attributes the likeness of the maritime Britons to the Gauls, to their having sprung from the same stock: Whence we may infer his opinion, that the inland Britons or Aborigines, not resembling the Gauls, points out a very different origin. Though not decided as to their real origin, yet Cæsar clearly saw, that the Aborigines could never have come from Gaul. And this was evidently the sense of all his contemporaries. The case was so plain, that to assert expressly, that the Aborigines were not derived from Gaul, would have struck Cæsar as an absurdity. The direct affirmation of an obvious truth, which has never been doubted, is always ridiculous.

The Aborigines were a different race of beings from the Gaulish coasters. They were remarkably *large and tall*. "The Britons (says Strabo) exceed the Gauls in stature; of which I had ocular demonstration. For I saw some young Britons at Rome, who were half a foot taller than the tallest men." (f) If, as we have frequently done, we turn our views to Ireland and the Highlands, we shall discover a striking likeness in the inhabitants of both, to the first Danmonians, or the original race of South-Britain. The Irish and the North Britons were remarkable for their large limbs and high stature: And in other particulars, we shall see, they resembled the unmixed, undegenerated people of Danmonium.

(a) One of our writers, drawing the character of the Danmonians, says: "The ancient inhabitants of this county are represented as intrepid, prodigal of life, constant in affection, courteous to strangers, and extremely fond of popular applause. For the barbarity of these times, the Danmonii were a civil and courteous people: They were stout and puissant; *taking heart even of the soil itself, and emboldened by the roughness of their country.*" Richards, in his "ARORIGINAL BRITONS," often starts this idea—in my opinion, not happily. And his portrait of the ancient Briton, may be poetical enough: It is, certainly, not a just one—

*Rude as the wilds around his sylvan home,  
In savage grandeur see the Briton roam:  
Bare were his limbs, and strung with toil and cold,  
By untam'd nature cast in giant mould,  
O'er his broad brawny shoulders, loosely flung,  
Shaggy and long, his yellow ringlets hung.  
His waist an iron-belted falchion bore,  
Massy, and purpled deep with human gore.  
His scarr'd and rudely painted limbs around,  
Fantastic horror-striking figures frown'd,  
Which, monster-like, ev'n to the confines ran  
Of nature's work, and left him hardly man.  
His knitted brows and rolling eyes impart  
A direful image of his ruthless heart;  
Where War and human Bloodshed, brooding, lie,  
Like thunders, lowering in a gloomy sky.*

(b) *Diodor. Sicul. Wels. Tom. I. p. 347.* "αἶρος διαθεσὶν πανίσχυος καὶ ἐνυμνην."

(c) *Cæsar—Bell. Gall. 12.* "Loca sunt temperatiora, quam in Gallia, remissioribus frigoribus."  
*Tacit. Vit. Agric. c. 12.* "Aperitas frigorum abest."

(d) *Jul. Agric. c. ii.*

(e) *Cæsar, l. 5, c. 12.* Cæsar's knowledge of the Britons, was in some points superficial: But it was enough to enable him to draw a just outline of them. The particulars Cæsar learnt relating to the Danmonians, were from the Gaulish merchants and from the people of Kent, who knew little of Devonshire.

(f) *Strabo, lib. 5, p. 200.* "Proceritate corporis Gallos æque ac Romanos vincunt Britones; ita ut viſos ſibi Romæ juvenes nondumque adultos Britones Strabo philoſophus, orbis terræ deſcriptor antiquiſſimus, affirmet, qui ſolitam Gallorum Romanorumque ſtaturam non levi momento excedebant." *Ricard, p. 7*

Danmonium. The Danmonians were no less celebrated for their *bodily strength* (a) than for their gigantic size. And the Irish and the Highlanders were wonderfully vigorous. Wrestling is an exercise well calculated for the display of bodily strength: And the Danmonians, the Irish, and the Highlanders, excelled all the Europeans in wrestling. Ossian thus describes Fingal and Swaran, wrestling. "Their sinewy arms bend round each other: they turn from side to side, and strain and stretch their large spreading limbs below. But, when the pride of their strength arose, they shook the hill with their heels: Rocks tumble from their places on high: the green-headed bushes are overturned." (b) It appears, that the first Danmonians had, in general, (c) *fair complexions*, and *yellow*, or *red hair*: Such was the case with the Caledonians. The hair of the Danmonians was, also, soft and curling: So was that of the Highlanders. "Was he white as the snow of Ardven—blooming as the bow of the shower? Was his hair like the mist of the hill, soft and curling in the day of the sun? Was he like the thunder of heaven in battle? Fleet as the roe of the desert?" (d) With respect to the females of Danmonium, they were distinguished for their beauty—if they resembled the Caledonians, in the blue radiance of their eyes, and in fairness, and the softness of their persons. The bosom of one of the Caledonian ladies is compared by Ossian, to the down of the swan, "when slow the sails the lake, and fidelong winds are blowing." (e)

That the eastern nations (particularly the Arabians and the Persians) approached much nearer in their persons, to the inhabitants of Danmonium, Scotland, and Ireland, than any of the Gaulish tribes, might easily be proved. The blue eyes of the eastern female, in particular, have been already remarked. (f)

By the intermixture of the Phenicians, Greeks, and Gallic tribes, with the Danmonians, great alterations in their original stature, strength and beauty, must have gradually taken place: But to discriminate these changes, would be impossible. From their swarthy complexions and curled hair, Tacitus conjectured, that the inhabitants of the south-west coast had come from Spain. And the Phenicians, undoubtedly, formed settlements in Spain; and, probably, in Danmonium. To enquire further into these particulars, would be fruitless.

To what age the Danmonians commonly lived, is a question to which an answer cannot be reasonably expected: Yet the longevity of the Britons is memorized by Plutarch, who says, that they lived to the age of one hundred and twenty. And Plutarch's intelligence (with that of the ancients in general) seems to have been derived from merchants trading to Danmonium.

With respect to *population*, Diodorus and Cæsar agree in their reports, that the island was well stored with inhabitants. The number of towns, indeed, on the south-west shore, which, according to Suetonius, were subdued by the Romans, sufficiently prove the populousness of this part of the island, about the close of the British Period.

(a) See Carew's Survey of Cornwall, p. 56, 57, 58.

(b) Ossian, v. 1, p. 62, 63.

(c) Strabo, l. 5, p. 200.

(d) Ossian, v. 1, p. 90.

(e) Ossian, v. 1, p. 58.

(f) For an illustration of this topic, I would refer my readers to the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, and Sir W. Jones's various descriptions of the oriental nations.

## SECTION XI.

VIEW of the CHARACTER, MANNERS, and USAGES of the DANMONIANS, during the BRITISH PERIOD.

I. The Courage of the Danmonians—their restless Activity—their Simplicity—their Fidelity and Attachment to their respective Tribes—their Frugality—their Hospitality—their Character from Diodorus—their resentful Temper—their Cruelty—their intemperate Curiosity, a Grecian feature—their Superstition.—II. The modes of Address among the Danmonians—their matrimonial Connexions—their Dress—their domestic Accommodations and Usages—their Diet—their principal Sports—their Customs in War, and military Apparatus, particularly the scythed Chariot—Examination of the question, whether the scythed Chariot was Oriental or Gaulish—the Rites of Sepulture in Danmonium.—III. Character, Manners, and Usages of the Danmonians, highly favourable to the Eastern Hypothesis—this Hypothesis founded on strong circumstantial Evidence; which, on a review of the whole Chapter, seems irrefragable.

HISTORY presents us with few subjects more curious or pleasing, than the manners of nations. But the æra of the Danmonians is much too remote, to furnish us with any satisfactory views in this line of speculation. The persons of the ancient inhabitants of the west have been already described. We are now to examine their mental character, their virtues and their vices—and their more remarkable *habitudes and customs*.

Among the virtues of a people not highly polished, courage or personal intrepidity is generally the most prominent. And *courage* was a virtue of the Danmonians. After having enumerated the different tribes, from the continent, that gradually established themselves in various parts of the island, Richard mentions the Danmonii, as a race of people the strongest and most courageous of all: He describes them, as *gens omnium validissima*. But another part of their original character, seems to have been a *restless activity*—an ardent desire of change, and a fondness for discoveries, which prompted them to range over the earth, and to invade the most distant territories. If we recur to the eastern countries (whence we have derived the Danmonians) we shall find that the Chaldæans, mentioned by Xenophon as a warlike nation of Armenia, possess the same fierce and wandering spirit; in allusion to which the prophet (a) Habakkuk exclaims: "I raise up the Chaldæans, that bitter and hasty nation, *who shall go over the breadth of the earth*, to possess the dwelling-places which are not theirs." The *simplicity* of the Danmonians is, also, worthy notice. (b) Diodorus intimates, that they were sincere and honest. "They are simple in their manners (says the Historian) very different characters from the men of our times: The obliquity and improbity of the present day, are far removed out of their sight." This openness of disposition, this abhorrence of all dissimulation, was a striking characteristic of those countries, whence the Danmonians probably emigrated. The eastern nations and the Danmonians were alike distinguished for their love of truth. (c) *Fidelity and attachment to their respective tribes*, were traits of character no less remarkable in the Danmonians. And there is no passion by which a Highlander or a native Arab is more distinguished than by an attachment to his clan or tribe, and jealousy for its honor. *Frugality* was another virtue of the Danmonians: This, too, marks the Highlanders and the Arabs, who adhere to their old plain diet, nor wish to provoke appetite by luxuries. Yet the frugality of the Danmonians, was connected with the most generous *hospitality*. The natives of Scotland and Arabia still preserve this social spirit; and in the frankness of their domestic attentions, exhibit the ancient Danmonian character. Their kindness to strangers, in particular, brings back to view the generations that flourished in Devonshire and Cornwall; when the halls of the

(a) Chap. i. v. 6. (b) "As Tacitus hath preferred the genius of the Britons to that of the Gauls; so hath Diodorus, their integrity to that of the Romans." *Magna Brit.* p. 12.

(c) An ingenious man of this county used often to say—"that the people of Devonshire and Cornwall were certainly derived from the orientals, for these three reasons: Their skill in the bow—their skill in horsemanship—and their love of truth."



the chieftains echoed with festivity. Such were the Danmonians; of whom the historian (a) has drawn the following picture, to which I have more than once alluded. Καλοικειν δε φασιν την Βρεϊτανικην ΑΥΤΟΧΘΟΝΑ ΓΕΝΗ, και τον παλαιον βιον ταις αγωγαίς διατηρηῖν. ἀμασι μιν γὰρ καὶ τὰς πολέμους χρωμένη, καθάπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ηἴκειν ἐν τῇ Τρωικῇ πολέμῳ, κεχρησθαι παραδεδοῖται. Καὶ τὰς οἰκίσεις εὐτελεῖς ἔχουσιν, ἐκ τῶν καλαμῶν ἢ ἔϋλων κλίμα το πλείστον συγκείμενας. Τὴν δὲ συναγωγὴν τῶν σίλικων καρπῶν ποιεῖναι, τὰς σαχὺς αὐτὰς ἀπολεμνύουσιν καὶ θησαυρίζοντες εἰς τὰς κάλαγους οἰκίσεις. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν τῶν παλαιῶν σαχὺς καθ' ἡμέραν τίλλειν, καὶ καλεργάζομενες ἔχειν τὴν τροφὴν. Τοῖς δὲ θῆσι ἀπλῶς εἶναι, καὶ πολὺ κεχρωσισμένες τῆς τῶν νῦν ἀνθρώπων ἀγχινίας καὶ πονηρίας. Τὰς τε διαίτας εὐτελεῖς ἔχειν, καὶ τῆς ἐκ τῆ πλῆθς γινομένης τρυφῆς πολὺ διαλλαττόντας. Εἶναι δὲ καὶ πολυάνθρωπον τὴν νῆσον, καὶ τὴν τῇ αἰεὶ ἔχειν διαθέσιν πανέλωσ κατελυσμένην, ὡς ἀν' ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρκτον κείμενην. Βασίλεις τε καὶ δυνατὰς πολλὰς ἔχειν, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸ πλείστον εἰρηκτικῶς διακείσθαι.

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Τῆς γὰρ Βρεϊτανικῆς καὶ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ καλεῖται Βελερίον οἱ κατοικοῦντες φιλοξένοι τε διαφέροντας εἶσι, καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ξένων ἐμπορῶν ἐπιμίσχιν ἐξημερωμένοι τὰς ἀγωγὰς. (b)

In discriminating the character of a nation as of an individual, there are vices which must ever be opposed to virtues. But Diodorus has not ascribed to the Danmonians a single vice: His portrait of the ancient Britons, is too luminous to be just. It is imperfect: We want the relief of shadow to finish it. The truth is, that the Danmonians, like other nations, not arrived at the acme of civilization, were *resentful*, and too frequently, *cruel*. Their *resentment* was chiefly discoverable in their family-feuds, which were frequently transmitted from generation to generation. The Highlanders and Arabs cherish the same animosities: And, among the latter, the war of tribes is often entailed, in all its horrors, on a long posterity. The *cruelty* of the Danmonians might be instanced in several circumstances: But it was most conspicuous in their treatment of the shipwrecked mariner. The people of Devonshire and Cornwall, have been addicted from the earliest days to a species of plunder, little accordant and apparently incompatible with their hospitality to strangers. If a vessel be wrecked on their coasts, they consider it as marked by providence for their own; seize it as heaven's blessing; and sometimes, in the phrenzy of rapaciousness, commit the most inhuman outrages on those, whose sufferings loudly call for pity and protection. And what is very extraordinary, the same evil genius of plunder hath ever prevailed among the Arabs.

Such are the more prominent features of the first Danmonian colonists. The Britons of this period are marked by several other lines of character; such as might be traced, perhaps, in the subsequent colonists, the Phenicians, the Greeks, and Gaulish tribes. That (c) *intemperate curiosity*, which, according to some writers, distinguished the ancient Britons, particularly the Danmonian merchants, was, probably, a *Grecian* trait.

History

(a) Diodorus first speaks of the island: Περί δὲ τῆς νήσου καὶ τῆ φύσεως καὶ αὐτὴν κασσίερα νῦν διέχουσαν. Αὐτὴ γὰρ τῷ σχηματὶ τριγωνοῦς ὅσα παραπλησίως τῇ Σικελίᾳ, τὰς πλευρὰς οὐκ ἰσοκύκλους ἔχει. Παρεκλείνουσιν δὲ αὐτῆς παρὰ τὴν Εὐρωπὴν λοξῆς, τὸ μὲν ελαχίστον ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου διεσπικῶς ἀκρωτήριον, ὃ καλεῖται Κανίλιον, ὃ φασὶν ἀπέχειν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς σαδίων ὡς ἐκάστον, καθ' ὃν τόπον ἡ θάλασσα ποιεῖται τὸν ἐκτὸν. τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἀκρωτήριον τοκαλεῖται Βελερίον ἀπέχειν λεγεται τῆς ἡπείρου πλὴν ἡμερῶν τεσσαρῶν. τὸ δ' ὑπολείπομενον ἀνήκει μὲν ἰσορροσὶν εἰς τὸ πελάγος, ὀνομαζέσθαι δὲ Ὀρκαν. Τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν τὴν μὲν ελαχίστην εἶναι σαδίων ἐπτακισχιλίων πέντακοσίων, πασηκῶσαν παρὰ τὴν Εὐρωπὴν. τὴν δὲ δεξιὴν εἶναι ἀπὸ τῆς πορθμῆς πρὸς τὴν κορυφὴν ἀνήκονσαν, σαδίων μυρίων πέντακισχιλίων. τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν, σαδίων δις μυρίων. ὡς τὴν πᾶσαν εἶναι τῆς νήσου περιφορᾶν σαδίων τετρακισμυρίων διςκισχιλίων πέντακοσίων. Diod. Sicul. Westling, Tom. 1. p. 346.

(b) Diod. Sicul. Tom. 1. p. 346, 347.

(c) Inter cetera fuit et hoc Britannicæ consuetudinis, ut viatores et mercatores etiam invitati consistere cogerent, et quod quisque eorum de una alterave re apud externos memorabile audierit, aut cognoverit, quæverent, et mercatores peregre advenientes in oppidis vulgus circumfisteret; quibus ex regionibus venient; quasque ibi res cognoverint, pronunciaré cogentes. His rumoribus atque auditionibus permoti, de summis sæpe rebus consilia ineant, quorum eos e vestigio pænitere necesse est, quum incertis rumoribus serviant, et sæperque ad voluntatem eorum facta respondent. Ricard, p. 8.

History thus enables us to touch, lightly, on the Danmonian virtues and vices: And we can do no more—unless we contemplate this people as tinctured by *superstition*, which, gives a strong color to the human mind; particularly in the ruder areas of society. Superstition, indeed, will be seen to influence the Danmonians, in almost every situation: And, though we have already marked it under the form of religion, yet often shall we see it starting up, in various fashions, usages, and customs.

With respect to the customs or fashions of the Danmonians, in common life, we can say very little with certainty. Of their *modes of address*, for instance, we have scarce any account; unless the homage they paid to persons of distinction, by walking three times round them from east to west, be numbered among the ceremonials of fashion.

In regard to *matrimonial connexions*, it appears, that the Danmonian mode of courtship was entirely in the oriental style. The lover addressed himself first to the father of the maid, and requested his daughter in marriage. And the father, if he agreed to the overture, “opened the hall of the (a) maid,” the apartment in which the generally *fat retired* from the *mex* of the family—and introduced the suitor to his daughter. (b) The period of this courtship was very short—resembling that described (c) in Genesis: It was, in every respect indeed, patriarchal. Though a man married but one woman, whom he regarded as his wife; yet a certain society of brethren or friends were accustomed to communicate their wives to one another, for their reciprocal enjoyment. (d) This *community of wives* was no way similar to the marriages of the Gauls, or any other western nation. (e) The ceremony of binding girdles, impressed with several mystical figures, about the waists of women in labor (when a birth was attended with any difficulty) was, doubtless, of eastern origin. The words and gestures that accompanied this ceremony marked its high antiquity. In the same manner, the wife of the Highlander, when advanced in her pregnancy, was bound with the sanctified girdle, to alleviate the pains and expedite the birth. A hundred of those girdles are promised by a chief, “to bind high-bosomed women!” (f)

Of the *dreß* of the Danmonians, we have had a momentary glimpse in the survey of their manufactures. The (g) skins of beasts have been too commonly mistaken for the cloathing of the Britons. Loose woollen garments, however, not less artificial than the mantles of the Scotch or the Irish, were certainly worn by the Danmonians. And this was an oriental dreß: It was in fashion, not long after the dispersion. (h) But the Danmonians were Armenians, Phenicians, Greeks, and Gauls: Their dreis, therefore, must have varied according to the fashions of the countries whence they came. And, in each race, the different ranks and orders of people must have been distinguished by different modes of dreis. Strabo describes the dreis of the Danmonians, as of a flowing robe down to their feet, and long sleeves made fast at the wrists. And the historian terms this robe *μελαγχλαμν*—which is descriptive of the color, as well as the materials of which it was composed.

(a) The British virgin was marriageable at fourteen. *Horvel Dwa*. L. ii. c. 1.

(b) *Ossian*, vol. 1. p. 50, and 115. (c) Genesis, c. 24.

(d) “The Britons formed themselves (says Mr. Whitaker) into a strange set of matrimonial clubs, which generally comprehended ten or twenty families, and each husband had free access to each wife in it.” *Cæsar*, p. 89.

(e) “The Britons had one remarkable custom peculiar to themselves, and not to be met with, as far as we know, in the practice of any other nation. We mean a sort of *community of wives*, which according to *Cæsar*, was after this manner. Ten or twelve of them, especially brethren with each other, and parents with their children, had wives together in common; yet so, as that, when a woman brought forth, the child was accounted his only, who first married her. *Dio* and *Eusebius* tell much the same story; and so strange it appeared to the Romans, that *Julia Domna*, *Severus’s* Empress, reproached a British lady with it, as a way of living infamous in the women, and barbarous in the men. The lady having observed what passed at court, briskly reply’d: *We do that publicly with the best of our men, which you do privately with the worst of yours.* *Selden* mentions another odd custom, with which we will conclude this article about matrimony. Upon the death of any great man, his friends made diligent enquiry concerning it. If any of the friends of his wife were found accessory to it, they proceeded against them with fire and other torments. To this custom it is, that *Coke* refers the original of our English law, that orders a woman who has killed her husband to be burned.” *Magna Brit.* p. 13.

(f) *Ossian*, vol. 1. p. 115.

(g) *Cæsar*, p. 89.

(h) Genesis, xiv. 23, &c. &c.



composed. (a) Trowfers were equally worn by the Danmonians and the Persians. The vesture of the Druids seems to correspond with that of the priests of Iran, or the present Sufi of India, who are clad in woollen garments or mantles. (b) The Danmonian soldiers appeared naked in battle: They painted, also, their bodies for the fight, and wore a ring round their middles. (c)

I shall make one observation only on this topic—which is—that we are too apt to draw our notions of the dress of the Britons from Cæsar. But Cæsar's is a very superficial notice of the Britons, in this particular: It is an outline so faint, as to be scarce discernable. Cæsar could not possibly have been so well acquainted with the Britons as Strabo, and other Greek writers, who derived the most authentic information from their countrymen, the Greek merchants and settlers on the coasts of Danmonium. Britain, or rather Danmonium, was known to the Greeks, long before the invasion of Cæsar. Strabo has more particularly described the Cassiterides, or Devonshire and Cornwall and the Scilly-isles—a part of Britain, of which Cæsar was ignorant.

Of their *domestic* accommodation, we may have conceived some idea, from the houses of the Danmonians already described. (d) The seats of our chiefs (like those of the Highlanders) were surrounded with hills and hanging woods, and thus sheltered from the inclemency of the weather. Near them generally ran a large stream, abounding with fish. The woods were stocked with wild-fowl; and the downs and mountains behind them were the natural seat of the red deer. Nor were the sides of the hills or the vallies unproductive in corn or herbage. In his great hall sat (e) the British chief, with his children and guests around him, listening to the song and the harp of his bards or daughters, and drinking from cups of shell. (f) The hearth of the Britons seems to have been fixed in the centre of their great halls—as in some parts of Scotland to this day. That the Britons were acquainted with *coal*, is evident, among other proofs, from its British appellation, which subsists among the Irish in their *Gual*, and among the Cornish in their *Kolan* to this day. And peat, the most inflammable of all fuel, was certainly in use among the Danmonii. The venison of the Britons was thus prepared. It was laid upon a bed of flaming fern, and covered with a layer of smooth flat stones, and another of fern above it. (g) The same mode of cookery was practised in Ireland, and is still in some measure

(a) See Sammes, p. 117, 118.

(b) We are told, that the Britons suffered their beards to grow to a considerable length, but confined (as among the Irish) to the upper lip. The Druids had, doubtless, venerable beards.

(c) Even so late as the battle of Killcranky, the Highlanders threw off their plaids and short coats, and fought in their shirts.

(d) "Their cottages were very small, and thatched with straw. What then? So are they still in several places of Britain. But can we thence conclude with a late learned writer, that *Cæsar*, at his landing, found not so much as one stone upon another. The direct contrary to this assertion seems to be prebable from some passages in *Cæsar* himself, who gives us an account of large cities and long sieges. We think it past doubt, that some of these cities, at least the walls of them, were of stone. Why should Britain therefore, which exceeded Gaul in almost all other respects, be thought to come so very short of it in this? It cannot easily be imagined that all the cities in Gaul, mentioned by *Cæsar*, were built by the Romans. We will therefore, at present, suppose these anciently were upon the coasts of Britain some good towns, to which strangers had recourse to buy and sell, and exchange wares with those of the island." Mag. Brit. p. 13.

(e) Their manner of sitting at meat, not on seats or benches, but upon the ground, was evidently oriental. "When they sat at meat, it was not upon seats or benches, but upon the ground; whereon, instead of carpets, they spread the skins of wolves, or dogs. The guests all of them sat round about, and the food was placed before them, and every one took his part; they were waited upon by the younger people of both sexes. Such as had not skins were content with a little hay or straw, which was laid under them." Strutt. vol. 1, p. 288.

(f) Ossian, vol. 1. p. 72, 240, 16, and 27, and Pegge's Coins of Cunobeline, 4—1 and 3. The custom of pledging each other amidst their cups, and the order observed in drinking, were similar in Danmonium and Arabia. In the "Arabian Nights," "Amine filled out wine, and drank first herself, according to the custom of the Arabians, then she filled it to her guests." (1)

(g) See Ossian, vol. 1. p. 15.

(1) See Arabian Nights, vol. 1. p. 134. This is the present mode of drinking in Devonshire, among the lower orders of the people.



measure retained by the present Highlanders in their hunting parties. (a) Of our indigenous birds, for the provision of the Danmonian tables, the *cheneras* (probably the *goosander*) was esteemed a dainty: As such the Romans prized it. Mr. Whitaker thinks, that the domestic pigeon was introduced into Britain by the Romans. But, I conceive, it was prior to the Romans, for the very reason he has given in support of his idea. (b) The cock of the wood was known in the forest of Dartmoor; but, as our woods diminished, it retreated from the south-west, and gradually from South Britain, into the Highlands of Scotland, and into Ireland—where it is now rare, and, probably, will be soon extinct. (c) In their abstinence from particular meats, the Danmonians certainly resembled the Hebrews and many of the eastern nations. It does not appear, that the Romans or any other European people, had ever any exception of this sort to certain animals. The hare, as Cæsar and other authors inform us, was one animal from which the Britons (d) abstained: And the hare was prohibited to the Hebrews. (e) The Romans, in the mean time, esteemed the hare a great delicacy; and, in this island, secured the luxury to themselves. The eating of geese and of hens was, also, prohibited by the Druids; since these birds were consecrated to religion. (f) Even now the common people, both in Devonshire and Cornwall (but particularly in this county) have an aversion to the hare, and to most kinds of poultry—which they reject under the general appellation of *hollow fowl*. The abstinence of the Danmonians from fish, must have originated in the same principle of religion; since the very rivers and the sea were deified. The scaly inhabitants, therefore, of the rivers and the sea, would naturally be considered as the little naids of both, and as sharing a part of their divinity. In the interior parts of the Highlands, the fish of their brooks and lakes are seldom eaten by the natives, to this day. (g) These prohibitions, with respect to meats, have been often mentioned: But the abstinence of the British sailors, recorded by Solinus, seems to have been overlooked. *Quantocunque tempore cursus tenebant, ut auctor est Solinus, navigantes, escis abstinent.* (h) This reminds me

(a) As to the diet of the Highlanders, there is one very remarkable particular, that occurs in Birt's Letters, (vol. 2. p. 121.) In the interior parts of the Highlands, it seems, the lower ranks of people subsist on a little oatmeal, milk, and blood drawn from their living cattle. The Abyssinians, then, are not singular in drawing blood from their living cattle! The Cornish (and the Devonians in some parts of Devon) bake the blood of animals.

(b) "The domestic pigeon was once equally a stranger to Asia and Britain, and bespeaks its introduction into the latter, by the name of *klommen*, which it bears in the Welsh; of *kylobman* and *kolom* in the Cornish, and *kulm* or *kelm* in the Irish and Armorick." Thus Mr. Whitaker. But *columba* was derived from the British words.

(c) Our original island birds (according to Mr. Whitaker) were the duck, teal, widgeon, swan, crane, stork, bustard, (1) capercalze, cock of the wood, woodcock, quail, snipe, (2) heathcock, lark, flockdove.—Several of these are extinct in the island, and others not existing in Devonshire.

(d) The Danmonians kept hares about the courts of their chiefs.

(e) "They looked upon it as a crime to eat either hare, hen or goose, which however, Cæsar assures us, they kept for their pleasure. Nay Pliny affirms, that the *chenerotes*, which are of the same species with geese, were looked upon as the choicest meat in Britain. They were very sparing in their diet, according to Diodorus, which both he and Cæsar affirm to have been usually either venison, or fruits or milk. Strabo says, they knew not how to make cheese; but that cannot be altogether true, for it will not easily be allowed that all of them, especially those that dealt with the *Phœnicians*, were ignorant of so common a piece of skill. Dion assures us they tilled no ground: But he too must be understood with restriction; for Pliny assures us, they manur'd their ground with manure instead of dung, which argues no such ignorance in husbandry as Strabo and Dion charge upon them. Their drink was usually made of barley, as Solinus hath informed us. We shall only farther observe, that this distinction of meats, their making some lawful, others unlawful, in Mr. Selden's opinion, relish'd somewhat of the *Jews*, and was rarely practis'd by any but eastern nations, such as *Phœnicia*, *Egypt*, *Syria*, &c. who had conversed with the *Jews*. So Dion tells us, the ancient Britains symbolized with the *Syrians* in refusing to eat fish." Magn. Brit. p. 12.

(f) The Danmonians had their domestic cock; though not for the purpose of food. See Richard, p. 5.—and Sammes, p. 109.

(g) Birt's Letters, vol. 2, p. 121.

(h) Ricard, p. 5.

(1) The capercalze was common to all the island; but from its feeding on the tender tops of fir-branches, and loving high and solitary mountains and woods, it has now for ages been peculiar to the Highlands.

(2) "The heathcock's head is beneath his wing. The hind sleeps with the hart of the desert. They shall rise with morning's light, and feed by the mossy stream—but my tears return with the sun. My sighs come on with the night!"—Ossian, vol. 1, p. 378.

me of the abstinence of the sailors noticed in St. Paul's voyage to Rome. (a) The providing (b) of bread for every family among the Danmonians, was the province of the women: And the bread was *baked upon stones*, (c) which the Welsh denominate *Gredidiols*, and we *Gredles*. In the same manner, we find in scripture mention of bread baked among the ashes. Sarah made cakes upon the hearth, when the three men came to see Abraham. (d) This custom is retained by the Arabs. Dr. Leonhart Ranwolffs informs us, that "in the tent where he was entertained, the Arabs made a paste of flour and water, and wrought it into broad cakes, about the thickness of a finger, and put them in a hot place on the ground, heated on purpose by fire, and covered it with ashes and coals, and turned it several times until it was enough. Some of the Arabians have in their tents (says he) stones or copper-plates made on purpose to bake their bread." The (e) luxury of cheeses is said to have been unknown to the Danmonians. But the Danmonians made curds and butter of their milk from the earliest times—*densantes in acorem jucundum et pingue butyrum*, says Pliny. (f) And, indeed, the art of making curds and butter was not a European art: The Romans, we shall see, were ignorant of it. As Pliny describes the *Danmonians*, so Herodotus (g) describes the *Scythians* as famous for their curds and butter: And it is remarkable, that the *four-curd* (or the *acor jucundus*) is familiar only at the present day, to the *Tartars* and the *Cornish* and a few of the *Devonians*. (h) Water, milk, or metheglin, were the common liquors of the Danmonians. But on festal days, their drink was *curmi*, (i) the *curw* of the Welsh, and the *ale* of the English. This liquor was made in Egypt immediately after the dispersion, as a substitute for the juice of the grape, to which that country was unfavourable. And, the Aborigines of Danmonium, finding the same defect in this country, supplied it in the same manner. There are some, indeed, of opinion, that the Danmonians planted vineyards and orchards in very early times; and that they used, as their principal liquors, the fermented juice both of the grape and of the apple: But, though perhaps the vallies of Danmonium were sufficiently funny for the grape, yet our climate must have been always too variable for the regular produce of it. Cyder, possibly, was drank by the first Danmonians; since the orchards of Devonshire were very ancient. (k) The Danmonians, whatever might have been their usual liquors, seem to have possessed the secret of quenching their thirst in a very singular manner: But the ingredients of the composition to which I allude, we should vainly attempt to discover. (l) The Arabs use gums for this purpose, in their passage over their sultry deserts. And this expedient of the Danmonians to quench thirst, seems to have originated amidst the burning sands of the waste, where they might look around them with wishful eyes, for refreshment from the fountain stream:

(a) Acts, c. 27, v. 33.

(b) The Britons were well acquainted with the use of *hand-mills* before their submission to the Romans; and these mills were distinguished by the name of *querns*, *carues* or stones. Whitaker.

(c) Is the custom of *baking bread* upon the hearth, under a *kettle*, known any where but in Devon and Cornwall? Is not this a relic of the ancient mode of baking?

(d) Genesis, c. 18.

(e) The crook was probably of very ancient date in Devonshire. It consists of two long poles, generally, I believe, ashen, which, affixed to a pack-saddle, and branching off on each side to some distance, are then bent upwards; so that by means of the curvature, they become (when slung on the backs of horses) the receptacle of various articles in husbndry, longitudinally placed on them. Thus bundles of hay and faggots, or sheaves of corn, are heaped up, within the curvature, to a considerable height. For corn-carrying, these crooks are particularly convenient. They are very common in this county, but occur no where besides in England. But what inclines me to think them of great antiquity, is, that they are still to be seen in the Highlands of Scotland: And the Highland crooks are constructed in the same manner as the Devonian.

(f) lib. xi. c. 41.

(g) lib. iv.

(h) The use of butter was certainly *aboriginal* in this island: The Romans were unacquainted with it. See Musgrave's *Antiqu. Brit. Belg.* vol. 1. p. 47, 48.

(i) The South-Britons had long used the spume which arose on the surface of their *curmi* in fermentation, for rendering their bread light. This the Welsh and the Cornish denominate *burm*, evidently derived from *curmi*. And the common people of Devon call yeast by the name of *barm* to this day. See Sammes, p. 108, 109.

(k) See Wolridge's *Vinetum Britannicum*, p. 18. (Lond. edit. 1676.)

(l) "But I cannot imagine, what meat that should be which *Dio* saies they preserved on all occasions, whereof, if they eat but the quantity of a bean, it satisfied their hunger and thirst." Sammes, p. 110.



stream: It is an expedient, which by no means accorded with the situation of the western Britons, amidst innumerable springs and rivers. (a)

For their accommodation by night, the Danmonians had a dormitory common to the whole family, both males and females. (b)

If we pursue the Danmonians from their habitations to the field, we shall see them chiefly occupied by manly exercises. Their principal *peru* seem to have been hunting, fowling, the baiting of wild beasts, and wrestling and hurling. Hunting and fowling, at first necessary to the subsistence of our colonists, were afterwards continued as mere diversions. And our woods were sufficiently stocked with bears and (c) boars and wolves, for the chase: The wild bull was, also, roaming at large. (d) Nor was the red deer less frequent; whilst the fesh, now lost in Britain and in Europe, but subsisting in the moose of America, was often hunted in the forests of Devonshire. (e) The dogs which the Britons employed in the chase, are well described by Mr. Whitaker. According to this gentleman, there were five original British dogs; the great household dog, the greyhound, the bull dog, the terrier, and the large slow hound. The last mentioned breed is, at present, almost peculiar to Manchester. But near the close of the last century it was frequent in the south-west. It is called at Manchester the southern hound. This hound, large and slow as it is, was once considerably larger and slower. The boar, the wolf, and the stag, were all too fleet for its motions. Its genuine object, therefore, must have been some animal as heavy and slow as itself. And that could have been only the British fesh or moose. When, therefore, the fesh inhabited the forests of Devon, the fesh-dog employed in the pursuit of this enormous animal, was the favorite companion of the Danmonian hunter. (f)

Of the birds that furnished amusement to the Danmonian sportsman, perhaps the eagle was not unfrequently pursued from height to height. Whilst our woods were deep and extensive enough to afford covert to the eagle, this bird was, undoubtedly, an inhabitant of Devonshire and Cornwall. It hath left its name, indeed, in *Killegrew*, the *grove of eagles*: Whence we may presume, that it was once an inmate of the place. The eagle was shot, I suppose, with arrows. But the Danmonians were principally fond of hawking or falconry. Every British chieftain maintained a number of birds for the sport. Orian mentions "a hundred hawks with fluttering wing, that fly across the sky." There is a curious passage in Pliny, where this diversion is described. "*In Thracie parte super amphipolim, homines acque accipitres sociate quadam aucupantur: hi ex silvis et barandinis excitant aves: illi, superstantes, deprimunt; rursus captas aucupes devolvunt cum his. Traduntur est, missis in sublimi soci excipere ere; et, cum tempus sit capturae, clangore et volatus genere invitare ad occisionem.*" (g) The Thracians and the

(a) Whether any of these springs or rivers were converted by the Aborigines, to the purposes of bathing, or not, is a question which I have examined in the next chapter; where the Roman baths, so famous in this island, cannot be left unnoticed.

(b) See Genesis, c. xlix. and Bede, l. 3. c. 27. and Giraldus, p. 388. for the common Welch having their beds upon the ground, and for the Welch and Highlanders lying all in one apartment.

(c) The boar remained in our woods, several centuries after the wolf.

(d) Our woods bred a number of wild bulls. The wild bulls and cows were all milk white; all furnished with thick hanging manes like lions, and almost as savage as they. Boetii Scot. Reg. Desc. fol. 6. and Ledzi Hist. p. 18.—The bulls of Aegias, in the 25th Idyllium of Theocritus, answer very well to this description:

— three hundred white-legg'd bulls were fed,  
(Curl'd their smooth horns) two hundred glossy-red;  
While, silver as the swan, in gambels run  
Twelve, chief of all, and sacred to the sun!  
These, in the flowery pastures kept apart,  
Ruin on the mountain beasts that frequent, dart  
From their deep thickets on the herd below;  
Bellowing glance death, and goce the shaggy foe!

(e) Branching horns of a most enormous size, have been found in Devonshire (and other parts of England, and in Ireland, also) the relics of this enormous race of deer. See *Nat. Hist. of Devonport*.

(f) See Hist. of Manchester, vol. 2. p. 72. Shakspeare's description of the southern hound, must readily occur to my readers.

(g) Pliny, l. x. c. 8.



the Britons, according to Mr. Whitaker's account, *were the only followers of the sports*. Among the former, it was pursued merely in a particular district of the country: But, with the latter, it seems to have been universal among the barons. (a) And hawking remained the favorite recreation of our gentlemen for many ages. It exists, at present, only in the Highlands. In the mean time, the Gauls, from whom Mr. Whitaker deduces our origin, knew nothing of hawking: They had, probably, never heard of it. Nor was it a sport of the European nations. The Asiatics, however, from whom I have deduced our origin, were universally fond of this diversion. In Pilpay, and other eastern writers, hawking is often described. "It happened (says Pilpay) one day, that Humaiun Fal went out a hunting. The towering hawk, like the arrow discharged from the bow of the archer, directs his flight to the height of heaven. And the falcon, bountiful to the hungry, with bloody talons tears the veins from the throats of the birds." (b) The Arabians, to this day, hunt the rock-goat with the falcon. (c) Falconry, then, of which the Europeans, in general, had no idea, was familiar to the Asiatics: And it was the favorite amusement of the Danmonians. That, "it was imported, therefore, into this country from the east," is a necessary conclusion. And, granting this, who dares pronounce our theory improbable? "An eastern colonization, independent of Europe," seems forcibly prest upon us, from every quarter. And, for the present topic, I cannot but remark, that our love of hawking, notwithstanding the inconveniencies of innumerable hills and vallies ill adapted for the sport, strongly speaks our descent from the eastern nations, whose fine campaign countries may be ranged by the falconer without interruption and with little danger. Among the sports of Danmonium, I have mentioned the baitings of wild animals—a diversion that well accords with the temper of a people just emerged from barbarism: And the amphitheatres of Danmonium, seem to have been occasionally used for this purpose. But wrestling and hurling were the sports, that more peculiarly characterized the Danmonians. "Among the general customs (says (d) Borlase) we must not forget the manly exercises of wrestling and hurling; the former more generally practised in this county than in any part of England, the latter peculiar to it.

(a) In the establishment of the British court, we see the *head of the FALCONERS* ranked among the great officers of state. Howel Dha. l. i. c. i. and Florence of Worcester, p. 623, Frankfort edit.—At this day, the Dukes of St. Alban's and Aunciter, are hereditary Chamberlain and Falconer to the King of England.

(b) See the introductory chapter to the *Ancient e Soheili*, or Fables of Pilpay—translated from the Persian by R. Llewellyn. And see *Pilpay's Fables*, 4th edit. London printed for J. Rivington, 1766, p. 32, 152, 153, 154.

(c) See Dr. Hasselquist's travels.

(d) Nat. Hist. p. 299, 300. *Carew* is more minute in his description of these manly exercises. See *period of Henry the 8th*, where I have adverted to Carew's description. In his remarks on the story of Corineus, we perceive his notion of the Danmonian wrestling. "I am not ignorant (says Carew) how sorely the whole storie of *Brute*, is shaken by some of our late writers, and how stiffly supported by other some: as also that this *WRESTLING PULL* between *Corineus* and *Gegmagog*, is reported to have befallen at Dover. For mine owne part, though I reverence antiquitie, and reckon it a kind of wrong, to exact an ever-strict reason for all that which upon credite shce delivereth; yet I rather incline to their side, who would warrant her authentic by apparent veritie. Notwithstanding, in this question, I will not take on me the person of either judge, or stickler: And, therefore, if there bee any plunyed in the common fload, as they will still gripe fast, what they have once caught hold on, let them sport themselves with these conjectures, upon which mine averment in behalf of *Plymouth* is grounded. The place where *Brute* is said to have first landed, was *Tenues in Cornwall*, and therefore this wrestling likely to have chanced there sooner than elsewhere. The province bestowed upon *Corineus* for this exploit, was *Cornwall*. It may then be presumed, that he received in reward the place where hee made proof of his worth, and whose prince (for so with others I take *Gegmagog* to have bene) hee had conquered, even as *Cyrus* recompenced *Zepirus* with the citie *Babylon*, which his policie had recovered. Again, the activitie of Devon and Cornwallmen, in this facultie of wrestling, beyond those of other shires, doth seeme to derive them a speciall pedigree, from their ground wrastler *Corineus*. Moreover, upon the *Haue*, at *Plymouth*, there is cut out in the ground, the pourtrayture of two men, the one bigger, the other lesser, with clubbes in their hands, whom they terme *Gegmagog*: And (as I have learned) it is renewed by order of the townesmen, when cause requireth—which should inferre the same to bee a monument of some moment. And lastly, the place having a steepe cliff adjoyning, affordeth an opportunitie to the fact." Survey of Cornwall, p. 2.

it.(a) The Cornish have been remarkable for their expertness in athletary contentions for many ages, as if they inherited the skill and strength of the first Duke Corinæus, whose fame consists chiefly in the reputation he won by wrestling with, and overcoming the giant Gogmagog—a fable perhaps founded five hundred years since upon the then acknowledged and universal reputation of the people of this county for wrestling. But to leave fables; what should have implanted this custom in such a corner of Britain, and preserved it hitherto in its full vigour, when either never affected at all, or with indifference in other parts of the island, we cannot say: Certain it is the Grecians, who traded hither for tin, and hither only, had the highest esteem for this exercise. The arts of the *Palæstra* were chiefly cultivated by the Lacedæmonians: And yet Plato himself among the Athenians was so far from disapproving the exercise, that he recommends it to the practice of old as well as young women, and thinks it proper for them oftentimes to wrestle with men, that thereby they might become more patient of labor, and learn to struggle with the difficulties incident to a warlike state. The ardor for this exercise so prevailed at last, that all Greece devoted their time and inclinations to the *Gymnasia* and *Palæstra*, and chose rather to be accounted the most expert wrestlers, than to be celebrated as the most knowing and valiant commanders.(b) Whether the Cornish borrowed this custom from the Grecians, or whatever else was the cause, you shall hardly any where meet with a party of boys who will not readily entertain you with a specimen of their skill in this profession. Hurling is a trial of skill and activity between two parties of twenty, forty, or any intermediate number; sometimes betwixt two or more parishes, but more usually, and indeed practised in a more friendly manner, betwixt those of the same parish; for the better understanding which distinction, it must be premised, that betwixt those of the same parish there is a natural connexion supposed, from which (*ceteris paribus*) no one member can depart without forfeiting all esteem. As this unites the inhabitants of a parish, each parish looks upon itself as obliged to contend for its own fame, and oppose the pretensions, and superiority of its neighbours. It is so termed from throwing or *hurling* a ball, which is a round piece of timber, (about three inches diameter) covered with plated silver, sometimes gilt. It has usually a motto in the Cornish tongue alluding to the pastime, as *Guare wheag, yw Guare teag*, that is, *fair play is good play*. Upon catching this ball dexterously when it is *dealt*, and carrying it off expeditiously, notwithstanding all the opposition of the adverse party, success depends. This exercise requires force and nimbleness of hand, a quick eye, swiftness of foot, skill in wrestling, strength and breath to preserve in running, address to deceive and evade the enemy, and judgment to deliver the ball into proper hands, as occasion shall offer: in short, a pastime that kindles emulation in the youngest breast, and like this requires so general an exertion of all the faculties of the body, cannot but be of great use to supple, strengthen, and particularly tend to prepare it for all the exercises of the camp."

From those vigorous exercises of the Danmonians, the transition is easy to their more serious contests on the field of battle; where we may cursorily survey their warlike apparatus. The Danmonian foot are represented as remarkably swift; and never encumbered with armour, from which they could not easily disengage themselves. (c) The Danmonian chief was accustomed to communicate his instructions to his soldiers, by the striking of a spear against his shield. Cathmor's shield had seven principal bosses, the sound of each of which, when struck with a spear, conveyed a particular order from the king to his tribes. "He struck that *warning boss*, wherein dwelt the voice of war." On their cavalry the Danmonians prided themselves: And the Britons, in general, were famous for their skill in horsemanship. Julius Cæsar found the Britons plentifully provided with horses: And these horses were so well disciplined as to excite both the terror and the admiration

(a) Borlase, speaking in this manner of Cornwall, means Danmonium, or *Devonshire* and Cornwall. The old topographers generally include the both counties under the appellation of Cornwall. With respect to *wrestling* and *hurling*, they were, undoubtedly, as common in former times, on the east as on the west side of the Tamar.

(b) Alex. ab Alexandro, lib. ii. vol. 1. page 494.

(c) "The Britains were very swift, neither did they encumber themselves with any armour, which they could not at pleasure sling away. They had a shield and a short spear, in the nether part whereof hung a bell, by the shaking of which they thought to affright and amaze their enemies. They used daggers also, and girded their swords to their sides by an iron chain." Mag. Brit. p. 14.



admiration of the Romans. The necks of the Danmonian garrons were frequently ornamented with collars, and their manes decorated with strings of British pearls. (a) Several of the eastern nations were fond of displaying the spirit of their high-mettled steeds: And the dexterous management of the horse, seems to have characterized, in an equal degree, both Persia and Danmonium. Of the war-chariot, I have already given a description: We have here to consider chiefly the Danmonian mode of fighting from the war-chariot. The British chariots had their wheels frequently furnished with scythes; were always drawn by two horses, and carried sometimes two persons, the driver and the warrior, and sometimes only one. And the British manner of fighting (as we have seen) was totally different from that of the continent; and so new to the Romans, as to terrify Cæsar's army, and occasion his defeat. Herodotus tells us, that in the army of Ninus, there were two hundred thousand horses, and of *scythed chariots* above ten thousand. So that the scythed chariots of war were used in the first ages after the flood: And they were introduced into Danmonium by our first Asiatic colonies. (b)

And the *Phenicians* must have been acquainted with the chariot of war, before they discovered our island. "The combined nations that came and pitched together at the waters of Merom, to fight against Israel, were even as the *sand that is upon the sea-shore in multitude, with horses and chariots.*" "Now Joshua was old and stricken in years; and the Lord said unto him: There remaineth yet very much land to be possessed—from the south all the land of the *Canaanites*—and all the *Sidonians*—them will I drive out from before the children of Israel. And the children of Israel said: The hill is not enough for us: And all the *Canaanites* that dwell in the land of the valley, have *CHARIOTS OF IRON*; both they who are of Bethshean and her towns, and they who are of the valley of Jezreel. And Joshua spake unto the children of Israel: The mountain shall be thine; and the outgoings of it shall be thine: For thou shalt drive out the *Canaanites*, though they have *IRON CHARIOTS*; and though they be *strong*. And the children of Judah went down to fight against the *Canaanites* (after the death of Joshua) that were in the mountain, and in the south, and in the valley. And the Lord was with Judah; and he drove out the inhabitants of the mountain, but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had *chariots of iron.*" Such were the multitudes of war-chariots in the hosts of the *Canaanites* and the *Sidonians*: And to the descendants of these people the same kind of vehicles must have been familiar, when they reached the shores of Danmonium. (c) That the Greeks used the war-chariot, very anciently, is plain from Diodorus; who tells us, that the Britons lived after the manner of the *old world*; and that they used *chariots* in fight, like the *ancient Greeks* at the *Trojan war.* (d)

With

(a) Borlase's Coins, No. 12, 19, 20, and 22. and Offian, vol. 1. p. 11.

(b) Of the island of Panchaia, lying off the coast of Arabia, Diodorus calls the inhabitants *ἀνδροχθονες*, and notices their war-chariot, also, similar to that of the Danmonians. *Εἶναι δὲ τὰς ἀνδρας πολεμικους, και αεμασι χρησηθαι καλιντας μαχίας αεχαιικως.* Diod. *West.* tom. 1. p. 367.

(c) The vast number of these *chariots* in the armies both of the *Canaanites* and Britons, is a striking circumstance. "Sisera gathered together all his chariots—even nine hundred chariots of iron." And the war-chariots of Cassibelanus amount to four thousand. "The *British* chariot brings into our thoughts the horses and chariots of *Egypt*, mentioned in earliest days. The *Tyrian Hercules*, who, I suppose, might bring the first oriental colony hither, was a king in *Egypt*. In scripture, when *Joseph* was prime minister there, we find chariots frequently mentioned, both for civil and military uses. In *Joshua's* time, the *Canaanites*, *Repbaim* or giants, and *Perizzites* had them: So the *Philistines*. Our ancestors, the *Britons*, coming both from *Egypt* and *Canaan*, brought hither the use of chariots: And they remained, in a manner, singular and proper to our island, to the time that the Romans peopled it. And it was fashionable for the *Romans at Rome*, in the height of their luxury, to have *British* chariots, as we now *Berlins*, *Landaus*, and the like.

*Effeda cælatiis fiste Britanne, jugis.*"

*Collinson's Beauties of British Antiqu.* p. 28, 29.

(d) *Richard* thus describes the British mode of fighting: "Genus hoc erat ex effedis pugnae, ut Cæsar in IV. narrat. primo per omnes partes perequitant, & tela conjiciunt, ac ipso terrore eorum, & strepitu rotarum, ordines plerumque perturbant: & quum se inter equitum turmas insinuavere, ex effedis desiliunt & pedibus dispari prælio contendunt. Aurigæ interim paululum è prælio excedunt, atque ita se collocant, ut, si illi à multitudine hostium premantur, expeditum ad suos receptum habeant. Ita mobilitatem equitum, stabilitatem peditum in præliis præstant; ac tantum usu quotidiano,



With respect to our *Belgic* colonists, if they really used the military car, they clearly borrowed it from the Aborigines. "The celt and the *military chariot*, says Mr. Whitaker, were introduced into the island with the first inhabitants of it. At the arrival of Cæsar, the use of the chariot was *universal in Britain*, and formed one of the discriminating marks in the national character of the natives." "At the arrival of Cæsar, also (Mr. Whitaker confesses) a *few Gaulish tribes only* used the military car." This is a curious point; which is worth examining for a few moments. From Mr. Whitaker's statement of the case, then, which is exactly agreeable to the truth of history, are we to conclude that the celt and the car were derived from the Gauls to the Britons, or from the Britons to the Gauls? Mr. Whitaker asserts the first; intimating, "that the use of them in Gaul was *gradually worn out*." (a) But, if the celt and the car had been originally used by all the inhabitants of Gaul, why should they have almost disappeared on the continent, in Cæsar's time, and have remained common in this country? The celt was frequent long after Cæsar, in Danmonium, in Scotland, and in Ireland: And I need not remind my readers of Cuthullin's car. Mr. Whitaker brings the first colony from Gaul into Britain, about one thousand years before Cæsar. At this juncture, the continental Gauls must have used the war-chariot universally: Otherwise, Mr. Whitaker's colony, the island Gauls, who are supposed to have emigrated from different parts of the continent, could not have been all alike acquainted with the car, and have introduced it where-ever they settled, whether in Danmonium, or Ireland or the Highlands. Notwithstanding, however, this universality of the car in Gaul, this vehicle was almost unknown there, after the lapse of a thousand years. But, at the end of the same period, it was as common in Britain as at first. How can we satisfactorily account for this great difference? Surely the car was introduced from this island into Gaul: (b) and not long before the time of Cæsar. The following observations, I think, may form a clue, to guide us through the intricacies of the question. Where *declining* customs have prevailed *universally*, the remains of them will as *universally* appear. We shall detect them in various places and situations. Wherever we go, their evanescent colors will momentarily catch the eye: And these colors will be *scattered and feeble*. This is the case with every declining custom that has once been general. But, where customs or fashions are *just beginning* to be imitated by one people from another, the imitators, betrayed into extravagance by their fondness for novelties, instead of faintly copying the original, represent it strongly, though not perhaps justly. If this idea may be illustrated by a familiar example, I should instance the conduct of a little country town—which invariably exhibits a new fashion just introduced from the metropolis, in all the glare of tawdriness of which it is capable; and rather than suffer it to fall short of its fancied splendor, caricatures it in colors the most ridiculous. Let us apply these observations to the point of the military car. If the Gauls, as Mr. Whitaker supposes, at first "used the war-chariot *universally*," and if the "use of this vehicle were *beginning to wear out*," we should, doubtless, find, where-ever the usage existed, the *relics of it scattered and faint*. But, if the chariot were *just introduced into Gaul*, we should discover it among a *few tribes*, who had recently imported it from our island, and we should detect it, perhaps, on the continent in *situations absolutely new*, whilst other uses would be superadded to its original design.

Now,

diano, & exercitatione efficiunt, ut in declivi, ac præcipiti loco incitato equos sustinere, & brevi moderari, ac sistere, & per remonem percurrere, & in jugo insistere, & inde se in currus citissime recipere consueverint. Equestris autem prælii ratio, & cedentibus & insequentibus par atque idem periculum inferebat. accedebat huc, ut nunquam conferti, sed rari, magnique intervallis præliarentur, stationesque dispositas haberent, atque alios alii deinceps exciperent, integreque & recentes defatigatis succederent. utebantur & telis." p. 6, 7. This contains the substance of the descriptions to which we are commonly referred in Cæsar, and Tacitus and Mela. The description of Cuthullin's car has been already quoted from Macpherson's Ossian. In a poem, entitled "Ossian departing to his fathers," an allusion to it is thus introduced:

I saw Cuthullin's car, the flame of death,  
As Swaran darken'd, like a roaring flood:  
I saw his high-maned courfers spurn the heath,  
Snort o'er the slain, and bathe their hoofs in blood.

See "Poems by Gentlemen of Devon and Cornwall," vol. 1. p. 150.

(a) Thus, also, he states the case of the British religion. Yet the Gauls repaired to this island, when the stream of their religion failed, as to the fountain-head, whence it sprung.

(b) It was probably introduced, soon after the opening of our trade with the continent.

Now, we find, from several ancient writers, that a few *Gaulish tribes only*, used the car. It was not casually observed, here and there, in different and distant parts of Gaul: The use of it was not scattered or promiscuous; but a *few tribes* of Gaul used the war-chariot, in contradistinction to the other numerous tribes, who did not use it at all. Neither Cæsar nor his soldiers, though they had traversed a very large part of Gaul, had ever seen in Gaul a military car. They were startled at the appearance of the British car. If they had seen one car only in Gaul, they could not have been struck with terror or astonishment at the reappearance of the same kind of vehicle, in Britain. As to the few Gaulish tribes who used the car, let me add another circumstance, which coincides most happily with the general position: "those tribes (we are told) used the car *equally for the journey and the fight*." They were not content with the original use of this car. The Britons, from whom they had borrowed it, still appropriated it to military purposes. But this was not enough for the imitators. Captivated by its novelty, they applied it to other purposes: They used it, in peace as well as in war—on the road, as travellers, as well as in the field, as soldiers. (a) These are facts; to the truth of which Mr. Whitaker assents. Have we not here, then, a decisive proof that the use of the car in Gaul, was a fashion just imported? If it had ever been universal, and was now beginning to be dropt, is there not reason to wonder, that those tribes, who are supposed to retain the custom, should retain it with an obstinacy so strong, the very moment when their countrymen had totally abandoned it? In what manner shall we account for this strange—this singular contrast? State it as a new fashion—and all difficulties will be done away—all doubts will instantly vanish: It was looked on, as an innovation by the Gaulish tribes in general: It was regarded as yet, with a jealous eye. But state it as an antiquated custom; and I again ask, is there a circumstance in the whole volume of history, more extraordinary—is there any thing in fable more incredible, than that the *greater part* of the Gauls, should have *lost* every vestige, even the *faintest trace*, of a usage transmitted immemorially, from age to age; whilst the *remaining part* should have grasped it, with a tenaciousness so persevering? Can we believe, that mouldered as it was all around them into atoms, those few tribes could have displayed it fresh and vigorous?—But, enough: abruptness is better than tediousness.

The last particular which I shall notice, is the mode of burying the dead, or the rites of sepulture in Danmonium. The primitive mode of burial was that of consigning the body entire to the ground. In this manner were the heroes of Ossian buried. But, to reduce the body to ashes, and then inter it, seems to have been, very soon, the practice in Danmonium. Under both forms, the body was either deposited in a cavity, or laid upon the surface of the ground; when a barrow was constructed over it. The ashes, however, of burnt bodies, and the bones in particular, were usually collected and put into urns. And, in various parts of Devonshire, both the barrow and the urn still detain for a moment the curious eye. It was usual to bury with the body what the deceased in his life-time most regarded. Hence their bow and their sword, the horn of their hunting, and a bos of their shield, are so often laid with the warriors of Ossian, "in the dark and narrow house of the grave." And the broken remains of swords, some half-melted by the funeral fire, have frequently been found in the barrows of the British warriors, in Danmonium. The celt, also, which (b) was an aboriginal instrument, introduced from the east, hath been often discovered in the sepulchres of the Britons. In the sacred writings, there is a striking passage, which proves that this custom was oriental. Ezekiel, prophetically exulting over the fallen armies of the Persians and other neighbouring nations, cries out: "They shall not lie with the mighty, that are fallen of the uncircumcised, which are gone down to hell with their weapons of war; and they have laid their swords under their heads!" It may be worthy of remark, that so early as the British period, a suicide was buried at the intersection of two highways: And the passengers threw stones upon his grave, till they had raised a considerable heap over it. Thus Hector wishes Paris to have a cairn over him; or to be clad in a coat of stone---(c) *Λαίον εἶσοο χίλαρα*. A proverbial sort of curse, to the same purpose, prevails at this day in Ireland and

(a) See Strabo, p. 306. Frontinus's Stratagem. l. i. c. 33. and Diodorus, p. 342. *Wesseling*.

(b) Borlase, p. 238 and 239.

(c) *Iliad*, l. 3.



and Wales: (a) And in Scotland, the custom of throwing stones on the corpse of the person who dies suddenly in the field or on the road, is still religiously observed. (b)

Thus have I inspected a few leading traits in the character of the Danmonians, chiefly as illustrated by their manners and customs.

And, on this view, also, it appears, that the aboriginal Danmonians came not from the continent of Europe; since far different manners and customs characterized the other inhabitants of Britain, who emigrated long afterwards from Gaul. We may, therefore, conclude, that the first inhabitants of the Southams, instead of being a colony from Gaul, made their settlements there, independent on the neighbouring continent. From their retaining so lively an impression of the Asiatic fashions and usages, we may also infer, that they advanced hither with the greatest expedition, and, probably, reached this island very soon after the dispersion. For had they migrated by slow degrees, and settled here after the lapse of many ages, they would have brought with them very few of their original manners or customs. (c)

But

(a) Ware, Harris p. 142. and Mona, p. 214.

(b) In the four parishes of Redruth, Gwennap, Kenwyn, and St. Agnes, where the four western hundreds of Cornwall unite in a point, there is a barren heathy spot, called *Kyvoor an Kou*, or *the place of death*. Here all self-murderers, belonging to the adjacent parishes, are deposited. And this has been, from time immemorial, the spot appropriated for suicides. Perhaps there is not so remarkable a place of this kind in any other part of the island.

(c) To this argument, Mr. Whitaker replies, in a letter to the author: "If the Britons came, in the course of progressive migrations, from east to west, from Asia into Europe, and from Gaul into Britain; you think they would have lost the *character* of their original country in the long interval of successive movements: And yet they did not—you apprehend; 'as their *manners and usages* bore a very near resemblance to those of the Asiatics.' I know of no such resemblance. There is only a resemblance that was sure to arise where the origin was common, and that exists between all the nations of the globe, in consequence of their common origin—*Qualem decet esse sororum*. The most striking part of this resemblance between the Asiatics and the Britons, is the use of military cars. Yet the use of them was equally common to the (1) Egyptians and the Britons. And in these arguments from resemblance, we deceive ourselves, I think, by taking general similarities for particular, by considering human characters (if I may so express myself) as national characteristics, and by so proving an origin to be analogically true, which is historically false."

(1) Common, undoubtedly, to the Egyptians and the Britons; a fact that favours my hypothesis. For who were the Egyptians? The following curious analysis will shew us who the Egyptians were. It was found among Badcock's MSS. and it is in the handwriting of Dr. White. It is the very outline, indeed, of the projected Egyptian history, in the composition of which Mr. Badcock had engaged to assist Dr. White. And, to give Mr. B. an idea of the plan, Dr. W. had hastily thrown together the following hints—hints, which discover so perfect an acquaintance with the subject, and which are express with so much perspicuity that I shall hope to be excused the liberty I take in printing them. The language, indeed, of the analysis, is flowing and elegant; nor can I help adding, that it brings to my mind the best part of White's Bampton-lectures. "There is no doubt of the great antiquity of Egypt, as a regular Empire; and every thing conspires to shew that it was the first country of the world, which was improved. It is to be considered, then, as the mother of civilization; as the scene in which the powers of the human mind first began to display themselves, in the foundation of government, the acquisition of knowledge, and the investigation of truth. It is therefore a curious and important enquiry, what are the causes which have given to Egypt this singular distinction, and given it the lead in the history of human improvements. These causes may perhaps be found in the nature of the country itself. However doubtful it may be, where the remnant of the human race settled after the deluge, it seems in general to be admitted, that it was some where in Arabia. Description of the soil and climate of Arabia. Particularly adapted to pasturage. Not so to agriculture; from the want of water. The same want naturally rendered the inhabitants migratory, for the supply of their flocks, &c. In such a situation men could not increase fast. Immense territories were necessary for the subsistence of small herds, and not communities of any extent. From these causes their improvement must have been slow, and their progress short. The knowledge which their late demanded was soon acquired. Their cares were confined to the charge of their flocks: and as their soil and climate offered them no other manner of subsistence, their invention was naturally confined within that narrow sphere. No divisions of rank, or great inequalities of fortune could take place. The science of government therefore, must have remained unknown, and the form of it naturally continued in that patriarchal state, in which it is at first found. Illustration of this from the modern state of the Arabians: the description of their ancestors in the books of Moses, is still applicable to them; and after the lapse of so many ages, they seem to have advanced little from that state of nature, in which we first find them. While men therefore remained in this climate, and under these circumstances, impossible that they should make any material advances in civilization. It is now, also, impossible to trace, what were the causes which led them from Arabia into Egypt—whether war, or conquest, or what is most probable, their natural disposition to migration. Whatever it was, great difference in the nature of the country, from that which they had formerly inhabited.—Description of the soil and climate, &c. of Egypt. Of the Nile, and its phenomena.—This country ill suited to the pastoral state, from the overflowing of the river; but favourable peculiarly to agriculture. Impossible, that they should not perceive the fruitfulness of the soil, and the supply it afforded for the wants of men. Agriculture rendered them stationary; introduced the



But I do not rest my argument on the resemblance of the Aborigines to the eastern nations, in this particular only: Review the whole chapter; and mark the *circumstantial evidence* on which it is founded. That the settlers in this island, were not a colony from Gaul, has been proved, on every view of the subject. And the vulgar theory of the original European plantations, would be abandoned, I think, on all hands, after a candid and liberal investigation of it. To such an investigation I should be happy to excite the learned. From the dubiouness of the common theory, I had a right to form a new hypothesis. And I have imagined a rapid emigration to these islands, for the most part by sea, from Armenia or one of the neighbouring countries. I have not grounded my supposition on the sole authority of the Saxon Chronicle. The Saxon Chronicle is one of its weakest supports. The evidence of Cæsar himself, is strong in my favor: And the voice of the Greek historians and geographers is still more decisive. But the character of the orientals, so strikingly contrasted with that of the Europeans, and yet according with that of the aboriginal Danmonii, seems almost to determine the controversy. The orientals, at the time of their first emigration into different countries, were imprinted with various traits of character; such as we have discovered in their modes of settlement, their civil government, their religion, their commercial communications, their language and learning, their genius and their customs. The wandering spirit and (a) patriarchal policy of Armenia

(a) According to Monsieur D' Ancarville, this mode of government was *Cutbite*. "The Scythians (says he) were a wife and politic people: Having conquered Asia, they imposed a tribute so light, that it was rather an acknowledgment of their conquest, than an impost. Asia was then a fief depending on Scythia: It was the first state governed by this kind of constitution: and here may be discovered the origin of the *feudal system*, brought into Europe, by the descendants of these very Scythians. The law terms, used by the ancient Irish, for *feud*, and every other word appertaining hereto, are Arabic, or Chaldean; but chiefly the first."

idea of property in land; afforded the means of subsistence to an infinitely greater number of men, than the same portion of territory in pasture. The increase of population led to the division of employments, and opened a wide field for invention in the arts. Hence the foundation of cities, the division of ranks (introduced by the inequalities of property) the beginning of commerce, and the great outlines of regular government. While the rest of the inhabitants of the globe, in this early period, were wandering in herds through Arabia, the citizens of Egypt were led by the nature of their soil and climate, to establish themselves in a fixed territory; to cultivate the ground instead of living by their flocks; and in consequence of this difference of situation and employment, were gradually advancing in improvement, in population, in subordination, and in laying the foundations of future greatness. Egypt was therefore naturally the mother country of improvement: because it was the country which first led men to settle; in which agriculture was first practised; in which the number and the diversities of property among men, first called for the establishment of regular government; and in which the extent of population first gave rise to the various arts, which an extensive population requires. The nature of the climate and soil of Egypt, may therefore be considered as the cause of its being the mother of civilization, and of its taking the lead in the history of human improvements. Tho' we can thus, perhaps, with some probability assign the cause of the early civilization of Egypt, yet we are altogether at a loss, when we enquire into the period, when this improvement began. The first ages of the history of this country, covered with impenetrable darkness: and so far from being able to trace the progress of improvement in it, the first credible accounts which are come down to us commence with the period of its greatest refinement: We say, the first credible accounts, because there are not wanting writers, who ascribe to Egypt an antiquity utterly incredible.—Account of the Egyptian claims to antiquity. Insufficiency of these claims demonstrable.—1<sup>o</sup>, from their total want of coincidence with the universal history of mankind; there being no appearance that the earth was inhabited previous to the time assigned by Moses. 2<sup>dy</sup>, From their want of correspondence with our uniform experience of the manner in which population is extended: men being always found to encrease in proportion to the means of subsistence; and to spread themselves in an infinitely smaller space of time than the Egyptian chronology arrogates, round the common centre from which they sprung. If the Egyptian claims therefore were true, the whole earth ought to have been fully peopled, many thousand years before the first æra of history commences. The real history of the population of the earth, on the contrary, accords perfectly well with the period of the deluge, and affords a strong proof, that a more distant æra cannot be true. 3<sup>dy</sup>, From the history of arts, sciences, &c. which upon the Egyptian supposition, ought to have made great progress, and to have been generally diffused among mankind long before we know that they were. 4<sup>thly</sup>, From the progress of the Egyptians themselves in the sciences and arts; which, however great, is no more than might naturally have taken place in the long period that intervenes between the æra of the deluge, and the first certain accounts we have from other nations of their police and institutions. These arguments may be thought sufficiently conclusive against the Egyptian pretensions in particular. It may still however be urged in their favor, that other nations have made the same pretensions: and that therefore there is a general concurrence of opinion, which, as it hath prevailed in different ages and in different countries, may be thought to militate against the Mosiac system. It is therefore necessary to subjoin a brief confutation of these opinions; which may perhaps be classed under these three heads. First, the opinion of those who rest their arguments on ancient records, such as Sanchoniatho, Berosus, the Chinese, and Indians. Secondly, of those who argue from the advanced state of the arts in particular countries, as in Peru. And thirdly, of those who argue from the appearances of nature, as Brydone. The confutation of these pretensions, and particularly of the Egyptian, supplies a proper basis, on which we may establish the truth of the Mosiac history: and in the prosecution of this enquiry, we shall find, that as the former betray evident marks of falshood and imposture, whether we consider their internal or external evidence, so the latter is recommended by every argument, of which the subject is capable. Summary view of the arguments in favor of the Mosiac æra of the creation and of the deluge."

Armenia and Arabia, and the religious peculiarities of Persia and of India, were originally fixed to one spot. And, at the time of their first colonial separation, these characteristic lines were equally discernible in the Armenians, the Arabs, the Persians, and the Indians. At this crisis was kindled the flame of adventurous colonization: At this crisis the orientals emigrated to Danmonium: And, whilst the Armenians and the Arabs were nationally distinguished by one part of the primitive eastern character, and the Persians and Indians by another, the Danmonians seem to have retained the leading features of the whole. (a)

(a) Whilst I was revising the proof of this very sheet, the two following letters were communicated to me. They (1) were addressed to the Editor of the Gentleman's Magazine, in answer to a query which I had proposed, (2) in that excellent miscellany, on the topic of the Armenian emigration. And, I think, they may, with propriety, appear at the close of this chapter, as in some measure a recapitulation of it. The first letter signed T. E. is written in support of the old theory:

SIR,

Exeter, January 9th, 1791.

I trouble you with an answer to R. P's question concerning the signification of that passage of the Saxon Chronicle, which says that the Britons came from Armenia. I shall attempt to prove, in the first place, that it is a mistake in the Chronicle; and secondly, to show whence they really came. Cæsar says, in the 5th book of his war in Gaul, "*Britannicæ pars interior ab iis incolitur, (3) quos natos in insula ipsa, memoria proditum dicunt; maritima pars ab iis qui prædæ ac belli inferendi causa ex Belgis transferant.*" Thus we see that the inhabitants of the maritime parts were descended from the Belgæ. *The natives of the interior country therefore must be meant by the Chronicle.* Now the Armenians were beyond doubt a Gothic or Scythian nation, and consequently *their (4) language must have been widely different from the Belgic, because the latter was Celtic.* We have never heard that *there was at that time more (5) than one tongue used in Britain,* whereas if the inward parts had been peopled from a Gothic, and the maritime from a Celtic nation, there must have been two. Reason will inform us, that people who come from countries far distant one from the other, must have different languages: now as this was not the case with the Britons, who had only one, (6) *we must conclude that they were but one nation.* And that this nation came from Armenia, is hardly credible. If they did migrate from thence, it must have been in very (7) ancient times, when they were at least as (8) *rude and uncivilized as they were in the days of Cæsar; and from the description he gives of them, we can scarcely believe that a people so (9) destitute of almost every art, could have undertaken and performed so very long and hazardous a journey.* This is, I hope, sufficient to prove a mistake in the Saxon Chronicle. Secondly, the place from whence they came, must be Gaul. Now for this we have the authority of both (10) Cæsar and Bede, though they differ about the precise place; the first making them come (11) *from the Belgæ, the latter from the Armorians.* Bede appears to be the more respectable authority, (12) and to have had the greatest opportunities of coming at the truth, whereas we all know, (13) *that Cæsar had little or no acquaintance with the inhabitants of this island.* Now Cæsar, when he mentions the "*maritima pars,*" must mean the southern, as that was the only part he was acquainted with; and the Chronicle (14) *expressly speaks of the southern coast.* This coast being the nearest to Gaul, appears to have been peopled from Armorica, allowing Bede to be (15) *better authority than Cæsar,* and because the language of Brittany is at this very time a dialect of the Welch, though it may be (16) *objected that the Britons carried their language there with them, when they fled from the Saxons in the fifth century.* But as the Britons did not immediately settle in Armorica, but roamed up and down in various parts, it is very probable, nay almost certain, (17) *that the reason of their settling there, was because they found the customs and language of the country similar to their own; otherwise they would not have chosen it, for they could have found far more fertile tracts in any of the other provinces on that coast.* All histories

(1) But not printed. (2) See queries in the Gentleman's Magazine, for December, 1791, p. 1120.

(3) Our island fathers are thus strongly contradistinguished—two races of beings, as different in every respect, as the English and the Ottobians, at the present moment. (4) So it unquestionably was.

(5) Often have we heard, that there was more than one tongue used at that time in Britain. Bede declares that the divinity was worshipped among us in the languages of five different people, the Angles, the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the Latins; which perfectly agrees with the Saxon Chronicle, where five nations are said to inhabit Britain—the Angles, the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the Boctedene, or the Romans. See Bede's Hist. c. 1. l. 1. and Saxon Chronicle.

(6) But the premises are false. (7) True. (8) The Britons were not rude and uncivilized in the days of Cæsar.

(9) The contrary of this would approach nearer to the truth. See Whitaker's Manchester, and Genuine History of the Britons asserted. (10) Cæsar's authority: Where? quos natos in insula ipsa. Is this Cæsar's authority?

(11) Here the two races of Britons are jumbled together. (12) More respectable than Cæsar?

(13) I confess I scarcely understand this. Cæsar conversed with the Britons whom he describes. He was at least acquainted with one race of the Britons. Had Bede any "such opportunities of coming at the truth?" Does T. E. imagine that Bede was a contemporary of Julius Cæsar?

(14) Yet T. E. just before observed, that "the natives of the interior country must be meant by the Chronicle."

(15) No—not for a moment. (16) And the objection is unanswerable. (17) It would be impossible to prove this.



*histories of credit agree* (18) that they were originally of Gaul, excepting the Saxon Chronicle, the beginning of which seems to be taken from Bede; for which reason I am inclined to think it the fault of the transcriber. What has been said, is, I believe, enough to prove, that the original country of the Britons was not Armenia, but Armorica. I am sorry to have troubled you, Sir, with so long a letter, and hope you will excuse it, as the subject is of consequence towards illustrating the history of Devon.

I am yours, &c.

T. E.

The second letter, signed T. Y. L. contains several arguments in favor of my hypothesis.

Mr. Urban,

Exeter, 17th January, 1792.

In answer to Mr. Polwhele's question concerning the Saxon Chronicle, which speaks of the settlement of the Armenians in the south part of this island, I must beg leave to observe, that the history of the original inhabitants of this island is so very obscure, that after the strictest and most remote searches, we are obliged to rely for the far greater part of our information on probability and conjecture. Although, therefore, the facts on which the following observations are founded may be considered as wanting historic proof, yet it is hoped they will be allowed in some measure to answer the question before us, and tend to elucidate a passage somewhat obscure in a very ancient and venerable register of our nation. Armenia, I apprehend, was a large district, comprehending the modern Turcomania and part of Persia: It is a country famous for being the first inhabited of the world: And in this region the great Babylon is thought to have stood; for we are certain that this was the residence of Noah and his descendants, for a considerable time after the flood, and that from hence it was they migrated, on the confusion of tongues, and subsequent dispersion of mankind. But the descendants of Japhet, from whom the western nations are considered as derived, although they sent out colonies, yet still retained possession of this their former residence, and Asia minor, which perhaps was all included by them under the name of Armenia. If this be admitted, there cannot remain a doubt of their being the founders of Troy. Thus then we see the Trojans might fairly deduce their origin from Armenia. Now there is a well known tradition concerning the first inhabitants of this island, that Brutus, a Trojan, great grandson of Æneas, having by chance killed his father in hunting, was obliged to fly into Greece, and having sojourned there for some time, and being admonished by an oracle, he with other Trojan fugitives, travelled from thence into Britain. That this was a generally received opinion amongst our ancestors, we may gather from the number of authors who have adopted it. Others, it is true, have regarded it as a fiction of Geoffrey of Monmouth; but that he was not the inventor, is plain from its being mentioned by Nennius, who flourished upwards of three hundred years before: and Sigebertus Gemblacensis, who preceded Geoffrey by one hundred years, particularly describes the passing of the Trojans through Gaul, in their way into Britain, and the city which Brutus there built. It is to this circumstance of their passing through Gaul, that we are to attribute what Bede says, concerning the Britains coming from Armorica. Armorica was the ancient name of that part of France which is now called Bretagne, and probably was considered as the country from which Brutus took his departure for Britain. Nor have there been wanting poets to celebrate this expedition; amongst whom, our countryman Josephus Iscanus makes no inconsiderable figure.

His Brutus avito  
Sanguine Trojanus patriis egressus ab oris  
Post casus varios confedit sinibus, orbem  
Fatalem nactus, debellatorque gigantum  
Et terræ victor nomen dedit.

I do not recollect in any other history besides the Saxon Chronicle, mention being made of the Britons as coming immediately from Armenia; but we see it was by no means uncommon to derive them from a country bordering on and originally peopled from Armenia. I am well aware of the many objections that are brought against this account. It may appear to be somewhat improbable. It was not mentioned here with a view to establish its authenticity: But considering it altogether as a fiction, still it affords us grounds sufficient to authorize a conjecture, that this tradition concerning the Aborigines of our island having prevailed among the natives, and been received by many authors into their histories, the passage in the Saxon Chronicle under consideration, refers to it and is grounded thereon. The Britons, if we regard them as a colony of the Cimbri or Cimmerii, descendants of Gomer, may possibly appear to have a more immediate connection with Armenia; but I do not believe this idea to have been general previous to the reign of Elizabeth, when Mr. Camden published it in his Britannia, and consequently the writer of the Saxon Chronicle could not allude to it. As to their settling first in the southern parts of this island, there can be but little doubt; for even to this day it is the custom for people whenever they land on a country unexplored, although they send out parties continually for the sake of making discoveries, yet to establish their colony in those parts where they first landed. The southern part of Britain is the nearest of any to the continent, and of course first attracted the notice of those who possessed the opposite shore, whether Armenians or Armoricans: And there is great reason to suppose that Cornwall was looked upon as the place of their first settlement. An ancient author has from hence derived the appellation of Britannia prima,

by

(18) No such thing.



by which the south of Britain was formerly distinguished; and I am inclined to think, notwithstanding what Mr. Camden and others have said, that Cornwall owes its name in great measure to this tradition: for we find the western parts (by which we must understand the south western) assigned to *Corineus*, a companion of Brutus, and Brutus himself proceeding eastward into Kent, where he is supposed to have erected his kingdom: *Prima dista est pars occidentalis insulæ quæ primum in illa Britones Bruto & Corineo ducibus applicuerunt, eaque primo a Corineo et suis & occupata est & habitata. Britannia secunda Cantia quia secundo a Bruto & suis inhabitata fuit.* In the time of Julius Cæsar, we are told that the sea-coasts of Britain were of Gallic extraction: freebooters, who had passed from the continent over hither, for the sake of plunder, and dispossessed the Aborigines, whom they had driven to the innermost parts of the island. This has been made use of by some as an argument to prove that the first inhabitants of Britain were of Gallic extraction: but considering the time in which Cæsar wrote, and that he speaks of a more ancient race inhabiting the inner country, I think that it only tends to shew that the custom of pirating (afterwards carried to such length by the Danes and others) even then existed, and in those parts was attended with considerable success.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

T. Y. L. (1)

As I take leave of these speculations, I cannot but remind my readers of Sir WILLIAM JONES; referring them to the second volume of his *ASIATIC RESEARCHES*; where is one idea in particular, suggested by the learned president, which I have already noticed, and which must have left, I think, an impression in favor of our oriental hypothesis. I cannot but repeat it. "The *Saxon Chronicle* (says Sir William) brings the first inhabitants of Britain from Armenia; while a late *very learned writer* concludes, after all his laborious researches, that the Goths or Scythians came from Persia; and another contends, with great force, that both the Irish and old Britons proceeded, severally, from the borders of the Caspian; a COINCIDENCE OF CONCLUSIONS, from different media, by persons *wholly unconnected*, which COULD SCARCE HAVE HAPPENED, IF THEY WERE NOT GROUNDED ON SOLID PRINCIPLES." And Sir William Jones's conclusions, from a still different medium, fall in with the rest, to establish the point. Nor should it be dissimbled, that Dr. Borlase's parallel between the Persians and the Aborigines of this island, had long excited in my mind the strongest suspicion of their affinity; though the Doctor was tracing their features of resemblance with very different sentiments. That the religion of the Druids, in particular, almost the same as that of the Magi, had its origin in Britain, I always considered as a very absurd supposition, notwithstanding the specious arguments of Dr. Borlase: I could not but conceive, that, to the most incurious observer, it must wear the appearance of orientalism. Who, indeed, on a fair view of the subject, can imagine the Danmonians to have been originally Gaulish, and the Druids a priesthood formed in Britain out of those Gaulish emigrators? Who, with such a dejected idea of the Droids,

Could haunt, in rapture, CORNWALL'S wizard caves,  
Or wander thro' the faery-peopled vales  
Of DEVON, where posterity retains  
Some vein of that old minstrelsy, which breath'd  
Thro' each time-honor'd grove of British oak.  
There, where the spreading consecrated boughs  
Fed the sage mistletoe, the holy Druids  
Lay wrapt in moral musings; while the bards  
Call'd from their solemn harps such lofty airs,  
As drew down fancy from the realms of light,  
To paint some radiant vision on their minds,  
Of high mysterious import.

In short, that the Danmonians were an eastern race, appeared to me more than probable, before I had read a syllable of the *Saxon Chronicle*, or knew that a passage existed there, relating to Armenia or South Scythia; before I had the slightest acquaintance with either Bryant or Vallancey; before Pinkerton had published his admirable book, or Sir William Jones had formed his literary society in India. Thus prepossessed, it was with real satisfaction, that I received notices from SIR GEORGE YONGE, relating to an eastern colony, soon after I had turned my attention to the History of Devonshire. And my right honorable correspondent had settled his theory, unconnected with the opinions and independent on the disquisitions of others—formed from his comprehensive view of men and manners—original in his own enlightened mind!

(1) I know nothing of the letter-writers: Nor can I guess who they are.







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Author Polwhele, Richard

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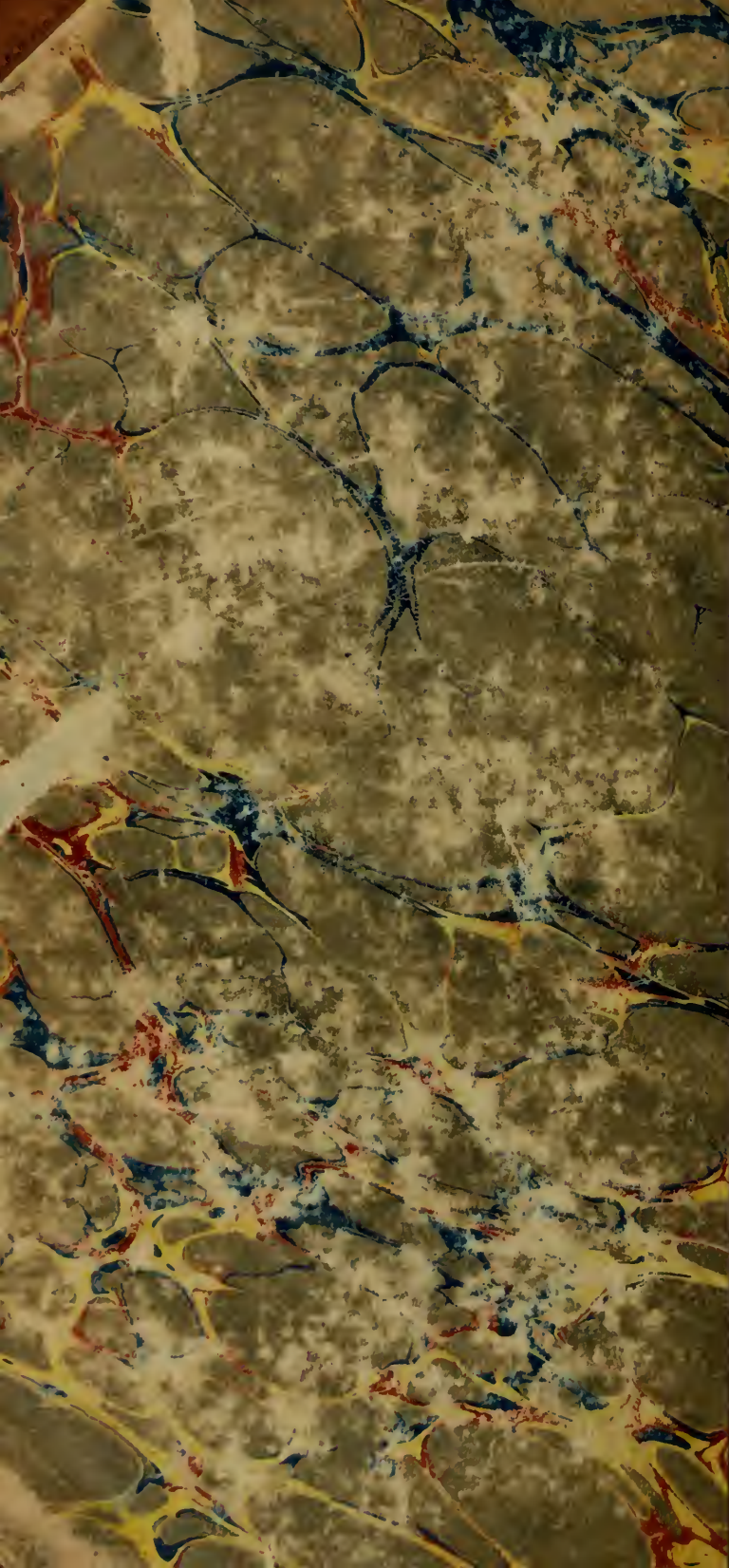
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